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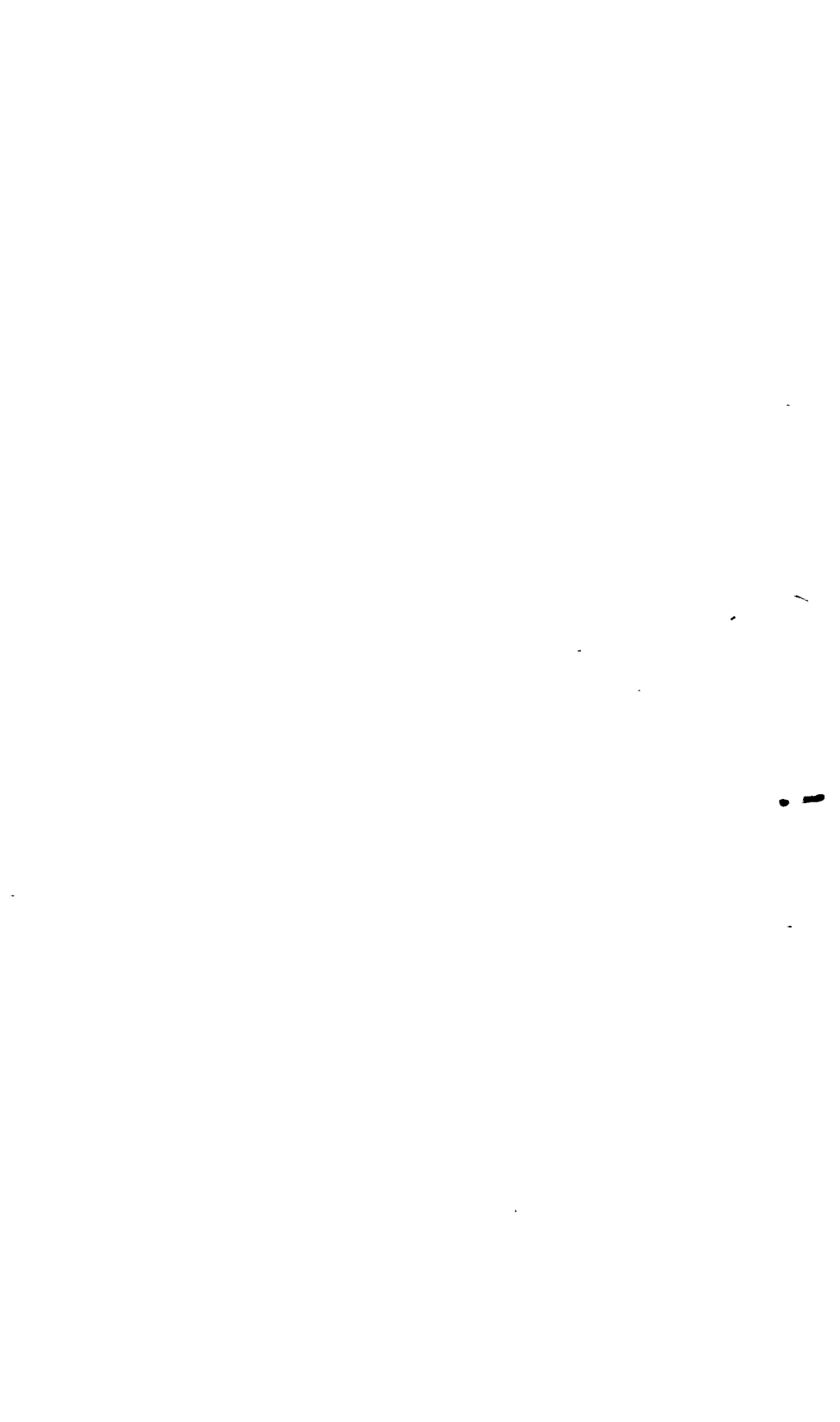
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THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

JANUARY 1945

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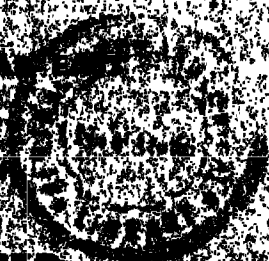
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NOTE

CONTENTS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S FIGHTING SERVICES IN THE WAR	By Commodore L. T. S. Hall C.I.E., R.N., Major Sarabjit Singh Kalra D.S.O., and Subedar K. K. Majumdar, D.F.C.	1
SCIENCE AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN THE NEW INDIA	By Sir Shanti S. Bhattacharya, F.R.S.	14
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN AIR FORCE	By Wing-Commander W. W. Russell	20
INDIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION	By Dr. P. Z. Puri	35
BROADCASTING TO INDIA	By Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams	45
THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN INDIA TO-DAY	By Lieut. Colonel C. R. Stevens	54

POST-WAR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA: OFFICIAL PLANS	By R. W. Cross	61
FAMINE PREVENTION WORKS IN BENGAL	By Dr. A. S. Ghose	6
CHINESE POETRY IN WAR-TIME	By Professor Lu Ch'ien	7
THE SITE OF THE NESTORIAN MONASTERY AT HANGCHOW	By Dr. Kenneth G. Zerk	32
THE KIRGHIZ RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR LINGUISTICS AND LITERATURE	By A. S. Puri	56
A VISIT TO THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT	By J. R. R.	86
THE PAHTURANIAN MYTH IN TURKEY TO-DAY	By Alexander Henderson	98
SOME BRITISH / ADMIRAL (U) DISRAELI	By Dr. Rajendra S. Shukla	10
HINDU NUMERALS	By C. S. S.	11
POST-WAR PLANS FOR INDIAL STATES		12
BRITAIN JOINS HANDS WITH HER ENTIRE TO HELP JERK BICKING		13
ASIA PRESENTED - ON THE AIR AND ON THE SCREEN	By William Thomas	100
THE CHINA FRONT	By D. C. C. V.	105
MYSONE AND THE WAR		106
REVIEWS OF BOOKS		107

Vol. 50

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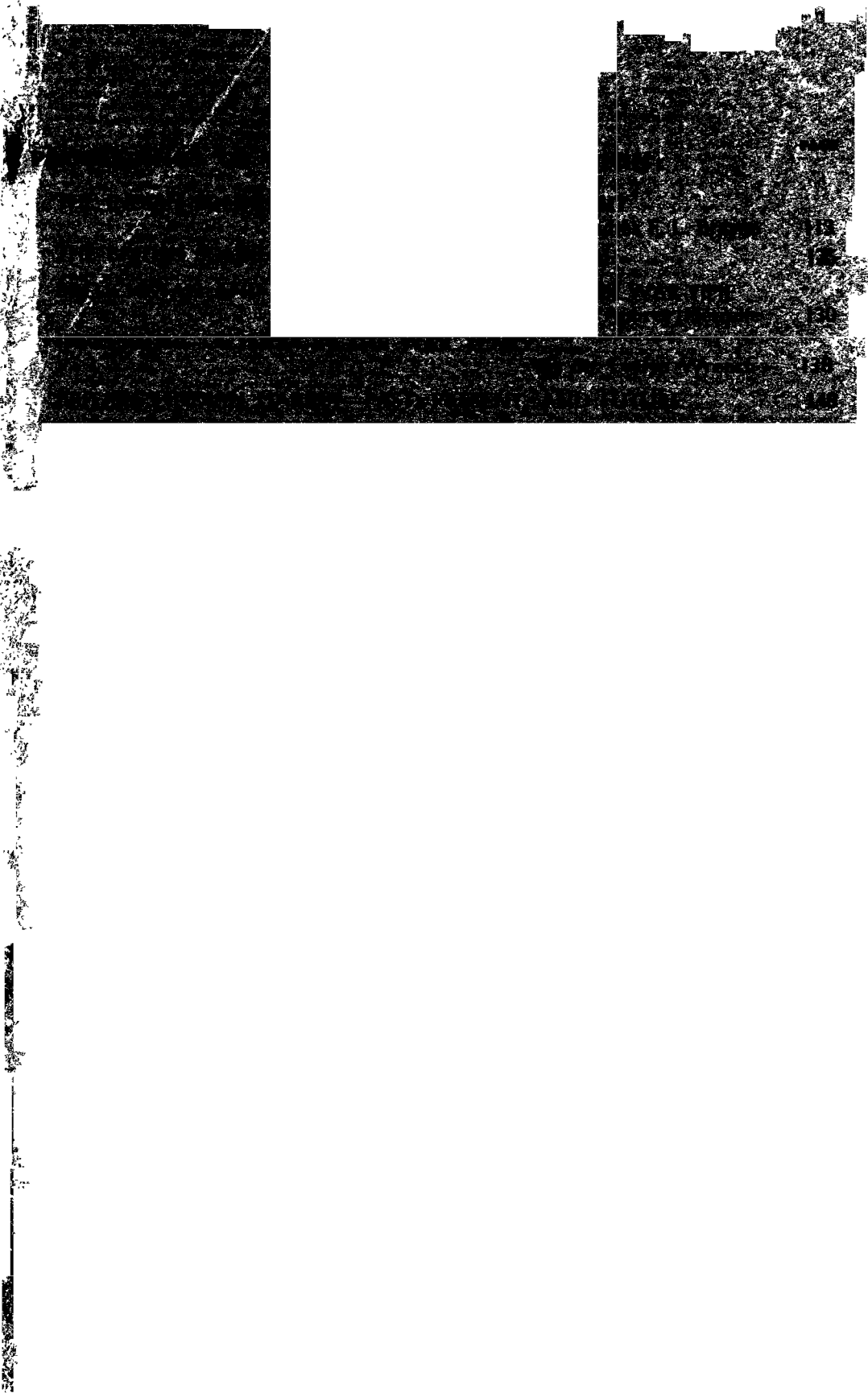
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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1945

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S FIGHTING SERVICES IN THE WAR

THE opening meeting of the autumn session of the East India Association, held at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, on October 3, 1944, took an unusual form. In place of a lecture followed by discussion there were three short papers read by officers, each of whom represented one of the fighting services of India.

Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode presided, and called upon Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth to introduce the speakers.

LIEUT.-GENERAL MOLESWORTH said: The Prime Minister recently told the House of Commons that, at the last Conference at Quebec, he had made it clear that the British Empire would take its full share in the final defeat of Japan.

Operations to achieve that end are already in progress on the Indo-Burma frontier and in those operations India's fighting forces are already taking a lion's share. Our object today is to try and give you some idea of what India's fighting men are doing from the lips of three officers—representing the three fighting services—who have personal knowledge and experience of those men. The personal touch is worth mountains of addresses, articles and books at second hand, and we are fortunate today in having present three officers with first-hand knowledge.

The first speaker is Commodore J. T. S. Hall, C.I.E., of the Royal Indian Navy. He served for seven years in the Royal Navy, and after seeing service in the Dardanelles and North Russia transferred to the R.I.N.—then the Royal Indian Marine—in 1921. He has had much sea service in His Majesty's Indian ships, and has commanded *Baluchi*, *Clive* and *Cornwallis*. A staff graduate of the Royal Naval College, Greenwich, he has been concerned with naval operations and plans for some years, and before coming to the India Office as Senior Naval Staff Officer, was Chief of Staff to the Flag Officer R.I.N. There are few officers who are better qualified to speak with knowledge and authority on the Royal Indian Navy.

The second is Major Sarabjit Singh Kalha, D.S.O., of the 1st Punjab Regiment, a regiment which heads the list of Indian infantry regiments, and recruits Punjabi Mussalmans, Sikhs, Rajputs and Hazarawals—all famous fighting stock. He came into the Indian Army through the Indian Military Academy. Before this war he saw active service on the North-West Frontier, and, as he will tell you, has commanded his battalion in battle on the Burma front. He is now a student at the Staff College, Camberley.

The last speaker is Squadron-Leader K. K. Majumdar, D.F.C., of the Indian Air Force. I am most grateful to him for coming and to the Air Ministry for releasing him for a few hours from an operational tour. He was trained at Cranwell and commissioned in the R.A.F. in 1933. In June, 1941, he was commanding No. 1 Squadron, I.A.F., and took it to Burma in the dark days of January, 1942. The squadron was then equipped with slow and obsolete Lysander aircraft, whose main rôle was reconnaissance. But it used both guns and bombs against the Japanese with

great effect, and made a great name for itself. Squadron-Leader Majumdar gained the D.F.C. in these operations. Subsequently he was on the air staff at New Delhi as Wing-Commander, and had much to do with the expansion and organization of the Indian Air Force. He relinquished his rank to come home and be attached to the R.A.F. to obtain experience of modern aircraft. He joined a fighter reconnaissance squadron on the evening before D day, and since then has seen service throughout the northern European fighting—at the beachheads, at Falaise-Argentan, at the crossing of the Seine and the battles in Holland. We are fortunate to catch him before he returns to India to an operational appointment, and India will be lucky to get him.

Finally, in order to strengthen the personal element of today's proceedings, I would like to introduce to you three Viceroy's commissioned officers of the Indian Army, who have all seen active service in this war :

Firstly, Risaldar Sisram of the Central India Horse (Indian Armoured Corps). He is a Jat, from the Rohtak district of the Punjab, and has 24 years' distinguished service. He fought in Libya in 1940 and 1941. He wears the Indian Distinguished Service Medal and the African Star.

Secondly, Subedar Munsibdar Khan of the 13th Frontier Force Rifles. He is a Janjua Rajput from Rawalpindi district of the Punjab. His service is 26½ years. He fought in Waziristan in 1930 and in Burma in the present war. He wears the I.D.S.M., the Indian General Service Medal, the 39-43 Star and the Coronation Medal.

Thirdly, Subedar Khark Bahadur Gurung of the 6th Gurkha Rifles. He is a gurmha from Western Nepal, and has 28 years' service. He fought in the Great War, 1914-18, has seen service in Waziristan; but owing to his age has not seen active service in this war. He wears the Order of British India, the General Service, Victory, Indian General Service and jubilee medals and has a mention in despatches to his credit.

The following papers were then read :

THE ROYAL INDIAN NAVY

BY COMMODORE JOHN T. S. HALL, C.I.E., R.I.N.

I have been asked to give you a brief description of the progress and development of the Royal Indian Navy during the war.

Naturally in such a conflict the part played by the smaller units of the Allied naval power does not come into the limelight very much, nevertheless the Royal Indian Navy has done a lot of useful work in her home waters, even if a great deal of it has not been very spectacular. This was recognized recently, and the Royal Indian Navy was accorded a signal honour when H.M. the King visited His Majesty's Indian ship *Godavari*—then serving with the Home Fleet.

I should like to mention the chain of command. As you are aware major naval strategy in the Eastern theatre comes under the Supreme Allied Commander South-East Asia. Naval operations are directed by the Commander-in Chief Eastern Fleet, who also exercises operational control of escorts in the Indian Ocean.

The Flag Officer Commanding the Royal Indian Navy, under the Commander-in Chief India, administers the Royal Indian Navy and is responsible for the coast of India, naval defence of the major ports and coastal anti-submarine escorts. The R.I.N. provides approximately half the ocean escorts and about the same proportion of coastal forces in the Eastern theatre.

Administration of the Royal Indian Navy is exercised from Naval Headquarters at New Delhi through the Flag Officer Bombay on the west coast, and Commodore Bay of Bengal on the east coast, and the Naval Officers-in-Charge at major ports. The Headquarters Staff is adequate to administer the existing Indian Navy and any expansion at present contemplated.

The Flag Officer Bombay and Commodore Bay of Bengal are responsible to the

Flag Officer Commanding Royal Indian Navy for the west and east coasts of India, excluding Ceylon, and have the necessary staff to maintain the efficiency of ships based on the ports in their respective Commands, and, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief Eastern Fleet, to operate the ocean escorts. Naval Officers-in-Charge are responsible for their respective ports and for anti-submarine escorts in adjacent coastal waters. In Ceylon, which of course does not come under India, there is a Flag Officer directly responsible to the Commander-in-Chief Eastern Fleet.

The Royal Indian Navy comprises escort vessels, fleet minesweepers, trawlers, auxiliary vessels, coastal craft and landing craft. The fleet minesweepers and trawlers are dual purpose vessels fitted for both anti-submarine and minesweeping duties. For obvious reasons it is not possible to give detailed figures, but on completion of the New Construction Programme the force will be adequate to meet its present tasks.

Most of the smaller ships were built in India, though the sloops were built in the United Kingdom. Some of the fleet minesweepers were constructed in Australia, some in the United Kingdom, and others are being built in India. When the threat of attack by the Japanese Fleet was greater than it is now, a number of motor torpedo craft were provided as an offensive weapon for defensive operations. The importance of these craft has been considerably reduced due to the improved strategic situation.

The personnel of the Royal Indian Navy has been increased to nearly twenty times its pre-war strength. The officers are approximately 50 per cent. European and 50 per cent. Indian—ratings are 100 per cent. Indian. Recruitment is on an "all-India" basis, and up to the present has been fairly satisfactory, though there is still difficulty in obtaining higher technical ratings, whose training is a lengthy process.

It will be appreciated that recruitment in India is still on a voluntary basis, and that for modern ships a relatively high standard of basic education is necessary to enable the ratings to assimilate the advanced technical training now demanded of all branches of the Service. Our training policy during the past year has been to consolidate after the very rapid expansion of the first four years of the war. Like all other Services, the Royal Indian Navy has suffered from growing pains, the large increase having resulted in a relatively low proportion of experienced personnel. War expansion has been met by formation of reserves of officers and entry of special service ratings for non-continuous service.

The Training Establishments are now working double tides to make good deficiencies in training during the early years, qualifying men in specialized subjects to provide for increase in higher non-substantive rates and training ratings for substantive promotion. The Training Establishments have been modernized and brought up to date, and new schools have been set up.

We have two Boys' Training Establishments at Karachi, where boy recruits are entered at 15½ to 16½ years of age. A Mechanical training establishment has been built near Bombay, where artificer and artisan apprentices are trained, engine-room ratings undergo mechanics' courses and artificers and artisans undertake advancement courses to qualify for higher rating.

There is a Seamen's Training Establishment at Bombay, where special service seamen are given preliminary instruction before going to sea to complete their training. There are also Gunnery, Torpedo, Communications and Anti-Submarine Schools where ratings are given specialized training in the various branches of the Service.

Coastal Force and Combined Operations training centres have been established for these special lines. Last, but by no means least, there is a Junior Officers' School, where all Reserve Officers undergo courses on joining the R.I.N. Altogether there are 14 Training Establishments, which accommodate about 4,000 men undergoing courses. Training facilities are also afforded to ratings of the Royal Navy serving in the Eastern theatre.

Since the outbreak of hostilities His Majesty's Indian ships have been actively engaged in most theatres of war other than the Pacific. During the early days ships of the Royal Indian Navy served in the Red Sea and Persian Gulf. They have also served in the Atlantic and in the Mediterranean during the invasion of Sicily, but naturally their main theatre of operations has been the Indian Ocean.

In the Red Sea ships of the Royal Indian Navy took part, with His Majesty's

ships, in the operations against Italian possessions in East Africa. They had their full share of patrols and minesweeping, and one of His Majesty's Indian ships was the first to enter Massawa, the main Italian base in East Africa.

In the Persian Gulf His Majesty's Indian ships working with ships of the Royal and Royal Australian Navies took part in the capture of a number of German and Italian ships at Bundar Shapur, and in other operations in that area.

When Japan entered the war, sloops of the Royal Indian Navy were engaged in the Java seas. His Majesty's Indian ships *Jumna* and *Sutlej* gave a good account of themselves. The former brought down a number of Japanese aircraft, and is believed to have been the last Allied ship to leave Batavia. His Majesty's Indian ship *Bengal's* action with two Japanese raiders while on her maiden voyage from Australia to India, escorting the Dutch tanker *Ondina* in November, 1942, will be readily recalled. In this spirited action the larger raider, estimated to be 10,000 tons and comparatively heavily armed with a broadside of four 4·7-inch or 5-inch guns, was set on fire and sunk. The second raider broke off the engagement. *Bengal* got off remarkably lightly, and *Ondina* was able to make port under her own steam though severely damaged by gunfire and torpedoes. The Commanding Officer of H.M.I.S. *Bengal* was awarded the D.S.O., and several lesser awards were made to her officers and men.

Coastal forces, including units of the landing craft wing, have been actively engaged in operations with the 14th Army on the Burma coast. They made numerous attacks on the enemy's lines of communications and did useful work in many local actions.

I hope from the foregoing remarks you have been able to get a fairly good outline of the Royal Indian Navy—what it has done and what it is doing. I am not at liberty to say much about the future, but I trust that we shall avoid the mistake made after the last world war of cutting down the sea services far below the strength necessary for the security of our ocean lines of communication, and that the Royal Indian Navy will go on from strength to strength as an efficient unit of the Empire Naval Forces.

THE INDIAN ARMY

BY MAJOR SARABJIT SINGH KALHA, D.S.O., 1ST PUNJAB REGIMENT

I feel myself to be indeed honoured in being asked to address so distinguished a gathering. To court praise and honour is very contrary to the oldest and best traditions, not only of the Army, but of the whole structure of civilized life. Nevertheless, this is an age of publicity and of news, and the ideas and views of the ordinary man of any country are almost wholly governed by what he reads in his newspapers. And in order to try to ensure that that ordinary man obtains a fair picture of world events, and of the men who shape those events, it is often necessary for someone, even so humble an individual as myself, to write or talk of personal experiences, or, at any rate, of the experiences of men with whom he has been intimately associated. And that is my excuse for talking today about what is, to me, a very personal subject—the Indian Army.

In the five years of war that have passed the Indian Army has played a great part. The gallant actions fought by the 4th, 5th and 10th Indian Divisions in the Middle East and in Eritrea and Abyssinia, their part in the final crushing of the Axis forces in North Africa has been widely publicized. And I am sure that you all have some idea of the doings of the 4th, 8th and 10th Indian Divisions in Italy, where at this moment they are helping to smash the Germans.

But there is another war going on—against those other enemies of justice and decency, the Japanese. And fighting them on the Burma front is the 14th Army. And the achievements of that Army have never had the recognition that was their due, neither in this country nor in the U.S.A. This is, to a certain extent, understandable, for Kohima and Imphal are a very long way from London, and there are the most stirring events going on very much nearer England. The 14th Army are every bit as much fighting your battles as are our magnificent Allied armies in

Europe, and the bulk of that 14th Army (approximately 70 per cent. of its total strength) is Indian.

It must be borne in mind that every man now serving in the Indian Army is a volunteer, and does not serve under any scheme of National Registration. Contrary to some recent remarks that have been made on the subject in other parts of the world, it is *not* hunger or starvation which induces Indians to join the Army, but a tradition, a desire for martial service, and the wish to be a man of standing in his village—a soldier in the service of His Majesty, the King-Emperor. Almost all the men in the fighting arms are from the agricultural class, which grows its own food. The parts of India which have recently been struck by such disastrous famines contribute only a comparatively small number to the fighting services. With the rising of prices during the war the man in the village has, generally speaking, done well; so has the man in industry. But the basic pay of the sepoy is still only 18 rupees a month, and this in itself is no very great inducement.

Some figures illustrating the expansion of the Indian Army during the war are of interest. In August, 1939, the strength was 182,000. In July, 1944, it was just on 2,000,000. This vast increase in recruitment has led to the abolition of the old idea of martial and non-martial classes, and men are now drawn from all over India and not from a few selected areas and classes. India, my country, has produced in this war the largest volunteer army that the world has ever seen. And to suggest, as has been done recently by persons in the U.S.A. who are grossly ignorant on the subject, that such an army is a purely mercenary one is a calumny of the vilest sort. They have volunteered to fight for their country and their King-Emperor.

In considering the Indian Army today we must not forget the officer cadre. From 1922 approximately 3 to 10 Indians were selected half-yearly through an open competition or by nomination for training at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. They attended an eighteen months' course there and were then attached for one year to British battalions in India before being posted to certain infantry and cavalry units of the Indian Army which had been earmarked for Indianization. With few exceptions all these cadets came from well-to-do Indian families, and each cadet, on the average, spent from £700 to £1,000 during his stay in England. Obviously, all parents whose sons become officers in British or Indian Armies cannot afford such a sum.

In 1932, when our Chairman today was the Commander-in-Chief in India, an extremely important step was taken, the opening of the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun, the Indian counterpart of Sandhurst. It was situated in fine modern buildings amidst surroundings ideal for training. A very able officer, Brigadier Collins, was appointed as the first Commandant, and he was given a first-class team of instructors and staff. The Academy thus got off to a real good start. I was one of the earliest to pass through, and the learning and the training that I assimilated there has been of the utmost value to me in the past years, and will, I am certain, continue to be so as long as I live.

Until 1940, officers graduating from the Indian Military Academy were still only posted to certain selected units, units which had been earmarked for Indianization—that is to say, that no more British officers were to be posted to them, only Indians. But early in 1940 Indianization of the officer was extended to all units, an extremely important step. For now, British and Indian, we all work together in every unit and sub-unit of the Army and all get an equal chance of command in active operations. When the war broke out there were just on 400 Indians holding the King's Commission; now there are nearly 11,000.

All of you must have heard something about the Indian Divisions in East Africa, Middle East, Tunisia, Syria, and latterly in Italy. I sincerely hope that you have, for their exploits are amongst the most glorious in the whole history of the Indian Army. But for today they are outside the scope of my talk. Today I want to talk about the 14th Army on the Burma front for two reasons. In the first place, it is because, as I have already told you, that Army is predominantly Indian; and, secondly, because it is the part of the world with which I am most familiar personally.

The record of the 17th Indian Division on this front can hardly be bettered. They were in Burma in 1942, and since then they have been engaged in the front line for

twenty-seven continuous months without a break. I did not actually serve with them, but I know them personally, and I know what they have been through. And no words of mine could adequately describe it.

My battalion went up to the Arakan front with the 14th Indian Division. I, myself, was second-in-command at the time, and then subsequently I had the privilege of commanding them for about two months. With heavy odds against us, our men repeatedly put in magnificent attacks, and we took the first two Japanese prisoners ever to be taken alive by any British forces. This was on February 2, 1944.

The exploits of Havildar Parkash Singh, v.c., are an example of what our men did. He was second-in-command of a carrier platoon, and, though wounded three times, he went out ahead of our lines in a carrier to within sixty yards of the Japanese positions to rescue one wounded British officer and two comrades from a burning carrier. He then went out again and towed to safety another of our carriers which had broken down. To do this he had to jump out of his carrier amidst a positive hail of machine-gun bullets and grenades, fix on a tow-chain to the one that was disabled, climb back into his own carrier and then drive back.

Major Budh Singh, m.c. and Bar, is another fine fighter. He won his M.C. and Bar within a space of about three weeks, the shortest space of time ever for the collection of two such decorations.

To begin with, in our fight to prevent the Japanese invading India things did not go too well for us. We were badly outnumbered and painfully short of equipment owing to the pressing demands of other theatres of war. But since the formation of S.E.A.C. we have gradually gained mastery in the air and on the ground, and have inflicted two crushing defeats on the Japanese, killing some fifty to sixty thousand of them. And their morale has been badly shaken.

However, before that happened there were certainly one or two anxious periods. In February, 1942, my battalion was still on the Arakan front with the 5th Indian Division in the Maungdaw area. The 7th Indian Division at that time was in the Buthidaung area. The Japanese by a very swift encircling movement completely surrounded the 7th, and very nearly did the same to us, and Tokio announced to the world that another great victory had been won and the road to India was open. But they spoke too soon. We stayed where we were and lifted our lines of supply into the air. The British, Indian and American Air Forces never failed to get our supplies through to us, and did a magnificent job of work. After about twelve days of this stalemate we started offensive action in earnest, and my battalion was given the task of opening up the Ngakyedauk Pass again, the line of communication between the 5th and 7th Indian Divisions. We left our mules and jeeps behind and humped every ounce of our equipment. We encircled the Japs, appearing from totally unexpected quarters, and thoroughly beat the little swine at his own game, and within forty-eight hours the pass was opened again. My battalion, together with a company of a Rajput regiment, suffered a total of *five* casualties in this operation, and we killed or put to flight over 500 Japanese.

In March, the Japanese invaded India with over three divisions by way of Kohima and Imphal in order to cut the Bengal-Assam railway, which was the main supply route to General Stilwell's forces in the north. They succeeded in surrounding Kohima and Imphal, though they never captured either place, and we of the 5th Indian Division were flown up, a complete division, from the Arakan front to help. Within forty-eight hours of leaving the Arakan we were in action on the Manipur front, and were fighting the Jap Guards Division, who had played an important part in the capture of Singapore. The complete thrashing that the Japanese took in Manipur is now history, and they are still running at this very moment. Few retreats in all history can equal the utter rout of the Imperial Japanese Army in this epic victory.

We of India are proud of our 14th Army. We call it "our" Army justifiably, I think, because the bulk of it is comprised of our own countrymen. But we do not and cannot forget what we owe to the British. They are there with us, shoulder to shoulder, the men of this little island. Perhaps your son, or brother, your husband is one of them, one of those comrades in arms of my countrymen, helping to defend my country against the invader. And above all this we Indians of the Indian Army

realize that our Army is the creation of the British, that still the greater proportion of its officers are British, and that all that we know, all that we have learnt about the art of leading and commanding men, all our traditions are yours. I can say with pride that we have been worthy of those traditions, and if I can presume to speak on behalf of my brother Indians in the Army, I say that we always will be. For you have shown us the way.

THE INDIAN AIR FORCE

BY SQUADRON-LEADER K. K. MAJUMDAR, D.F.C.

India's Air Force is a new and young service. It grew, as an experiment, out of the general scheme for Indianization of the fighting services. Formed in 1933, it consisted, at the outbreak of war, of a single squadron with 13 officers and 260 airmen. It was equipped with Wapiti and Hart aircraft—out of date even in those days.

The Indian Air Force now is over 20,000 strong, and supplies one-fifth of the personnel in the South-East Asia Air Command. There are 10 operational squadrons, and behind them a full complement of maintenance and training units. Apart from this increase in size the Indian Air Force has been supplied with, and fully trained in the use of, modern aircraft and equipment to the same fine standards as the Royal Air Force.

From the very start special problems arose in building an Indian Air Force. The greatest of these was the supply of other ranks. Although India had magnificent soldiers, men of their type were not suitable material for the technical responsibilities of an Air Force on account of their lack of education. After many experiments it was found that the only solution was to recruit men sufficiently educated to be capable of absorbing technical instruction in English. English is thus the official language of the Indian Air Force. This decision has not only simplified training and technical administration; it has also made it extremely simple for the Indian Air Force to work hand in glove with the Royal Air Force, the Dominion Air Forces and the Americans. This is very necessary because of the rapidity with which aeroplanes move over great distances.

The I.A.F. is entirely Indian in composition. If we seek assistance from British personnel they remain in the Royal Air Force and are merely posted to us. Any Indian can join the Indian Air Force without restriction of class or caste. The men all live and eat together in the same messes without religious distinctions. The service is drawn from all over India. The actual representation in it by communities and provinces works out roughly in proportion to their relative populations. It is very inspiring to see the success of this mixing and the way in which these men are settling down. Their spirit is best typified in the words of the motto of No. 1 (Indian) Squadron: "Ittehad men saki hai" (In unity there is strength).

As in all of India's fighting services, recruitment is entirely voluntary, and the expansion I have mentioned has been on that basis. The I.A.F. is trained on exactly the same lines and up to the same standards as the R.A.F. and those of the Dominions. A vast training organization, both for mechanics and pilots, has been built up in India. Over and above this a certain number of Indian pilots are also trained in Canada under the Empire Air Training Scheme, and subsequently given a tour of operations with the R.A.F. in Europe. This is done to widen the basis of experience among our officers.

The work of the I.A.F. is fully integrated with the R.A.F. Units and individuals are fully interchangeable because of the common language and training. Our feeling towards the R.A.F. goes very much deeper than just fraternization. From the beginning we have been dependent on them for nearly everything, and there is a very strong sense among us of being one with the R.A.F.

Since the start of the war Indian Air Force squadrons have slowly taken over full responsibility for air commitments on the North-West Frontier. We now meet these requirements entirely on our own, and have thus relieved several R.A.F. squadrons for duties elsewhere.

In the early days of the war, hastily formed Indian Air Force Volunteer Reserve units, equipped with whatever aircraft were available at the time, commenced coastal

co-operation duties with the Royal Indian Navy. These units carried on until 1942, when they handed over to a properly organized R.A.F. coastal air force, and were themselves absorbed into the regular Indian Air Force.

As soon as the war with Japan broke out an Indian Air Force squadron was sent to fight in Burma. I had the privilege of commanding this squadron. It was a great moment for all of us, as it was the first time the Indian Air Force was taking part in a major war, and also because it was the first completely Indian squadron. We were equipped with Lysander aircraft, and employed partly on close support bombing and partly on reconnaissance. Many of the air crews had exciting adventures and narrow escapes. What was most impressive, however, was the way in which the ground staff worked under very difficult conditions and intense bombing to keep the aeroplanes flying. Many of these lads came from homes where military service had never been thought of before. A lot of them would in normal times have been clerks or small tradesmen. Yet they behaved under fire like veterans. There were, of course, also a number of men among them with more martial traditions. The camp followers were amusing. We had recruited them on the Frontier before leaving India, and very tough they were. I had at the back of my mind the idea that they would be useful if there was any fighting on the airfields. They were unmoved by Japanese bombing, and maintained that it was not much different from our own on the Frontier. When we finally left Burma we had the very great honour of being thanked by Lord Wavell in person.

Since then several Indian Air Force squadrons have fought the Japanese successfully. There are now a number of them operating very effectively in the Arakan and on the Tiddim Road. It has been Indian squadrons which have provided the Army with its air reconnaissance during the recent fighting in both those areas. Their duties have also included dive bombing, tactical and photographic reconnaissance, straffing, and numerous secret and delicate operational missions ranging from dropping medical supplies to delivering official instructions to Army units surrounded by the enemy. Several Indian pilots have distinguished themselves and been decorated for gallantry. A case in point is that of Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh. This officer was recently awarded the Distinguished Service Order. In the words of the official citation: "This officer commands an Indian Air Force squadron which does tactical reconnaissance on the Arakan front. The spirit and skill of his pilots are of exceptionally high order, due to the fine leadership and high example set by Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh himself. In just under three months he has successfully completed eighty-two operational sorties in Arakan." It is worthy of note that this squadron's flying personnel, from Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh downwards, is 100 per cent. Indian. What is still more encouraging is the way that all ranks have done their job and kept the whole complicated machinery of an Air Force working smoothly and efficiently.

I have just had the great privilege of doing a tour of operations over Europe with a squadron of the 2nd Tactical Air Force. The squadron I was in contained a number of pilots from all the Dominions, as is usual in the R.A.F. It was brought home to me more strongly than ever what a brotherhood exists between airmen. By flying together and fighting together one learns more about each other than one can ever learn any other way. The Indian Air Force has already taken its stand with the other Air Forces of the Commonwealth.

Our brotherhood is one—a brotherhood of the air—and if I may presume to speak on behalf of the Indian Air Force, I know that all of us would wish it always to be so.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPERS

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, October 3, 1944, at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1. Field-Marshal SIR PHILIP CHETWODE, O.M., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., presided.

After the three papers had been read and warmly applauded, the CHAIRMAN

said that the addresses were of particular interest to him for, as ex-Chief of Staff and Commander-in-Chief in India, he had been very closely concerned with some of the vital reforms in the three Services, and it was gratifying to know that these reforms had done everything which he had hoped.

With regard to the Navy, one important change took place when Admiral Sir Humphrey Walwyn was in command, when he wished to recruit lower deck hands. He asked if he might recruit in the Punjab, and the speaker told him that a Punjabi had never seen water except a river or a tank, but a few were recruited, and they took to the water like ducks! As the Punjabi, in addition, was a fighting man, he made an ideal deck hand, and the speaker had never known a Punjabi let anyone down.

There was another very important occasion in which he took part when His Majesty made the Indian Navy the "Royal Indian Navy," and he had the pleasure of hoisting the first White Ensign over the Indian Navy Headquarters in Bombay.

Every speaker had said that the difficulty was still in education, and that it was difficult to find men for the mechanical side, but the enormous industrial development in India would remedy this, he thought, in a very short space of time.

The Indian Sandhurst was inaugurated while he was Commander-in-Chief, and its establishment had been fully justified. If an independent India was aimed at, the sooner the Army was Indianized the better. The Indian Army had been enormously increased, and was now the biggest voluntary Army in the history of the world. The splendid performance of the 4th, 5th and 10th Divisions in the Middle East was well known. There had not been a finer performance in the war than that of the 4th Division at Keren in Abyssinia: but the performance of the Indian Army fighting in Burma with the 14th Army had not had anything like the publicity which it deserved.

The most hostile critics of the British in India, and the Indian Army, should hide their heads now that they knew that India had raised a purely voluntary Army of no less than three million men. That was the best answer to such critics.

He was Commander-in-Chief when the first Indian Air Squadron was started: 13 officers and 260 men. Now the Indian Air Force was a very large one. The Indians at once showed themselves to be natural fliers, but again they suffered from lack of education and difficulty in finding mechanics and mechanical instructors for ground service and maintenance. The vast majority of Indians, however, were natural mechanics, and that was soon remedied.

One big thing that the war had taught was that if modern warfare was to be successful there must be close and intimate co-operation between all three Services. Every one of our big victories had been won by the Army, Navy and Air Force working together, and there must not be any of the stupid jealousy which had been a stumbling block in the past. Each Service must retain its own identity, but it was essential not only in war but in peace that there should be a central common planning and a general staff to prepare for war and to carry out war.

SIR WILLIAM BARTON said that it had been a great privilege to hear at first hand something of the doings of the Indian Army and Indian fighting men from their own leaders. He served 20 years ago on the Afghan frontier in close association with the Frontier Force and other Indian Army units, and from the opinion he formed then of the fighting qualities of the Indian soldier he was not surprised that the Indian Army had stood up so splendidly to the strain of modern mechanized war. He sometimes thought that people in this country, in America and in India, did not realize how much they owed to the small professional Indian Army which was in existence in 1940, an Army of barely 150,000 men. If that Army had been disloyal it was practically certain that the Japanese would have plunged at once into the war; they would have overrun India, swept across Afghanistan and Persia and joined hands with the Germans in the Persian oil fields. The Russians could hardly have held the German attack in the Caucasus if they were being smashed from behind by Japanese forces. We should certainly have lost Egypt, and would have had to leave the Mediterranean; all we could have hoped for would have been a negotiated peace, which would have left the Far Eastern and Middle Eastern countries at the mercy of Japan.

But the Indian Army was loyal, devoted to India and to the King-Emperor, and with its strong support the Italians were swept out of Abyssinia, Egypt was held,

Syria and Persia occupied and the oilfields denied to the Germans. One almost felt that the words used by the Prime Minister in his classic tribute to the R.A.F. in the Battle of Britain might be used to describe the record of that small Indian professional Army. Perhaps some day many of the thousand million people who had benefited from its splendid work would realize what they owed to it.

What was India going to do to show its gratitude to the survivors of the Indian professional Army and the great Armies which that professional Army had helped to train and inspire with its own tradition? The Indian Government was preparing vast schemes to deal with the problem of demobilization, and a large sum of money was being collected by way of deferred pay. One wondered whether it would be enough. The Indian Army was a peasant Army, land was very scarce, and millions of Indians had lost their smallholdings to the moneylenders. What the peasant soldier would want when he retired was land, but it was said that there was very little available. Was this really true? The Indian Government had schemes for extending irrigation of over 10 million acres; could they not buy up some of this un-irrigated land and make it available for returned soldiers? There were 150 million acres of waste land which could be made cultivable. To bring most of that land under the plough was part of the scheme of the Indian Government. Could not that Government buy up, say, 12 million acres and promise to give it to the Indian sepoy in a couple of years when it had been made fit for cultivation? Much of it had been damaged by erosion, flood water channels; much of it was scrub-covered, and much work was needed to be done on it, but a gesture of the kind would be much appreciated.

Much of the land owned by Indian peasant soldiers had been mortgaged to moneylenders; could not the Government of India offer to redeem those mortgages? Would not such an announcement act as an electric shock from one end of India to the other? Again, was there not a possibility of a colonization scheme overseas for the Indian soldier? The British Colonial Empire comprised thousands of square miles of country waiting to be developed. There were 300,000 square miles in New Guinea, 50,000 in Borneo, 100,000 in British Guiana, where there were already a quarter of a million Indians, who would welcome newcomers. West Indian authorities might object: surely there was room enough for Indians both from west and east.

The Indian soldier when he returned to his village would have a very different outlook on life than when he left it. Those who had read that excellent little pamphlet issued by the Indian Government, *Swords and Ploughshares*, would realize how much was being done to fit the Indian soldier for mechanized warfare, and to give him some idea of what he was fighting for. Lieut.-Colonel Sir Sher Muhammad Khan had told us that the Indian soldier would insist on having a voice in politics when he returned. The speaker was not quite sure whether under the Cripps offer the Indian soldier would have an adequate voice in electing the Constituent Assembly that was to settle the problems of India; it was up to the Government of India to see that he had.

One might ask how such a scheme as he had attempted to outline would be received by political India. The Nationalists would say that it was an attempt to side-track the political problem; an adequate retort was that a Government had to be set up which would be acceptable to everyone, including the minorities; such a Government could take the scheme over as it stood at the time and do as they liked with it. He was quite sure that a National Government worth the name would give with both hands to the man whose valour and devotion had made the existence of such a Government possible.

Major JAMES LUNT said that he had just returned home after seven years' overseas service, the last eighteen months being spent as an instructor at the Indian Military Academy. That was a great honour as far as he was concerned, because he was a British serving officer, and greatly welcomed the opportunity to serve with the Indian Army in its home. He could claim to have had a large amount of connection with the Indian Army, because his father had been an instructor there before him. I.M.A. had expanded enormously since the days before the war, and when he left there were about 800 cadets under instruction of whom two-thirds were Indian and one-third were British, and the British and Indian cadets served together, lived together, ate together and did everything together, and they got on amazingly well. The Com-

mandar-in-Chief, in a speech to the cadets, told them that there was no such thing as the British officer or the Indian officer in the Indian Army now; there were just officers. No institution in the Army, whether Kingston or Sandhurst, had done better than the I.M.A.; one had only to see the Honours Boards in the Chetwode Hall to realize that.

There would probably be many changes after the war owing to the great expansion. The cadets had a nine months' course, which was very stiff, and there had been a very high wastage, but now that there was a selection board, as in the British Army, the wastage had been much less, and about 75 per cent. of cadets were finally commissioned. They came from all over India and all did equally well.

Sir FREDERIC SACHSE said that he had played polo more than one season at Darjeeling with the father of Squadron-Leader K. K. Majumdar, and he often saw him as a schoolboy, so he had a special reason for congratulating him on his record. He supposed that it would have been against disciplinary etiquette for the speakers to give any hint of what the rank and file of the Indian forces thought of the proposal to divide India into independent states. After the last war many people thought that the reforms were the reward for what India had done; it seemed right and proper that after this war the Indian Service men should be given a strong voice in the future organization of the country. If a Constituent Assembly was called together, the men who had fought for India and the ideals for which the democratic Allies were fighting should have a representation out of all proportion to their number. He did not think it would be possible to reward them by grants of land. It took more than two years to reclaim further lands by large-scale irrigation schemes, and it was very doubtful whether it would be economic. He would not like to see the people who had brought so much credit to India exiled to other colonies. The best reward was to give them a strong voice in the future government of the country.

Dr. RANJEE SHAHANI said that it had been realized in this war that friendship between nations was very important, especially between Britain and America on the one hand and the Commonwealth (including India) and America on the other. In order to achieve that friendship there had to be a certain amount of frankness; but that by itself was not enough. Tact was necessary, and a due regard for facts. Now some people seemed to think that they could say what they liked about us, while it was our duty to be tactful. It was not quite fair. Wrong notions, no matter where they came from, had to be corrected.

As we knew, some foolish charges had been made against the Indian fighting forces. Well, what was their record? They laid the foundations of victory by their deeds in the Western Desert, they fought bravely in France, and they were doing extremely well in Italy. As for Burma, they had taught the Japanese what it was to invade India. The Indian Army was second to none in martial qualities. The Indian Navy and Air Force, too, had played their part magnificently.

It had been suggested that the Indian Army was mercenary. Was it? Of course the Indian soldier was paid; but as he was paid a fraction of what some Western comrades of his were paid—this ought to be remedied—he was perhaps less mercenary than many others who could be named. The truth was that Indians joined the Army because they liked to fight, because they were not going to let down the British, and because they felt that, having secured the triumph of democracy, they were to share in its fruits. It was a matter of mixed motives—as all human actions were—but money played scarcely any part in it. He himself was a writer, but his ancestors were soldiers, and there was still that element within him. In fact, there were many Indians who took a soldier's view of life although they did not belong to military families. In a word, there were as many Indians capable of bearing arms as anywhere else in the world, and proper training made Indians into first-class fighting men. It was not for him to say what should be done for the returning soldier. He should certainly have a voice in the destiny of India, but a voice proportionate to his numbers and his accomplishments.

Sir SAMUEL RENGANADHAN (High Commissioner for India) said that he had been thrilled by the accounts of personal experiences given by the three speakers, and the

story they had told of the growth in numbers and in fighting efficiency of India's forces must have stirred the imagination of all who heard it. The expansion of India's fighting forces in so remarkable a degree and within so short a time had been due as much to the organizing ability of the British and to their help given to India in the matter of equipment as to the eagerness and enthusiasm of the youth of India to respond to the call of duty and to their remarkable capacity for absorbing training and the technical knowledge of the West. All were interested to hear from Squadron-Leader Majumdar that English was now the official language of the Indian Air Force. What a hope that held out for the future progress of such a Service both now and after the war!

All the speakers had emphasized that the Services were now open to all classes and sections of the Indian people, and this mixing was bringing a tremendously unifying influence to bear upon the men in the Services and was also creating amongst them an all-India consciousness as against a sectional or provincial consciousness. It had also greatly improved the efficiency of the Indian Army as a whole, apart from its old fighting tradition. A great part of a modern Army consisted of engineers (electrical and mechanical) and supply services, pioneers, sappers, miners, and so on, and India's contribution under those heads had really been more widespread and vital to the war effort than was generally realized.

Units of the Indian Army Service Corps were at Dunkirk, and had played a large part in getting supplies to Russia through the Persian Gulf. Indian pioneers played a great part in the construction of the railway across the Western Desert to Tobruk, and Indian units had done and were doing a tremendous job of work on the Burmese front, building roads, constructing air-fields, and putting up other essential installations on the 700-mile Indo-Burma frontier. The progress of the Indian Army had been so remarkable that today there were more Indian troops fighting together in Italy than in any previous campaign in the West—namely, the 4th, 8th and 10th Indian divisions—while on the Burma front Indian troops constituted the bulk of the Commonwealth Army engaged in some of the most savage fighting of the whole war.

Major Sarabjit Singh Kalha referred with proper contempt to some disparaging remarks which had appeared in the press and elsewhere concerning the Indian troops and their morale. The only people competent to express an opinion were the men with whom the Indian troops were fighting and the men against whom they were fighting!

One of the outstanding facts of this war was the great comradeship which existed between British and Indian officers and between the rank and file of the two armies. All the speakers emphasized this comradeship in arms, and such a comradeship, such a brotherhood, could only exist on a basis of mutual regard and of appreciation of one another's qualities and efforts in a common cause. When the history of the war came to be written it would be found that the fighting record of the Indian Army in every theatre of war in which the Army had had the privilege of taking part had not been less meritorious nor less gallant than that of any other Army of the United Nations.

He proposed a most cordial vote of thanks to the three speakers for their interesting papers, and also to the Chairman, Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode, whose great services to the Indian Army would ever be remembered.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause, and the CHAIRMAN made a brief acknowledgment on behalf of himself and the speakers.

SCIENCE AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN THE NEW INDIA

BY SIR SHANTI SWARUP BHATNAGAR, O.B.E., F.R.S.

I AM deeply grateful to the East India Association for the honour they have conferred upon me by asking me to address them. I had some diffidence in accepting this invitation, as I was informed that the membership of this Association was largely composed of princes, politicians and administrators. My fears were, however, soon allayed when I discovered that my old friend Professor A. V. Hill was to preside over my address. With the protection that the Chair provides to a speaker in democratic institutions, I felt I could safely unburden my thoughts even before this distinguished assembly.

Professor Hill stoutly denies that he is a magician. Those of you who know the ways of the Government of India would be wondering how his proposals escaped subjection to the cold storage treatment which is applied to all proposals submitted to the Imperial Secretariat in New Delhi, the duration of the treatment being directly proportional to the degree of the novelty of the proposals concerned. Thus, it is nothing short of magic that some of the progressive schemes which he suggested to the Government of India have been sanctioned within a few months. A department of Planning and Development has already come into existence, and the choice of the Viceroy for this important portfolio has fallen upon Sir Ardeshir Dalal, who is acclaimed unanimously by leading business men and scientists as the man for the job.

The Government have not yet seen their way to adopt all that Professor Hill recommended, but we live in hope. Scientific and Industrial Research activities are still scattered over various departments, although a mechanism for co-ordinating these efforts is shortly expected to be introduced by the creation of a Scientific Consultative Committee at a high level. This will remove to some extent the disadvantages of the non-existence of a central organizing authority. There is no doubt that the short stay of a scientist has produced more lasting effects on Indo-British co-operation than have the good-will missions of politicians. His Majesty's Government will advance the cause of our mutual relationship if they send a few more Englishmen of this kind to India.

BRITAIN AND INDIA

So far as we can foresee it seems certain that the future of Britain will be with those who can harness the country's hands and intellect to the production of wealth. There is little doubt that the scientists and technicians of this country by their quick and imaginative adaptability to new processes and new products will be able to maintain and extend England's reputation as an industrial country. In this planning for fresh scope and markets for British goods, India is attracting the attention of British industrialists and politicians not only as a nation that will buy their products but also as a country which possesses vast and varied sources of raw materials.

I need hardly tell members of this Association that India is awake and critical as never before. A widespread feeling of suspicion exists that British policy in the past has permitted differential treatment and trade advantages to some foreign Powers, to the disadvantage of India. This suspicion may have been exaggerated, but it was based on certain facts. For example, in September, 1937, an International Sugar Agreement was imposed on India by which she was prevented from exporting sugar by sea to any destination excepting Burma. There was a surplus of sugar in India and a shortage of it in the U.K., but His Majesty's Government preferred to purchase sugar from the Dutch East Indies and other countries, all outside the sterling bloc, even at heavy expenditure of foreign exchange. Besides, the Indians rightly or wrongly feel that economic disadvantages to India arising from laws of customs and

other legal and financial measures were a deliberate attempt to keep India industrially backward.

These suspicions are unpleasant, but they cannot be disregarded; they have to be mentioned in order to understand fully the genesis of the Indian trouble in this field. Such disadvantageous measures are being slowly withdrawn, but there should be a quicker method of establishing good-will if the two countries have to work in close collaboration. Fortunately, there are signs of the dawn of a new wisdom on the economic firmament, as it is becoming increasingly clear that no peoples, howsoever undeveloped, can remain merely as wards of the developed nations. Far-sighted thinkers in the economic and industrial fields are now thoroughly opposed to the use of economic power to exploit or pauperize an undeveloped nation. Not only ethical principles, but even materialistic considerations have led to the view that the further a country progresses from economic poverty to material prosperity the more it will buy from others. No thinking man will doubt the soundness of this new idea, as in essence it is the policy of live and let live.

In this world where distances are being annihilated and new sources of raw materials are being tapped and produced, such a principle is bound to be universally recognized as a great stabilizing force. India, too, will accept this if she is made a free and equal partner in the British Commonwealth able to manage her own destiny without outside interference. A scientific approach to the future welfare of England and India lies in a final and honourable settlement between the two countries, followed by an understanding that there will be trade and political agreement which will guarantee planned industrial progress for both.

I am among those Indians who want intimate friendship and intense co-operation with Britain. I am one of those who believe that such co-operation is the biggest hope for a fair future both for the East and the West. I can go further and say that there are still very many indeed in India who wish to remain friendly with Britain within the British Commonwealth. I agree, however, with Professor Hill that disaster lies ahead if India's industrial development and national welfare are not immediately attended to. Political controversies may take time to settle, but nobody will allow India's national welfare to suffer long. The scientists and the wise industrialists in India, England and other allied countries should co-operate to draw up a programme of work which will lead to planned progress and development.

AGRICULTURE VERSUS INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

People in India fear that while British industrialists may be interested in the development of Indian agriculture to any extent they are, as a rule, opposed to India's industrialization, as she has in her the capacity and raw materials of an effective and potential competitor against England. If British industrialists have these views it would be wise for them to revise their ideas. It is obvious that any large-scale programme of agricultural development should at the same time envisage a correspondingly large-scale development of those industries which are intimately connected with agriculture. Of these, power and fuel developments are the most important, because it is impossible to introduce new methods of increased agricultural production without power, and the facilities for transport must exist if a full economic use is to be made of the results of our agricultural efforts. Only the other day, in an address before the Institute of Engineers (India), I presented detailed charts and diagrams proving what a large number of industries will be needed to maintain a high level of agricultural production. The subsidiary industries which depend on agricultural produce are also many, and it is remarkable to find what a stupendous scope there is for the industrialization even by way of agricultural development.

What we need is a wise head on our shoulders and an army of trained scientists and technical workers who will take advantage of our by-products of agriculture and other raw materials. It is a matter of gratification that the Bombay Planners have been alive throughout to the need of keeping unchanged the agricultural character of our country. It must not be forgotten, however, that if 85 per cent. of India's population are to live on agriculture this vocation alone, without help from other industries, will not be able to solve even its own problems, and certainly not the problem of India's poverty. India must industrialize in other directions in order to

attract, say, some 25 to 30 per cent. more people than at present from agricultural pursuits. Amongst some immediate agricultural problems which face us may be mentioned:

1. Increase in the production of the crops which are necessary for feeding the population.
2. Readjustment of areas under cultivation for such commodities as cotton, oilseeds, jute, tea, coffee, etc., according to the conditions of international trade during the post-war period.
3. Increase in the size of agricultural holdings.
4. Liquidation of the burden of agricultural indebtedness through the establishment of co-operative societies and rural banks.
5. Eradication of the evils of soil erosion.
6. Improvement in irrigation.
7. Better rotation of crops.
8. Use of better varieties of seeds.
9. Improved types of implements and manures.
10. Protection against droughts and floods.
11. Protection against insect pests.
12. Better training of the agricultural workers.

If these problems are to be solved, India would have to develop immediately a large number of industries such as:

1. Substitution of short staple cotton by long staple cotton and increased development of textile industry.
2. Numerous industries for utilizing oilseeds and their by-products. These industries run into hundreds in number.
3. Fertilizers both inorganic and organic, such as farmyard manure, ammonium sulphate, superphosphates, ammonium phosphates and ammonium nitrate, etc.
4. Building and road materials.
5. Transport facilities, such as railways, motor vehicles and producer gas plants.

ELECTRIC POWER

It is abundantly clear that if India develops agriculturally she must do so industrially as well, and the upper limits for the developments will be determined solely by the extent of her raw materials, the available technical talent and ability and such international obligations as may be agreed upon willingly in the interest of world or empire economy. It is, therefore, necessary to think out a wide planned programme of industrial development throughout the Commonwealth, so that fear of intense strife and cut-throat competition may be as completely avoided as possible.

Perhaps the production of electric power *per capita* per annum is as safe a measure of the degree of industrialization capacity of a country as any single factor can be. The total output of electric power in some of the most developed countries of the world compared with India is given below:

<i>Country.</i>	<i>Year.</i>	<i>Energy per capita per Annum (Kw.H.).</i>
U.S.A.	1939	880
U.S.S.R.	1933	198 (nearly 600 in 1939)
U.K.	1937	500
India	1940	7
Brazil	1940	73
Argentine	1937	176

(*Journal of the Institution of Engineers (India)*, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1943.)

The figure of seven units for India is disheartening, but it assumes a different meaning when it is compared with the possibilities which India has. It has been estimated that the total hydro-electric power supply in India can be raised easily to

approximately twenty-seven million kilowatts, but half a million kilowatts only has been harnessed so far. These figures are indicative of a grand industrial future for India if we go about the job rationally. Besides the power factor we have natural resources and raw materials; and the Indian labour and technical men are eager to adapt themselves to new processes and new conditions.

QUANTITATIVE ESTIMATION OF NATIONAL WEALTH

The extent and quality of Indian raw materials have been much underestimated in the past. India's ability to supply goods may be judged from the vast amount of raw materials and finished products she has supplied during the war. When the country is scientifically surveyed there is no doubt that many sources in the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms will come to light and will add to the wealth of our country. Within the small scope provided in India to the Geological Survey, the Agriculture Departments and the Forest organization, excellent work has been done, but these attempts are insignificant compared to the task that lies ahead, particularly with respect to a quantitative estimation of our national wealth.

These services will have to be considerably augmented to get even an approximately correct idea of our natural wealth. India expects that her raw materials and hydro-electric and other sources of power will enable her to establish many industries. Besides raw materials and cheap labour there is something else which India must have before she can hold her own in the industrial field. She must not depend completely for her basic chemicals and heavy engineering equipment on outside help. After power and fuel these industries must come into their own in our country, as we possess most of the raw materials for the purpose. It ought to be possible for us to co-operate with Great Britain and the U.S.A. on honourable terms in the matter of the establishment of such industries as automobile engineering, aircraft production, dyestuffs and shipbuilding. There are several basic problems which India must solve side by side while planning for the future, and it particularly is in this that we can co-operate with England with mutual advantage.

TRAINING OF TECHNICIANS

The most important problem which faces us is that of trained men of first-class scientific ability. One has to acknowledge with shame that, in spite of all her university education and other educational activities, India has not produced sufficient men able to handle modern industry. There are a few individuals here and there who would stand competition with any in the world, but for a mass scale development of industries one needs a very large number of first-rate workers. It must be admitted that a high proportion of the potential ability useful to industries has been allowed to run to waste largely owing to the defects of our educational system. The problem regarding the shortage of able teachers is even more acute in India than in this country, with the result that one cannot envisage a method of enabling young men who possess high native abilities fitting them as industrial and scientific personnels to develop quickly. The large-scale development of education in India has engaged the able attention of Mr. John Sargent, who has expounded his plans to this Association. It is obvious that India must expand her technical colleges and polytechnic institutes in order to train up the necessary personnel. But as this is a long process we shall have to turn to Britain for providing such technical talent as you can spare for short or long terms to man her research institutes and technological departments. You can also help us in searching for such talent in Europe, Russia and America, if you cannot spare us many of your first-class technical men at this juncture.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has under consideration an extensive scheme of awarding scholarships for research workers who will familiarize themselves in suitable countries and institutions with the methods of manufacture and research on a large variety of specialized subjects. When these scholars return, industry and technical institutions will no doubt absorb them immediately. We need your help and co-operation in selecting suitable educational institutions for these workers. This will mean a significant extra load on your existing educational facilities, but it is vital for our mutual co-operation. It stands to reason—and I cannot emphasize this too strongly—that the future captains of industry in India will re-

member with gratitude their old teachers, and their thoughts and knowledge will turn back to this country for the purchase of machinery and for help with respect to technical staff. If this process is to continue on a large scale we shall have to bring into being certain organizations, and this leads me to the subject of the establishment of scientific liaison officers in England and America.

SCIENTIFIC LIAISON OFFICERS

There is need of Indian organization in England, America and Russia for the purpose of scientific liaison with these countries not only to get the necessary help in securing suitable scientific and technical talent for India, but also for getting admission for Indian technicians and science students in important centres of training in these countries.

The Royal Society has given a lead in this matter, and the British Commonwealth Science Committee appointed by them have made the following recommendations :

1. "That a suggestion be made to the Governments of the various English-speaking countries that they should consider the possibility of maintaining permanent scientific and technical representation in London and possibly also in other capital cities of the English-speaking world."

2. "That if scientific and technical representatives of the Dominions and India are permanently established in London, these, together with official representatives of science in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, should be constituted a British Commonwealth Scientific Collaboration Committee, to act with the Royal Society in the discussion of topics of common interest, to keep in touch with all agencies and organizations for the collection and dissemination of scientific information, to further schemes for co-operation in research, and to make such recommendations and proposals for common action as seem fit."

The scientific mission which is now visiting England is examining the ways and methods of giving effect to this plan, and I have no doubt that India will benefit greatly by this. Similarly there should be liaison officers sent from British organizations to India so that they may keep in touch with the scientific and industrial progress in our country. India has so much material for scientific investigation and so many young investigators that contact with them will be quite an interesting and worthwhile experience for any British scientist.

CONTACTS WITH SOCIETIES AND UNIVERSITIES

If a central scientific office is established for co-ordinating scientific and technical activities in England and India, it will be possible for us to have the benefit of contact with learned societies, universities and technical institutes. We are already using the good offices of the Royal Society for the selection of such staff as we are unable to recruit in India, but if the programme of development that is being drawn up in India is to be given effect to *in toto*, there is hardly any society or university which we shall not explore or make use of in our search for useful men. It is quite likely that we shall have to appoint panels of experts in your universities, societies and associations to help us in getting right men for our national development. Industrialists in India have been frequently duped by foreign people posing as experts. The contacts which will be established in the manner proposed will help us in the selection of really competent men by persons who are fully conversant with their profession and have first-hand knowledge of the talent available in this country.

CO-OPERATION IN INDUSTRY

The subject of co-operation in industrial development has several important aspects. It is, for example, intimately related with political and social problems. I wish to deal with this subject from the scientific point of view alone because the subject is capable of being dealt with from that point of view, and although there can be differences of opinion even amongst the scientists, a real decision can be arrived at without doubt. Co-operation in industry particularly with other countries may be envisaged in the following items :

1. Share in capital.
2. Share in royalties and premia on processes of industrial interest.
3. Pooling together of scientific knowledge through societies and Government Departments.
4. Research associations.
5. Exchange of employment of technical talent.
6. Training of apprentices for scientific, commercial and social work related to industry.
7. Co-operation in regional allocation for the distribution of an industrial product.
8. Co-operation in transport.

Some of these factors are not entirely scientific in character; for example, the pooling together of the capital. However, in the Bombay Plan the following significant paragraph occurs:

“India’s credit in foreign capital markets is now very high, and she can, therefore, borrow substantial amounts of capital if she so wishes in these markets, especially in America.”

This represents the view of the best commercial men in India. From the psychological point of view, which is now regarded as scientific, pooling of capital has several very desirable features. It leads to good-will between those countries with whom we have to be friendly. Common money is like common blood and leads to a cementing of good relations when it is shed in a common cause. I am convinced that if in the past Indian and British business men had co-operated in enterprises brought into being by common capital, the political factors which sometimes impede our industrial progress now would have long disappeared. Perhaps the masses may have been exploited to some extent, but there could have been nothing in that kind of association to prevent the masses joining in and demanding nationalization when the time for it became ripe.

We know of a number of industries which have been introduced in our country in which the manufacturer has succeeded in buying a process or plant either on the basis of a lump sum payment or a small royalty extending over a certain number of years. Sometimes blue prints and drawings of a plant may be acquired on payment and the plant may be constructed in India itself. This would save capital expenditure. There will be in the future a greater reciprocity with India as regards this type of exchange. So long India has only been purchasing the processes only. The beginnings of our ability to give something outside have been laid during the war and are sure to continue.

CO-OPERATION FOR TECHNICAL REASONS

Co-operation with foreign countries is necessary sometimes for technical reasons. Take, for example, the dyestuffs industry. Barring Germany, which also has agreements and understandings with the dyestuffs industry in Great Britain and America, there is no other country in the world which is able to stand on its own legs alone. If India were to attempt to be entirely independent of the outside world, it would have to acquire slowly and laboriously the experience which others already possess. In that event it would not be possible to establish the industry in India even in fifty years’ time, and the costs too would be prohibitive. If, on the other hand, India were to come to an agreement for co-operation with some large and well-established concern in Europe or America, or both, so that the technical experience and expert advice were available to us at every stage, the establishment of the dyestuffs industry on lines I have mentioned would become feasible.

Such co-operation should not, however, be in any way at the expense of Indian interests. Any company or companies that may be formed on this basis must have a majority of Indian capital and Indian directors, and an agreement should be definitely made for the training of Indian technical personnel from the highest to the lowest, so as to enable Indian personnel to direct the conduct of the industry within a reasonable period. The dyestuff industry is of such basic importance in the national economy that Government should exercise a jealous supervision over its conduct, assuming a direct share in the control if at any time it is found necessary. Govern-

ment may also consider direct participation in the capital, as has been done in other countries.

An alternative to this would be no direct association with any foreign dyestuff interests, but the engagement of the best experts and consultants wherever available for advice and guidance of Indian interests who would be solely responsible for the establishment and management of the Indian dyestuff industry. This alternative, though feasible and most suitable from the point of view of ensuring the complete independence of the Indian industry, is not so attractive in other directions, and will not lead to such an early establishment of the industry. For one thing there are a number of secret patents and processes which are open to the large dyestuff corporations, who form part of the international cartel, which will not be open to the nascent Indian industry. Secondly, it is not possible for the industry to engage the services of all those experts who possess a knowledge of the various patents and processes which would be required.

There are other industries in which technical co-operation is necessary, and it is unscientific and unwise to delay the establishment of such industries as internal combustion engineering, machine tools, aeroplane manufacture, automobile industries for narrow nationalistic reasons. It is possible to share these developments with proper safeguards with other countries, and it should be done early. For, unless transport facilities are considerably increased in our country, even agricultural development will be of very little value. I am an advocate of co-operation in manufacture, in spite of its imperfections and difficulties which may arise in actual practice, as I do not see any other method of making our country industrially great.

THE SCIENTIFIC APPROACH

In the end I feel I must say without fear of criticism that a scientific approach to India's tangle is more likely to create results than any other method. Scientists, as a rule, are more international-minded than any other class of men, and they understand the implications of discoveries and inventions which, if not properly utilized, will lead to dire consequences to humanity. The element of self-sacrifice which scientific training imparts adds to the chances of success. The complaint which is often heard against Mahatma Gandhi's non-participation in the war effort and against a section of the Indian community reminds me of the American story of Sam and Moe.

Moe went to his friend Sam and said, "I want you to lend me \$2,000." "The answer," said Sam, "is positively NO." "But, Sam," protested Moe, "in 1929, when bond and share broke from 188 to 50, who gave you \$10,000 to keep you from being wiped out?" "You did," admitted Sam. "And in 1931, when your daughter Shirley had pneumonia, who took her to Florida to recuperate?" "You did, my friend." "And in 1933, when we were fishing together, who drove into the rapids and saved you from drowning?" "You did, Moe; it was wonderful." "Well, then, Sam, in heaven's name, why won't you lend me \$2,000?" "All the things you say are true," said Sam, nodding his head slowly. "But what have you done for me lately?"

Let us cease to question each other about the past. On what we do to each other now and during the post-war period depends our future. Let us hope that India will play her part and Britain hers for the mutual benefit of each other and of the whole allied world.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, October 19, 1944, at 3 p.m., when a paper by Sir Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar, O.B.E., F.R.S., entitled "Science and Industrial Progress in the New India," was read and discussed. Professor A. V. Hill, M.P., F.R.S., occupied the chair.

The CHAIRMAN expressed his pleasure at taking the chair at a meeting of people so competent to judge, and to criticize if necessary, the views expressed in the paper to

be presented. Sir Shanti Bhatnagar, he said, spent some years in England in the 'twenties, working at University College; he had been Professor of Chemistry at Lahore, and was now Director of Scientific and Industrial Research for India, one of the most important scientific posts which India possessed, and one in which he could influence not only the scientific but the industrial development and the general well-being of his country in a way open to very few people. Sir Shanti, though he sometimes described himself as a good nationalist and a fighting Punjabi, was a very good friend of this country, and, far from being an isolationist, desired the closest co-operation of the two countries in solving the urgent problems of the development of India.

After the reading of the lecture,

The CHAIRMAN said that the applause which had greeted the lecture showed the meeting's approval of Sir Shanti's sentiment that the future depended on what was done now and during the immediate post-war period. If people would think of Now and of the Future the outlook would be much more hopeful than if they thought too much of the past.

Sir Thomas Holland had written to express regret that illness compelled his absence. It did not appear, however, that Sir Thomas was very ill, for he showed his usual fighting spirit by adding that all the proposals in the paper were included in the report of his Industrial Commission in 1917-19!

Mr. Amery knew very well how long the scientific people in England had been looking forward to the presence and collaboration of their Indian scientific friends. They raised the matter some years ago, but for a long time nothing seemed to happen, though that was not their fault or Mr. Amery's. They had high hopes now for the collaboration which would result from bringing scientific, technical and industrial people together.

Personally, he agreed with everything that Sir Shanti had said, apart from the attribution of any magic to himself. There were three factors which had contributed to anything that he had managed to do. He thought it was Sir J. C. Ghosh who said the other day that he had never seen so indiscreet a professor, a man who seemed to have the motto "Indiscretion is the better part of valour." That was the first factor, and his Indian friends seemed to have that quality in equal measure. That was the way to get things done; "Safety first" was not the best guide. The next factor which enabled things to get done was Sir Shanti himself. Personally, he threw himself a good deal on Sir Shanti's shoulders while in India, and Sir Shanti carried the burden round the country; it was due to his energy, skill and knowledge, and to his great influence with his colleagues, with industry and with the Government that it had been possible to get so many things done. The third factor was the unvarying kindness and welcome which he himself received from everybody in India, and particularly from the scientists, of whom five were present that day. It would have been impossible to have a kinder or more enthusiastic welcome. If anything was done it was they who chiefly did it.

He was glad that Sir Shanti had emphasized the part which this country could play in the great developments which could be foreseen in India. Personally, he had frequently urged the primary importance of the biological triangle, agriculture, food and health; but that did not mean that industry was left out. The development of industry was an essential factor in making India more prosperous and in producing an efficient agriculture and an efficient health service. The whole development of India had to go on together. One advantage which perhaps he had in going to India was that he was a physiologist; and every physiologist knew that every single organ in the body was linked with every other, and that it was not possible to treat any one of them in isolation. India was a living organism and had to be considered as a whole, not in separate little bits.

Sir Shanti spoke of the need for this country to help in providing training for the technical and scientific talent which was undoubtedly available in India. A beginning had been made recently in training the "Bevin boys," but that needed to be stretched a good deal both in magnitude and in direction. There was a long queue of young Indian scientific men who wanted to come here and to other countries for

higher training, but who had not been able to come because of the war. All the help possible must be given to them. It would not, as many Indians would be aware, be easy, because there was going to be a very heavy overload immediately after the war on the educational, scientific and research organizations of this country; but if India would choose her best men and send them, this country must and would see that they got all that was ours to give.

He had been interested in Sir Shanti's reference to the dyestuff problem. All those who had been to India thought of it as a land of colour. A great deal of that colour was due to dyestuffs; yet almost all those dyestuffs were made elsewhere—they should be made in India itself.

The Right Hon. LEOPOLD S. AMERY, M.P. (Secretary of State for India and Burma) said that all who had heard it had been delighted with the interesting and profoundly thought out and wide-ranging address which had been given by Sir Shanti. The Chairman had suggested that Sir Shanti had shown the valour of indiscretion. If indeed Sir Shanti had done so, it was to be hoped that he and his colleagues would continue to show that valour and to speak frankly all that was in their minds. After all, the last thing that their British hosts would wish would be that their distinguished guests should give up their time and come so long a way in order to say what they did not think, and everyone would be glad if Sir Shanti frankly put his finger on any points which undoubtedly created misunderstanding and suspicion between Indians and the people of this country.

Sir Shanti had ended his lecture with a happy little story which suggested that it was not too well for any people to dwell on past favours which they might think, and rightly think, that they had done to others. It was equally true that others should not dwell too much on past injustices of which they thought that this country had been guilty. Undoubtedly it was true that political and, still more, industrial relations between India and this country were affected by a suspicion that this country, or at any rate the industrialists of this country, would wish to obstruct the progress of Indian industry in the interests of the British export trade. What undoubtedly lent colour to that was the fact that in the last century British authority was exercised to prevent the protection of Indian industries as against British exports, more particularly in the case of the cotton industry. It was well to recall, however, that in those days the people of this country were convinced firmly, almost fanatically, that Free Trade was essentially beneficial to everybody, and that wherever we could we were bound in duty, by the obligation of trusteeship, to maintain Free Trade. He had never agreed with that point of view, but he would remind Sir Shanti that for many long years after we conceded to India the right to develop her industries by protecting them we continued to impose the handicap of Free Trade upon ourselves in this country, and that at any rate for many years past there had been no political action which would interfere with India's power to develop her own industries.

If he might venture on a point of correction in connection with one recent example quoted by the lecturer, the Sugar Convention, he would like to say that it was a scheme of which he himself entirely disapproved, because it sought to cure the disastrously low level to which sugar prices had fallen by restriction, in the first instance by restricting exports from countries which were accustomed to export and by discouraging exportation from countries which had previously not been exporters of sugar at all. It was only just before that time that India had moved from the position of a country which imported all her white sugar to a country which had the good sense to begin manufacturing it for herself, and which at the very moment that that convention came into force was in a position to export some. That had nothing to do with any desire to obstruct the development of Indian industry. He could say unhesitatingly that the Government of this country wanted to see Indian industry develop to the fullest extent, and so far as the industrial section of this country was concerned, he had discussed the subject with many industrialists, and the last thing that they had in mind was the idea that the British export industry could best prosper by India's being held back in industrial development. On the contrary, their belief was that the more prosperous India could make herself the more she would, in the ordinary course of the needs of consumers and the needs of factories for capital goods, have

recourse to help from outside; and that, provided we did not think that India must always buy what we had been accustomed to sell her, but were prepared to provide in quality and in kind the goods that India needed, there would always be a fruitful opening for British trade with India and an even more fruitful opportunity for intimate co-operation and collaboration between British industry and the nascent industries of India.

He did not think that there was one of the eight headings which Sir Shanti gave as the basis of his conception of co-operation between the industries of the two countries which would not be unhesitatingly accepted today by the leaders of British industry. We in this country looked forward to the maximum development of India's resources, and undoubtedly we too had moved very far from what might be called the mere exporting and trading conception of national development. We realized that the more a country could within itself balance the different elements of production, and do so in order to extract the utmost possible value not only from its material resources but even more from its human resources, the better for that nation and the better, through the consequent overspill of trade which would always occur, for the world as a whole.

He thought that we were more and more conceiving of nations or groups of nations as the basis of systems of intensive full development, stable employment and human well-being; and that was not in the least inconsistent with a wide measure of interchange of products and of industrial collaboration. Still less did we conceive of scientific development as something which could be carried on in isolation and in a spirit of jealous monopoly by any one nation. Whatever administrative or economic or monetary policy could do, it could avail very little in the world today unless industry had behind it science and research. He fully agreed with Sir Shanti that, for that, intimate scientific co-operation between their two countries, and between all the countries of the British Commonwealth and indeed within the wider circle of the world generally, was perhaps not only the most fruitful method of collaboration from the point of view of practical results, but also the field in which collaboration came most naturally and most beneficially smoothed the way for wider collaboration in other fields.

It should therefore be said quite frankly that if the scientists of the two countries came together on the lines that Sir Shanti had indicated it would make it much easier for the industrialists to come together; and if both of them came together that would not, indeed, displace political and constitutional problems, but might create a **better setting for them** and create that atmosphere of mutual goodwill and mutual co-operation in which even those problems might find an easier solution.

Dr. J. L. SIMONSEN, who was introduced by the Chairman as the founder of the most important scientific association in India, the Indian Science Congress Association, said it gave him great pleasure to take part in the discussion, since he had had the pleasure of knowing Sir Shanti for a long time and had been partly responsible for getting him the first opportunity of working on his own in Lahore. He had therefore followed Sir Shanti's activities with very great interest, and had been privileged to follow the work which Sir Shanti had done during the war on co-operation between industry and research in India.

In considering the utilization of natural products by industry it should be borne in mind that in the absence of industry the standard of living of a peasant community could not be raised. What should be done in India and in many of the British Colonial possessions was to secure the development of industry alongside the ordinary peasant industry, by securing the utilization of farm products by industry. No country was richer in natural products than India. The Geological Survey was small, and that was to be deplored; and it was impossible to look without distress on the lack of knowledge of Indian botany and zoology. The Botanical Survey had for years almost ceased to exist, in spite of the strong recommendation of Sir Thomas Holland's Commission that its staff should be very largely increased, and the Zoological Survey had become almost a museum specimen.

Those activities would have to grow, but a field which could be developed now was that of the utilization of farm products. Attempts had been made elsewhere to

utilize these, and that attempt had been most successful in the United States, where there were four laboratories which dealt essentially with the question of finding an industrial use for agricultural products. He suggested that that was where India also could make a very great contribution—namely, in the industrialization of her agricultural products, the waste products of agriculture, such as, for example, bagasse from her sugar, and the waste molasses which at present she poured out in an attempt to fertilize her soils.

Dr. W. A. JENKINS said that there were three points to which he would like to refer, and, being an educationalist, the first of them naturally arose from Sir Shanti's reference to the part which education had to play in industrial development in India. Sir Shanti rightly observed that before any plan for industrialization could be carried out it would be necessary to train up a band of experts, and mentioned the creation of polytechnics and colleges and the sending of men to take advantage of the resources of other countries. That was obviously very necessary, but it was a problem which was not too difficult of solution: there were plenty of Indian youths ready to be trained, and the amount of money involved in the building of a few technical colleges in India at the college level and in sending people abroad was not large.

There was, however, another aspect of that problem which was far more difficult of solution and far more germane to the question of the industrialization of India. No industry could flourish with "top level" men only; what was really required was a host of "middle level" people—skilled artisans, overseers, technicians and others who really did the work in industry. It was that aspect of the problem which would create the greatest difficulty in India, because so far technical and vocational and practical education had not been admitted into the educational schemes of the country. He was aware that in the Advisory Committee report, which was published last year, there were proposals for the establishment of junior and senior technical schools. That plan was an admirable one, but in the carrying of it out a great deal of spade-work would have to be done to overcome the opposition of the people to practical forms of education and to convince those in charge of education in the country that technical and scientific education was worth while and was definitely in the interests of the country.

For example, it might come as a shock to some to learn that while there were in Bengal no fewer than 1,700 high schools there was not a single Indian high school where science teaching was given with practical work for the students. There had been formed in Bengal (he forgot how many years ago) an agricultural institute, and a real attempt was made to train men for practical work; but Sir J. C. Ghosh would probably agree that so far all that it had succeeded in doing was training a certain number of people with agricultural knowledge who insisted on going into Government service to administer agriculture. About twenty-five years ago science classes were started to try to get some students away from the ordinary, sterile education into what was thought would be more fruitful scientific and technical education. At present in Bengal there were some 390,000 students in high schools, but the number attending such classes was under 500.

One of the problems which would have to be faced, therefore, was that of bringing home to the people that a practical type of education would not only lead to the solution of their economic problem by providing employment, but be in the interests of the country generally. He hoped that the great influence which Sir Shanti and his colleagues possessed would be used, when they returned to India, to persuade people to allow their children to take up a form of education which led naturally to industrial, commercial, agricultural and technical development generally. He was aware that in Sir Shanti's own province the problem was not so acute, and the return of hundreds of thousands of youths who through war emergency employment had been given a technical training would provide a great impetus in the desired direction; but it was otherwise in Bengal, Bihar, Assam, the Central Provinces and some of the other provinces, where people were very backward in their outlook on that type of education. The time should have long gone by when scientific education was regarded as necessarily non-cultural, but that lesson had still to be learned in India.

He would omit his second point for lack of time. His third point was that scien-

tists had so far been regarded as experts in a very narrow field, and when a technical problem had arisen they had been called in to give advice. It was usually said that the scientist was not a good administrator. That accusation could be made against a good many professional administrators. Whether there was validity in it or not, he hoped that when the high-level Consultative Council of scientists in India was formed it would not be regarded as a body to which a minor technical problem could be thrown and a solution asked for. It was time that scientific method and logical thinking were introduced into the normal problems of government and administration and into a co-ordination of the different activities of government, which at present was altogether absent. He hoped that the training and the thinking powers of Sir Shanti, Sir J. C. Ghosh and of the other scientists who had come to this country would be applied to the important problems of normal organization and administration and the development of the country. The Chairman had said that it was not his magical powers which led to action being taken, but many who knew India thought that had the Chairman not been there that action would have been delayed. He hoped that the Chairman would make further use of his influence and insist that the terms of reference of the Consultative Council were such as would make the very wide knowledge, experience and trained thinking powers of some of the ablest men in the country available for dealing with other than purely technical problems.

The CHAIRMAN expressed strong agreement with what Dr. Jenkins had said. When he himself went to India he was told that physiology was taught in the schools there; but he found that it consisted of a lot of diagrams and little more. He also agreed that scientific men should be in a position, as equal partners with others, to influence policy.

Mr. A. H. KILNER, a director of Messrs. Courtaulds, speaking as a representative of British industry, said he had found it very illuminating to listen to Sir Shanti's address. From his demonstration of science one would gather that he was a scientist all the way through, from the origin of materials right down to their use, with one exception, and that was the capital used in industry; but he had discovered that the union of the equity interests in such industrial capital in India scientifically might be said to be the union of blood, and that was very important, because it meant being joined together in one family, and one of our aims in this country was to get closer and closer to India. It might fairly be said that no other country knew India so well as did Britain, and he was sure that India must feel that there was, with all her faults, no other country she would be so ready to trust.

That being the case, he felt that the time had come when, even before the war was over, they should decide whether they were going to work together economically. Before people could exercise their minds properly their bodies must be provided for, and economic questions came before spiritual ones. Even the Yogi doctrine was based on the physical before coming to the psychic. There seemed to be a really practical, businesslike spirit even among the scientists, and there was to be a visit from Indian industrialists as well. The industrialists would probably repeat, in principle at any rate, what the scientists had said, but they must go a step further. The scientist went in for fundamental research and then for practical research, and then the industrialist had to come in as a practical man and consider the finding of the money and the workers and the getting of the output, and whether economically the proposition was sound.

The political question was often raised of whether one should make a profit or not, but as long as human nature continued he maintained that a profit of some kind must be looked for. It might be expressed in terms of money, but it was well-being that mattered. It was no use starting out on lines which would lead to loss and disappointment to the workers; it was essential from the industrial standpoint that the economic position should be well founded. Without that, all the fundamental research counted for nothing; it might be of use a hundred years hence, but we had to think of our own lifetime. He felt that the conferences which were now taking place with expert representatives from India must lay the foundation of a really good future. There must be an interchange of workers, and Indian foremen and other

workers must come to this country just as much as the scientists and the higher technicians. They must go through the factories and see how the actual work was done, in order that they should be able to instruct those under them when the plant was erected in India.

SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON said that those concerned with the initial stages of fostering industries in India forty years ago would have greatly appreciated Mr. Amery as Secretary of State, because they had had to contend not only with a Free Trade policy, but also with a *laissez faire* attitude, which made it very difficult to get anything done. When anything was proposed, generally more or less academic objections were put up which delayed matters until it was impracticable to carry it out. Before the last war they had been engaged in Madras in preparing plans for the establishment of wood distillation, a by-product of which was acetone, at that time essential in the manufacture of cordite. A great deal of work was done on the project, but in 1910 the military authorities said they were not interested, because they could get plenty of acetone from Germany!

The paper referred to the relation of science to industry in the new India, and he would like to know what the new India was going to be. Would it be an independent India, would it be a Dominion, or what would happen? He was certain that it would not remain as it was at present. If it was an independent India it would certainly have to devote a very large amount of attention to two very pressing problems, the provision of food for the enormously increasing population and the provision of the material from which it could manufacture all the munitions and plant required for purposes of defence. An independent or even a Dominion India would have to have its own Army, Navy and Air Force. The equipment of these forces would very largely determine the trend of the major developments of industry in the future.

A very large amount of work would have to be done on the agricultural side, and that would mean a very large development of subsidiary industries connected with agriculture. Those two factors would practically dominate the whole situation in the future.

It was scarcely possible to discuss the paper without some reference to the Bombay Plan, which most people would probably agree with him in regarding as a sort of kite sent up to see which way the wind blew. It was an ambitious plan, requiring very careful examination. The main item was finance, and after that there came the question of protection. After the war there would be the most intense industrial competition between the nations who had so largely developed their industries to supply the munitions and other materials required for the war. They would turn their factories over to the production of goods for export, and that would make it difficult for India without a high degree of protection to establish new industries, except those whose products could be used entirely within the country. There did not seem at present to be much possibility of India creating an industrial export trade. He did not want to throw cold water on the projects which the industrialists of India were now trying to evolve, but it was well that they should look the difficulties in the face and see how they could be met.

Reference had been made to the fact that there was a very large amount of hydro-electric power available in India. That was hardly true. The estimate was given of 27 million kilowatts, but when one came to look into it in detail one found that the difficulties of developing hydroelectric power in India were probably greater than in most other parts of the world, owing to the fact that the rainfall depended entirely on the monsoon, and one might get tremendous quantities of water-power for half the year and none at all for the remainder. To overcome that it would be necessary to go in for very large and expensive storage works, for which sites were not always available.

Both Sir Shanti and other speakers had referred to Indian dyestuffs. In 1920 or 1921 a Commission was appointed to consider fiscal questions in India, and he suggested to them that the question of dyestuffs was important and that a great deal of interest was taken in it by the military authorities. At that time Field-Marshal Sir William Robertson was in India, and he happened to be a director of British Dyes, Ltd. Sir William asked him to meet him, and in Bombay we discussed the question

of establishing an Indian dye industry. Sir William agreed to take it up in London with British Dyes, and subsequently a meeting was held there which resulted in the preparation of plans and estimates for a factory costing about 80 lakhs, but suddenly the whole project was dropped, the excuse put forward being the slump which occurred about that time, which it was said prevented the raising of the capital necessary. What was really at the bottom of it, he thought, was the agreement between dyestuff manufacturers, who were determined that dyestuffs should not be manufactured in India if they could help it.

Captain S. T. BINSTED asked whether Sir Shanti and his colleagues really thought that the Bevin Scheme for Indian trainees had done a service to India. If it had, action might be taken to see that what was originally a war measure was carried on in the post-war years. He himself felt that, though on a small scale, it had been of really practical help to industry in India. He had come in contact with the young men who had come from India, and he had great faith in the development of the scheme on a very much larger scale. He would emphasize that what had already been done had been done solely as a war measure and official interest might wane both in India and in this country if some impetus was not given to it now. He hoped that after the war hordes of young men would come from India to be trained and so build up a reservoir of sound engineers, ready for service and ready to take their places in the new factories which India's industrial progress would provide in the years immediately after the war.

SIR SHANTI BHATNAGAR, in reply, said the "Bevin boys" scheme had been of great service, and the boys had been very useful, particularly in ordnance factories. There was no doubt that India would like more trainees of that type in various industries to come to this country. Not only research workers and scientists of the first rank, but also a large number of technicians would be required for the various industries which would be developed in India. Some such scheme would have to be adopted after the war. Indian business men were interested in training of that type.

He was glad that the ideas which he had expressed had met with general approval. He was sorry that when first put forward some twenty-five years ago similar ideas were not acceptable either to India or to Great Britain. He was particularly glad to hear that Sir Alfred Chatterton believed that behind the abandonment of the scheme for an Indian dyestuffs industry was a question of international trading policy. He only wished that Sir Alfred had spoken about it as freely at the time as he did now. For some reason some people, though good friends of India, felt hesitation in saying what they knew to be true. He hoped that Englishmen who were of opinion that co-operation in industry would be the solvent of India's industrial future would say so boldly. Indian industrialists would give great weight to the opinions of scientists in the matter of scientific development, but frankness was needed, and if there were unpleasant things which should be said, they must be said, for out of discussions of that type alone would arise a true solution of their problem.

With regard to hydroelectric power, India had, in fact, more potential hydroelectric power than the figures given in the paper would indicate, and Sir Alfred Chatterton's criticism of those estimates was not based on the most recent investigations which had been carried out on the subject. It had been established beyond doubt that it was possible to get that much and more. He had not included the figures which could be arrived at by damming the canals and rivers. The estimates as regards quantities were not inaccurate, but it was evident that hydroelectric power, when developed, might prove somewhat costly in transmission, and it would be necessary to plan the kind and location of industries for economic reasons. Electricity should play a great part in India's transport, so that coal might be employed for more useful purposes.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE, who proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Lecturer, said Professor Hill would not admit that he was a magician, but personally he maintained that he was. During his own official life most of the efforts of those who were interested in the industrial and scientific progress of India had failed, because always some objections, usually financial, were raised. Professor Hill, however,

went to India about a year ago, and in the Budget a few months later grants were proposed for rapid scientific progress. What was that but magic?

As for Sir Shanti, it was a cause of the deepest gratification to everyone that Sir Shanti had, by merit and industry, risen to the position which he now occupied, and had been able to persuade the Indian Government, with the magical help of Professor Hill, to grant sufficient money for a beginning to be made with the industrial and scientific development which was needed in India. Sir Shanti would have the full support of his colleagues who had come with him to this country and of all the scientists in India in the very noble work which he and his friends were doing in that direction.

THE STORY OF THE INDIAN AIR FORCE

BY WING-COMMANDER W. W. RUSSELL

FEW people realize that flying began in India as early as 1910, not many years after the pioneer flights of Orville and Wilbur Wright in America. During the last war several Indians joined the Royal Flying Corps, one of them being awarded the D.F.C. It was the nephew of this pioneer Indian pilot who was among the first six cadets to join the Indian Air Force twelve years later, and who subsequently became the first Indian Commander of its first squadron.

From 1919 until 1933 the air defence of India was entrusted to a few squadrons of the Royal Air Force, which served with conspicuous success on the North-West Frontier. The foundations of the Indian Air Force were laid by the recommendations of a well-remembered Government Committee, which included such well-known names in Indian public affairs as the late Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. M. A. Jinnah. On April 1, 1927, the Skeene Committee made recommendations which led to the formation of an Indian Air Force, and suggested that, in the early stages, its pilots be trained at Cranwell. It was not, however, until 1932 that the Indian Air Force became a separate service under an Act of the Legislative Assembly.

But the farsightedness of these public men would have been of no avail without the enthusiasm of the six young Indians who were the first cadets to be trained at Cranwell. Sirkar, Mukerji, Bhupendra Singh, Awan, Amarjit Singh and Tandon left for England in 1930, and Engineer followed them a few months later. These six young Indians were to lay the foundations of a new Air Force, an Air Force which at that time existed on paper alone, and which many believed would never materialize into the complex organization of men, aeroplanes and equipment which goes to make up a modern army of the air.

THE EARLY CADETS

These six cadets were among the pick of Indian sportsmen, and quickly made their name at Cranwell. Sirkar captained the hockey team, in which Awan, Amarjit Singh and Mukerji also played, while Amarjit Singh captained the tennis team, in which two of the others also played. Among the most interesting of the early cadets was Engineer, who is now a Wing-Commander, D.F.C., and who in 1930 was the only one of the pioneers with previous flying experience. He had flown from India to England and back in a Tiger Moth. For this flight he won the Aga Khan prize awarded to the first Indian to fly from India to England. This flight in a Tiger Moth was no mean feat in those days.

Other cadets from India soon followed, and their names are now well known in the short but gallant history of the Indian Air Force. Majumdar, who commanded No. 1 Squadron in Burma, where he won the D.F.C., Henry Rungadhan, son of the

present High Commissioner for India in London, Prithipal Singh, Narendra, "Bulbul" Khan, Mehar Singh, Arjun Singh, Ravinder Singh, Goyal, they all passed through Cranwell, and, on their return to India, were posted to No. 1 Squadron, Indian Air Force. There they dedicated themselves to several years of hard training and operations on the North-West Frontier of India, determined to prove to the critics that India could produce an Air Force in every way as qualified to fight as the Indian Army.

All this while letters and minutes were passing back and forth between the Government of India and the Air Ministry in England. There were many suggestions, some of which were strongly pressed, urging the inclusion of the new air arm within the organization of the Indian Army. These proposals were strongly opposed by Air Vice-Marshal Salmond, who was Air Officer Commanding India at the time. Consequently, in 1932, the Indian Air Force Act, constituting the I.A.F. as a separate Service, was passed through the Legislative Assembly in Delhi.

On April 1, 1933, the I.A.F. started with one flight at Karachi. It was commanded by an R.A.F. officer, and included a number of British N.C.O.s, since one of the greatest difficulties in building up the I.A.F. was the supply of technical tradesmen. The flight was trained as an Army Co-operation Unit, and, in fact, all the pilots, after completing their course at Cranwell, had passed through the Army Co-operation School at Old Sarum, in Wiltshire. They were, therefore, steeped in the best traditions of the R.A.F.

It is fitting that after eleven years the Force, which started with six men and a flight of four aeroplanes, should have increased to its present strength, and have justified the courage and foresight of the statesmen who sponsored its formation and the keenness of the young men who flew its first aeroplanes.

BAPTISM OF FIRE

From 1913 to 1937 "A" Flight of No. 1 Squadron concentrated all its efforts on training, for the pilots were determined to show the sceptics what they could do. It was in 1937 that "A" Flight underwent its baptism of fire on the North-West Frontier, and, operating from the famous fort of Miranshah against the tribesman who had stirred up trouble under the notorious Fakir of Ipi, they gave the Army the closest support possible by observing the enemy and by bombing and machine-gunning them out of their points of vantage on the mountain ridges.

In the following year "C" Flight, which had since been formed at Karachi, took its turn on the Frontier. This flight was commanded by Flying-Officer (now Wing-Commander) Majumdar, D.F.C., and carried out even more operational flying than its predecessors, averaging nearly 400 hours' flying every month. The Association had the pleasure of hearing him at the meeting on October 3.

By the end of the year a further flight had been formed, and in 1939 all English officers were withdrawn from the squadron, and Squadron-Leader (now Wing-Commander) Mukerji became the Commanding Officer. When war was declared in September, 1939, the R.A.F. was almost entirely withdrawn from the North-West of India, and the policing of the Frontier was handed over to the I.A.F.

At the outbreak of war the first expansion of the I.A.F. took place, and the Force was now called upon to cover the wastes of the Indian Ocean and the Bay of Bengal, searching for enemy submarines, escorting convoys and carrying out that monotonous but vital duty—seaward reconnaissance and patrol.

VOLUNTEER RESERVE FLIGHTS

In the winter of 1939 five Volunteer Reserve Flights of the I.A.F. were raised at Karachi, Bombay, Cochin, Madras and Calcutta. They were comparable to the famous Auxiliary Squadrons in England, and recruited their air crews from the ports at which the flights were stationed. A small number of Englishmen who had served in these large towns in business or the professions were included in these flights.

In Calcutta the flight was commanded by Hem Chaudri, well known in the early '30s at Cambridge. The Madras Flight was raised by Donald Law of Binny and Co., a well-known personality in the south, and for many years secretary of the Madras

Flying Club. Other personalities of the Madras Flight were Charlie Mapthia, a young Sikh, who depth-charged a Jap submarine off the Madras coast, and Jehangir Engineer, who one dark morning in his Atlanta shook off three Navy "Os."

In 1942, David Small, a business man from Cochin, raised the new flight at Vizagapatam, and the manner in which he and a young Indian pilot on one of their first patrols shadowed a Japanese battle squadron in an aged Wapiti with a speed of 100 miles an hour is the epic story of the Coast Defence Wing.

The Coast Defence Flights stationed on the west coast of India were not so fortunate in contacting the enemy as those on the east coast, but they had a great deal of work to do, and during the two years of their existence flew many thousands of hours on reconnaissance and patrol.

The Karachi Flight, commanded by Eric Sprawson, a master from the Doon School, were ordered to Burma in December, 1941, and duly arrived on the 22nd of that month with four Wapitis and two Audax, but unfortunately before the flight was able to enter the battle with the most obsolete aircraft engaged in land operations in any theatre of war at that time, nine Japanese Army 97 bombers attacked and shot up their aged Wapitis. It was little consolation to the pilots to know that half an hour later the A.V.G. took heavy toll of the Japanese planes over their base.

THE N.W. FRONTIER

The Coast Defence Flights of the I.A.F. were wound up at the end of 1942, but the Force had now expanded to two more regular squadrons formed and a fourth planned during the year.

In the spring of 1941 the Fakir of Ipi again became active on the North-West Frontier, and the I.A.F. had once again to go into action against hostile tribesmen, which they did successfully and gallantly. As a result of his good work throughout this campaign, Engineer won the D.F.C., and Mukerji, Janjua and Sergeant Kartar Singh were mentioned in despatches. The last named was one of the first airmen in the I.A.F. to be mentioned in despatches, and he has since been given a commission. In April of 1941 No. 2 Squadron was formed under the command of Awan, and in October No. 3 Squadron had been formed in Peshawar under Squadron-Leader Bray, D.F.C. It was later taken over by Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh.

On July 12, 1942, 261 officers and men of the I.A.F. paraded in front of the hangars at Risalpur to receive their colours and badge from H.R.H. the Duke of Gloucester.

THE WITHDRAWAL FROM BURMA

The next chapter in this short story of the Indian Air Force covers the first Burma Campaign, in which No. 1 Squadron played a really outstanding part. It is true that the Burma campaign was a retreat, that the Japanese drove the Allies out of the country, but the Army was the first to admit that the Air Forces in the campaign did all in their power to stem the advance of the better equipped and more numerous enemy. The I.A.F. with their Lysanders did more than their share in that stupendous rearguard action.

Towards the end of January, 1942, 13 aircraft of the I.A.F., led by Wing-Commander Majumdar, with Prithipal Singh, Raza and Narenjan Prasad as Flight-Commanders, assembled at Toungoo, their first base in the Burma campaign. On the second day after their arrival they carried out raids over the border into Thailand; the main objective in this first stage of their operations was the enemy-occupied aerodrome at Mehongson. Before they got to work, however, the Japs raided them at Toungoo, but fortunately without damaging any of their aircraft. The next day Wing-Commander Majumdar returned the compliment, accompanied by a young New Zealander in a Buffalo. Lizzies are in no sense bombers, and in order to carry out an experiment Majumdar took up two 250-pound bombs on a lone raid against Mehongson, probably the first time it had ever been attempted with that type of aircraft. It worked perfectly, and he was able to return to base with the information that from now on No. 1 Squadron was a bomber as well as an army co-op. squadron.

When the military situation south of Rangoon deteriorated they were ordered south, but after a few days the situation on the Salween front began to improve and the

squadron was moved back north to Lashio, from where they had to carry out offensive "recces" over Thailand, using Heho and Namsang as advanced landing-grounds. Their main objective at this time was the aerodrome and barracks at Chiengmai. At this time they were not provided with fighter escort, and in searching for their targets were compelled to develop a technique of low flying over the tree-tops, below the level of the hills. In this way, although much slower than the Jap fighters, they were able to avoid being seen, and were never intercepted, despite seeing enemy fighters above them on many occasions.

It was now mid-February and the Salween front had deteriorated. No. 1 Squadron flew down once more to the Rangoon area to support the Army. The situation worsened, but the Squadron did very well, particularly in opposing the enemy crossing of the river. Field-Marshal Wavell sent the Squadron a special message of thanks from the Army.

The general situation was now so bad that all the R.A.F. and the whole of No. 1 Squadron were ordered back to India. Majumdar and Raza continued to carry out raids over enemy territory for nearly a fortnight, during which time Majumdar came into close contact with the Chinese Fifth Army, who had taken over from the 1st Division. The ground party, who also had to leave, were practically cut off, but the last train from Toungoo was driven out in fine style by Sergeant Cabinetmaker, an I.A.F. N.C.O., who had no other means of getting equipment and refugees away. Majumdar and Raza eventually got out in a Flying Fortress, and we came to the end of the first Burma campaign. The pilots and the ground crews of the I.A.F. had fought strenuously and unremittingly for three months, and had flown in the face of many odds with obsolete aircraft.

The end of the Burma campaign coincided with the arrival in India from Java of Air Chief-Marshal Sir Richard Peirse, who took over command of the Air Forces in India, and in a remarkably short space of time reorganized the remnants of our battered squadrons from Malaya and Burma, built modern airfields in Bengal and Assam, and during the monsoon of 1942 began to turn the tide of the air war against the Japanese.

RECONSTRUCTION

He quickly realized the importance of expanding and modernizing the Indian Air Force. Soon after the return of No. 1 Squadron from Burma, Majumdar was awarded the D.F.C., the first which the I.A.F. had won, its four squadrons were re-equipped with Hurricanes, the Coast Defence Flights were disbanded and the intention of A.H.Q. to equip them with Hurricanes and Vengeance dive-bombers was announced. Furthermore, the Viceroy announced that it was the intention of the Government to aim at a target of ten fully modernized squadrons by the end of the year, to be officered and manned by Indians.

1942 and the early part of 1943 were spent in re-equipping and training the air crews with their modern aircraft, and in a great recruiting drive for many thousands of Indian other ranks to service and maintain the new squadrons. This drive and the increased publicity throughout the country for the new Service gained many thousands of recruits of matriculation standard who were prepared to serve in the ranks, a welcome and novel development so far as this type of Indian youth was concerned. The I.A.F. also became extremely popular with the people, and even extreme national papers printed stories and photographs of the new squadrons and of the deeds of No. 1 in Burma.

RENEWED ACTIVITY ON THE BURMA FRONT

By the winter of 1943 several of the newly equipped squadrons were ready to go into action on the Burma front. Within a month of arriving in the Arakan the first to get there, No. 6, had made a great name for itself as a fighter reconnaissance squadron, and its redoubtable Sikh Commanding Officer, Squadron-Leader Mehar Singh from Lyallpur, had won the D.S.O. On one occasion when a young pilot from the Squadron had force-landed for lack of petrol in a small paddy field a few hundred yards from the Jap forward positions, Mehar Singh flew a Tiger Moth into the tiny field, filled up the damaged Hurricane from four-gallon tins, put the inexperienced

enced pilot in the Moth and by great courage and skill took the damaged Hurricane off from the undersized and bumpy field to safety.

No. 1 Squadron came back under the command of another Sikh, Squadron-Leader Arjun Singh, and operated throughout the fierce jungle fighting round Imphal and Kohima with considerable distinction. Arjun Singh won the D.F.C. within a short time of arriving at the front. At least two of the dive-bomber squadrons fought through a larger part of the campaign.

THE FUTURE

The I.A.F. has undoubtedly justified the hopes of its founders. But it has grown to its present size under very difficult circumstances. In the years before the war it had only one squadron, so that its leaders, both officers and N.C.O.s, are strictly limited in numbers. The rapid expansion during the war, which was vitally necessary and dictated by circumstances, has inevitably been short term in its results and has shown inevitable weaknesses.

In order to ensure that India retains a strong and firmly established air force after the war it will be necessary to broaden and strengthen the foundations on which it is built. The basis of the professional R.A.F. on which the vast edifice of the war-time service has been reared was the cadet college at Cranwell for the officer cadres and the technical school at Halton for the tradesmen. In the same way as India has built up the officer cadres of her magnificent army at the cadet colleges of Sandhurst and Dehra Dun, so the Indian Air Force after the war should be given similar opportunities and should have its Cranwell for moulding the leaders of its future Air Force, and if possible a Halton for the training of its equally important tradesmen and non-commissioned officers.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, October 31, 1944, at the Caxton Hall, London, S.W. 1, with the President, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., C.M.G., M.P., in the chair, when Wing-Commander W. W. RUSSELL read a paper on "The Story of the Indian Air Force."

The CHAIRMAN said that Wing-Commander Russell started flying in 1932 at Cambridge and went to Bombay in 1934. At the beginning of the war he joined up with the Royal Air Force. He had commanded two squadrons, the Bombay Squadron and the Cochin Squadron, and at Delhi he had served under Air Chief Marshal Sir Richard Pearce when he wrote a history of the Royal Air Force. There was no one who knew more about the beginnings of the Indian Air Force and its great growth. Wing-Commander Russell had also been in business for a number of years in India and he sat in the Bombay Assembly from 1937 to 1939. He helped to form the European Progressive Group in conjunction with the Indian Progressive Group, and most of those present knew of the value of those two groups in helping young Indians to know each other.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that Wing-Commander Russell mentioned the aircraft in Calcutta in 1910. It certainly was a great adventure; it was sent out by the Bristol Aeroplane Company under the French pilot M. Jullerot. 1911 was a year of very small beginnings; the R.F.C. was formed on May 13, 1912, and began with five officers and a handful of men. He remembered that the King came to inspect the unit that same month and they had only about five pilots and machines. Each aeroplane and engine was different from the others. When the lecturer said that machines in India were a little out of date he could assure him that the R.F.C. machines had the equally great difficulty of being very young.



AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR RICHARD PEIRSE, ALLIED AIR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, AIR COMMAND, SOUTH-EAST ASIA, INSPECTING AN INDIAN SQUADRON IN THE ARAKAN. ON HIS RIGHT IS THE SIKH COMMANDING OFFICER, SQUADRON LEADER MEHAR SINGH, WHO WON THE D.S.O. IN THE RECENT CAMPAIGN.

Photo: Inter Services, Public Relations Directorate, India.



WING COMMANDER "ASPY" ENGINEER, A PARSEE FROM BOMBAY, AND WING-COMMANDER "JUMBO" MAZUMDAR, A BENGALI FROM CALCUTTA, AFTER HAVING BEEN DECORATED WITH THE D.F.C. AT AMBALLA BY FIELD-MARSHAL LORD WAVELL.



INDIAN PILOTS AND OBSERVERS AT THE CANTEEN ON THEIR AIRFIELD IN BENGAL.

Photo: Info Service, Public Relations Directorate, India.



SQUADRON-LEADER NARENJAN PRASAD, C.O. OF AN INDIAN AIR FORCE VENGEANCE DIVE-BOMBER SQUADRON, WITH HIS NAVIGATOR AIR GUNNER, FLIGHT-LIEUT. JIGJIT SINGH.

Photo: Inter Services, Public Relations Directorate, India.

The lecture had brought back very vividly the days of the old R.F.C. and also the beginnings of the R.A.F. They had their troubles and trials; it was not easy to start a new force, but to those who were in at the beginning it was a great pride not only to have formed it but to see it being put into use. Wing-Commander Russell had also had that good fortune in the case of the I.A.F. He had taken a great interest in the civilian flying club at Bombay, and the flying clubs of those days helped greatly to form the Indian Air Force. The Bombay Club was excellent and there were two or three others in India which did splendid pioneer work. He would also like to support the tribute to the pioneers whom the Wing-Commander had mentioned.

The Burma campaign had been mentioned; not many people in this country realized the difficulties which had to be overcome in that campaign. He felt that there was too little news from that part of the world, and he hoped that the history of the 14th Army and the Indian Air Force in that campaign would come to be better known in this country so that people could realize what a great feat had been achieved in that most difficult of theatres of war.

Flying was very important in India. Not only had India immense scope for flying, but her people had a psychology which was well adapted for piloting and flying generally. The Army had done remarkably well on the ground, and there was now the beginning of a great air force which he hoped and believed would gain strength rapidly. He was sure that Wing-Commander Russell was right in saying that the Indian Air Force should have its own Cranwell for the training of officers and its own Halton for the training of other ranks. Without such a pair of training establishments it would be almost impossible to get a good foundation upon which to build a large air force.

He congratulated Wing-Commander Russell on his paper. It was of great interest to those who had heard it and it would be a valuable source of information on the formation of the Indian Air Force, which, he hoped, would help to make for peace throughout Asia, in which India would be a bastion.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM said that the justification for his taking part in the discussion was that he was present in almost a professional capacity at the passing of the Indian Air Force Act. Mr. Edwin Haward would remember the days when this Bill was passed into a Statute, and he would also remember how suspicious the Indian was about this so-called Indian Air Force. Mr. Haward would also recall that the Indian Navy Bill was rejected with contumely the first time it was put forward in the Indian Legislative Assembly; fortunately it was tried again and was passed. There was the fact; the ordinary Indian legislator would have said at that time that he suspected the Bills just because they emanated from the British.

They had every right to be amazed at the success of the Indian Air Force. He had seen a collection of young men at Karachi who were the nucleus of a squadron and asked the Commanding Officer how they were shaping, and he said they were absolutely first class. He had dined in the R.A.F. mess and seen these lads in the thick of everything; they had the right men and they were perfectly happy. He did not know what the actual reason was, but he felt that the young Indian had an extraordinary aptitude for the air.

Coming to the present day, someone known as Bill Jones was very well known in Karachi; he trained in the Civil School there, and he told the speaker he found the lads were extremely quick and sensitive and had a kind of kinship with the air— young eagles! He was particularly impressed by the manner in which they joined as young men wanting to fly; they quite forgot about the section of the community from which they had come, and he could not imagine anything more helpful for India than that there should be a large class of young men totally impervious to communal poison.

Wing-Commander Russell said something about the earliest lads who enlisted in the last war in the R.F.C., and he would like to mention an Indian lad who lost his life but who made his mark as a pilot. His name was Roy and he was educated at St. Paul's School, where he was a boxing champion in the Aldershot contests.

There was another man called Hogg whom he would wish to mention. Exactly what Hogg was doing in the Indian Air Force he did not know, but he knew him

first as a Provincial Scout Commissioner for the Punjab. He had an incredible capacity for getting on with Scouts and was picked to take a position which might be described as that of liaison officer between the Indian recruits to the I.A.F. and their technical instructors. [Wing-Commander RUSSELL: He commanded the Elementary Training School.] He did invaluable work and he would ask the audience to bear him in affectionate memory. He died in most tragic circumstances. Sir Lancelot added that he was in Bombay and was associated as a spectator with the earlier efforts of flying in India and remembered when an aerial circus came to Bombay and they occupied the Oval, which was surrounded by screens some six feet high in order to secure privacy. He would have liked to ask Sir Stanley Reed, if he had been present, whether he was guilty of a leader which appeared in *The Times of India* headed "Grasshopping Round the Oval."

In reply to Sir WILLIAM BARTON, who asked from what sections of the Indian community the officers of the I.A.F. had been mostly recruited, the LECTURER said that they came from practically every community. There were a large number of Sikhs, but perhaps Bengalis predominated over the Muhammadans, which was in interesting contrast with the Army. The Madrasese made very good navigators and pilots, but, generally speaking, the personnel was spread evenly throughout the communities. The officers and the other ranks, who of course were equally important in an air force, were recruited from the middle classes as well as from the university type. A great many personnel in the I.A.F. were among those who normally would have tried to get into the literary professions, but they had been attracted to the I.A.F. and had thus been saved from joining the ranks of the educated unemployed. It was a prerequisite that all personnel must be educated to matriculation standard and must speak English, chiefly because the I.A.F. is part of the Commonwealth Air Forces and English is the lingua franca of the air world. This would be readily understood by recalling how technical terms all over the world are mostly in usage English terms.

Mr. POLAK asked if Indians were being trained under the Empire Training Scheme, to which the LECTURER replied that I.A.F. cadets had recently joined in this scheme. The first batch of fifty left for Canada during the winter of 1943.

Asked if the hot sun of India made conditions very uncomfortable, the LECTURER said that flying conditions could be uncomfortable in the hot weather. It had been worse, he said, in the old days of old-fashioned craft and open cockpits when the sun came down on the back of the head.

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN said that he was glad to hear of the great aptitude of Indians for the air. The second son of a now deceased Judge of the Bombay High Court joined the Air Force in England and was extremely successful as a pilot. After his death the authorities, in a letter to his mother, said that he had never made a mistake in the air.

Sir T. GAVIN JONES asked if there was any difficulty in recruiting mechanics for ground work.

Wing-Commander RUSSELL said that there had been surprisingly little difficulty. This may well have been due to the publicity campaign launched in 1943, but the trouble was the time taken in training. It took a long time to train an Englishman to be a reliable mechanic, and the same thing applied to a greater extent in India. The need was for a long and skilled training, which was why he was so keen on the establishment of a training school for mechanics in India on the basis of the R.A.F. institution at Halton.

Dr. ALICE PENNELL asked if the rates of pay were favourable for the Indian or were they similar to the rates of pay in the Army, to which the LECTURER replied that the rates of pay were on a different scale from those in the R.A.F. They were considerably less at the beginning of the war, but now they had been raised. The comparatively low scales at the commencement of the war were due to lack of ex-

perience with a new Service and to the fact that the I.A.F. was administered by the Army, consequently the rates of pay had been based on the rates for the Indian Army. The Indian N.C.O. airman was naturally a much better educated type of man than the sepoy. In 1941 the rates of pay had been placed on a satisfactory level. They were not on the same level as the R.A.F., but were considerably more, taking into account the fact that the Indian airman was given free rations, accommodation, sport, and so on, than he would probably have been able to earn in civilian life.

Sir JOHN CUMMING proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman. Wing-Commander Russell had given a very interesting account of the genesis and growth of the Indian Air Force, punctuated by personal experience and some dramatic incidents. There was no doubt, as Field-Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode had said at a previous meeting, that Indians were well equipped for this work by reason of their sensitive hands. It was most desirable that Wing-Commander Russell's account of the I.A.F. should be put on permanent record. With regard to Sir Frederick Sykes, if there was anyone entitled to be called the father of military flying it was he, and there could be no one better fitted to take the chair at a meeting to hear an account of the youngest air force in the Empire.

INDIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

BY THE REV. J. Z. HODGE, D.D.

(Lately Secretary of the National Christian Council of India,
Burma and Ceylon)

I COUNT it a privilege and a responsibility to address you today. Having spent forty-three years in India, and having received nothing but kindness from the Indian people during that long spell, I should be ungrateful indeed if I did not, as occasion serves, speak a good word for India and thus help to repay a debt of honour.

Returning to this country, I have been depressed by two things. These are the meagre space given to India in the public press, and the lack of interest shown by Parliament, which is the final Court of Appeal on questions affecting the governance of India, when an Indian debate is staged. Explanations are readily forthcoming; but when it is remembered that the population is 390 millions, this seeming indifference is hard to forgive. Considered in terms of human values—and there can be no higher terms—these 390 millions constitute the most important segment of the British Empire.

For the time being the political issue dominates all other issues, and until this is rightly adjusted any large-scale planning for social, educational, and economic advance is unlikely to win that measure of support in public opinion that alone can give a reasonable guarantee of success. There can be little doubt that the general mind of the people is set on complete independence—on this fundamental issue National Congress and Muslim League agree—and the question now is whether or not that will be achieved within or without the British Commonwealth of Nations. At present the current is setting in towards separation.

SWARAJ

A brief reference to the development of the Nationalist movement must suffice; but to make my position clear let me say that I regard the demand for complete independence a perfectly natural one and in keeping with the declared aims and trends of British policy. Visiting Bombay, as I did, my steps would lead me to the

Choupatty sands and the base of the gigantic statue erected to the memory of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the great Nationalist leader, on which are inscribed the words "SWARAJ IS MY BIRTHRIGHT." There lies the sanction and inspiration of the present Nationalist movement. This ancient people, with 5,000 years of history behind it, is alive and on the march. India is discovering herself, and with that discovery is coming a new sense of self-respect, national dignity, and national destiny. She sees China free and independent, honoured and respected among the nations; she sees Russia, largely an Asiatic Power, pointing the way to economic emancipation: she sees her fighting men holding their own with the flower of the British Army: and, proud of her glorious past, she claims to be treated as an equal among the great families of mankind and given an opportunity to make her distinctive contribution to the common good. So, when she asks for independence, she asks not for a favour, but for an inherent right. Nor does she ask for independence in instalments; she wants it whole. In staking her claim, she is neither unmindful of nor ungrateful for the benefits that have come to her from her long connection with Great Britain.

Complete independence does not imply isolation. Indian leaders recognize that their country cannot stand alone, at least until the Kingdom of Heaven or a new order of brotherhood displaces the present acquisitive tendencies of men and nations, and they therefore look to partnership in some larger federation of nations. Her coasts and frontiers must be guarded from attack; markets must be found for her produce; her culture gives her a right to contribute to the moral and intellectual progress of the race; occupying, as she does, a strategic place on international highways between East and West, it is unthinkable that she will, or can, play a lone hand. I am convinced, both for practical and sentimental reasons, that India's political destiny lies in a free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth of Nations; and, although there are those who look to partnership in a new alignment of nations comprised, say, of India, China, and Russia, I cherish the conviction that the present clouds of suspicion and estrangement will lift and India by her own free choice will elect to remain with us and share a common destiny.

THE DEADLOCK

I will not bore you with a discourse on the present deadlock, but I may be pardoned a few reflections. In the first place, it appears that we and India do not understand each other, and the more we give advice to each other across the seas, the more our misunderstanding grows. Personal contact rather than long-distance correspondence would avail much.

The present bitterness and suspicion are largely due to this lack of understanding. There has grown up in India, even in circles friendly to this country, a belief that we do not mean what we say and that, notwithstanding our protestations to the contrary, we are not willing to part with power. Further, it is suggested that our reluctance to part with power springs from our distrust of Indian ability to manage Indian affairs. Time and again Indian friends have asked me if I really believe that the declaration of British policy made by Sir Stafford Cripps was genuine, and when I have answered "Most certainly," they have usually replied: "We are glad to hear you say that; but we think there must be a snag somewhere." We can always, of course, adopt the heroic attitude of "They say. What say they? Let them say"; but the heroic way is not always the way of wise statesmanship. There is the way, advocated by a group of British missionaries, of unrestricted conference, in which all the party leaders, including those now interned, should be invited to participate.

I share the widespread regret that the negotiations between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah have broken down; but the ice has been broken, and at any rate we see clearly now that Pakistan, as interpreted by the latter, means the partition of India. Since this fundamental problem has its roots in race and religion, no effort of British statesmanship and no prolonged extension of British administration can resolve it: wisdom would therefore seem to lie in leaving its solution to Indian hands. The risks are certainly grave, but I cannot reconcile myself to the view that Britain must stand perpetually on guard to keep the peace in India, and I cast the anchor of my faith in the good sense of the Indian people. To those who anticipate civil war I venture to pass on Disraeli's famous epigram that it is "the unexpected that happens."

Much depends on the framing of the new Indian Constitution. The approach of independence has accentuated the demand for security by various communities who are determined that their place in the new India is made sure. India has a great regard for the law as such, and a profound faith in the integrity of the High Court. If, therefore, the rights of these communities are given statutory recognition in the Constitution, that should go far to lay the spectre of civil war and raise a bulwark against chaos. India may have to divide or, at any rate, readjust its boundaries on the principle of Pakistan; but that should not rule out the ideal of an Indian Union as envisaged by Sir Stafford Cripps. Complete unity may not be feasible, but an understanding such as will enable all the parties to come into conference is surely within the range of practical politics.

THE RURAL MASSES

Let us now leave the political scene and turn to Rural Reconstruction. It is obvious that if India is to hold her own among the nations her standards of living must be raised, and in this regard the peasant is the key man. Rural Reconstruction is usually defined as the rebuilding and reconditioning of rural life in keeping with the dignity of personality and the requirements of our modern day. As all the world knows, India is pre-eminently an agricultural country, although, as all the world should know, she has definitely entered her industrial age, and her iron and steel works at Tatanagar in Bihar are the second largest in the world; and the peasant is therefore the man that matters most. The day is coming when this same peasant, through the prerogative of the franchise, will give effect to Mahatma Gandhi's famous prediction that "the future of India will be settled, not by her cities, but by her villages." But all is not well with the 700,000 villages of India. Poverty, debt, disease, and illiteracy hold the villager in thrall and "freeze the genial current of his soul." To create and maintain a better order of rural living, or, as Ruskin put it, "the manufacture of souls of good quality," is the task of rural reconstruction.

This illuminating word from Dr. Rabindranath Tagore states the problem clearly :

"Today, for various reasons, villages are fatally neglected. They are fast degenerating into serfdom and compelled to offer to the ungrateful towns cheerless and unintelligent labour for work carried on in an unhealthy and impoverished environment. The object of Sriniketan is to bring back life in its completeness into the villages, making them self-reliant and self-respectful, acquainted with the cultural tradition of their own country, and competent to make an efficient use of the modern resources for the improvement of their physical, intellectual, and economic condition."

To bring back life in its completeness into the Indian village is the goal. That implies the recovery of a lost ideal when the village was a self-contained community, organized on the basis of service, when the priest, teacher, and banker were as much the servants of the community as the carpenter, blacksmith, and barber; when the mahajan was held in honour and the panchayat was a power in the land. In the light of that vanished golden rural age the primary purpose of rural reconstruction is to be understood in terms of re-creation, but the creation of a better order of rural living, achieved by breaking virgin soil, is not ruled out. There are stretches of desert and jungle waiting to be reclaimed and peopled. With this latter form of rural reconstruction I wish to deal today. I need not remind you that the importance of this subject has been immensely enhanced by the amazing increase in the population. Nothing is more impressive in our modern day than the will to live of the Indian people. Divided by race, religion, and social convention, harassed by war within and without, struggling against poverty, disease, and famine, this ancient people lives on and adds 50 millions every decade to its already colossal numerical stature. Therein lies a problem that will tax the highest statesmanship.

RECLAMATION IN THE SUNDBANS

Let me now briefly describe rural reconstruction as I have seen it in action, and in doing so I invite you to visit the well-known co-operative commonwealth of Gosaba

in the Sundarbans district of Bengal, founded by the late Sir Daniel Hamilton, a Calcutta business man who had a taste for farming and a desire to help the man who was denied the chance to earn an honest livelihood. Acquiring on favourable terms, and on leases for forty years, four concessions of salt-sodden cane jungle land, infested by tigers and crocodiles, amounting to 22,000 acres, he set himself to the titanic task of making them fit for human habitation. That was in 1903. The residents then were a few wood-cutters and a few hunters, who shared the amenities of the jungle with the tiger and crocodile. But the scene has changed: instead of tiger and crocodile has sprung up a self-respecting peasantry 16,000 strong. The jungle has given place to fields of grain, and the rice of Gosaba ranks high in the markets of Bengal.

The work of reclamation was done in stretches. As the ground was cleared the labourers were given the option of settling on it. Economic holdings were apporportioned to them, and, to enable them to begin farming, loans to the extent of £20 each were advanced by the estate on equitable terms of repayment. All the settlers did not make good, but remembering the frail material out of which they had been hewn this was not surprising. The important thing is that Gosaba has given to many of the disinherited, irrespective of class or creed, a chance to rise to the dignity of manhood.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT

In building up the colony Sir Daniel Hamilton, who regarded bad finance as the root of all India's economic ills, employed the co-operative method. I need not remind you that the heavy incidence of indebtedness among the peasantry, due largely to borrowing at high rates of interest, was responsible for co-operation in India following the Raffeisen model with its emphasis on credit and its concern for the producer rather than the consumer. By allying his credit to that of a dozen or more of his neighbours, co-operation makes the peasant his own banker, brings the ready money he needs, at economic rates of interest, within his reach, and thus provides an alternative system of finance to that of the otherwise indispensable money-lender. It is futile to rail against the mahajan unless you can provide something better in his place. But we shall see as we study Gosaba that co-operation is something bigger than finance: it is a way whereby the peasants of India can unite to raise the whole standard of living in the country.

How co-operation came to Gosaba is a great story. One of the sights of the colony is old Arjoon Mondol, with his happy homestead, his well-filled threshing floor, his thriving cottage garden, his bank balance, and his silver-mounted staff, presented to him by Lord Ronaldshay (now Lord Zetland) when Governor of Bengal, "to drive away money-lenders." In 1911 Arjoon was in the grip of a money-lender, an original loan of Rs. 50 having swollen by compound interest and other devious devices to Rs. 500. His story moved Sir Daniel to action: Gosaba could not prosper half-slave, half-free. So he resolved to liquidate the money-lender, and this he could only do by advancing the Rs. 500, for, strong in his legal position, the mahajan insisted on the bond and nothing but the bond. The advance was made and in five years Arjoon had paid it all back, plus a modest rate of interest. Other tenants in similar plight were dealt with in the same way by buying out the money-lenders, who were driven to seek pastures new. There was no moaning at the bar when they put out to sea! Their place was taken by the co-operative banking system, which in this congenial soil reached a pitch of excellence unexcelled in India.

In Gosaba we see a master purpose—"the manufacture of souls of good quality"—united to a master method. As villages came into being they were promptly organized into co-operative societies; "Every village a bank and every village a school" was the slogan. At first the estate advanced the capital, but as the number of societies increased a Central Co-operative Bank was established and became the financing and supervising authority. The village societies now number twenty-four, with a working capital of £3,000 and reserve funds amounting to £2,000.

Gradually co-operation moved beyond banking into a united endeavour to meet the needs of the whole man, producer and consumer alike. In keeping with this natural trend, a central co-operative store was organized, and soon did a thriving business. To crown all came the co-operative rice-mill, whose chimney is the first

glimpse of Gosaba that greets the incoming voyager. The mill is on the share basis and belongs to the people themselves, there being 600 shareholders. Here the great problem of marketing is handled. The cultivators supply their grain to the mill at prevailing market rates; the mill gives a bond to the Central Bank for the amount to be paid; the bank credits this to the village society, which in turn pays it over to the member after deducting what may be due to the society. In this same process the tenant's rent and his co-operative bank dues are realized, and the accumulation of arrears that has broken the back of the co-operative banking system in many parts of India is averted. The link with the outside commercial world is the Central Co-operative Paddy Sale Society of Calcutta, in which Gosaba is the predominant partner.

SUPPORT OF ESSENTIAL SERVICES

Gosaba stands for a rural philosophy, which may be stated in this way: rightly organized, a task only the State can adequately undertake, the people of rural India should be able to support the essential services of education, medicine, agricultural research, banking, and all else necessary to rural well-being, and, at the same time, provide employment for an army of educated men and women. So in this co-operative commonwealth is to be found an education service, which includes a network of twenty-one village schools, twenty night schools, a middle school, and an incipient high school. At the centre is a weaving school and an experimental farm. The day schools have an attendance of 850 scholars and the night schools 400, co-education being the rule of the colony. Each school has its weaving, farming, and gardening activities. Fitting into this general scheme of human engineering is a health service manned by four doctors, one of whom—and he the least expensive—is a homœopath, three nurses, and three dispensaries, the expense of all these services being met by the people themselves in the form of a small cess added to the rent.

Time fails to describe the institutions of Gosaba; but mention must be made of the Rural Reconstruction Institute with its austere motto, "Fear God, work hard, be honest." Here young men are educated for rural life and service. When they qualify, after two years of training, they are given the degree of "Master of the Art of Independent Livelihood"—a degree unique in the annals of education. What I have given is a very inadequate account of a great rural experiment in which East and West combine to demonstrate that where there is a will to lift the burden of poverty and debt from the brow of the Indian peasant a way can be found.

Will the achievement last? The question is inevitable, and, while the final word cannot yet be spoken, this, at least, is plain—the experiment is there for all to see. During these four testing years of war, with their labour and transport difficulties, with rumours of impending Japanese invasion clouding the sky, Gosaba stood firm and gave place neither to fear nor to doubt in the ultimate victory of the Allies. Writing on December 23 of last year with reference to the devastating famine that had stalked across Bengal, Mr. Mazumdar, the present manager, gave this cheering news: "Despite great food scarcity in the Province, Gosaba could manage without much difficulty." Gosaba had enough and to spare, and what it had to spare it generously shared with its less fortunate neighbours. That is a fine tribute to the foresight of the founder of the colony and the value of organization.

RECONSTRUCTION IN ACTION

But some will still ask: "Will the work go forward with the same efficiency as the memory of its founder fades with the passing years?" Sir Daniel died in December, 1939, and since that time the work has been in trusted Bengali hands. In answer to the question it can be pointed out that the people are coming to understand and appreciate the principles and practice of co-operation. These co-operators of Gosaba do not lack confidence, and this is their slogan: "What Gosaba thinks today Bengal will think tomorrow, and what Bengal thinks tomorrow the rest of India will think the day after." In the schools and on the land the future citizens are learning by head and by heart to do unto others as they would that others should do unto them.

This, then, is rural reconstruction in action. In school and garden, in weaving-

shed and cottage industry, in field and factory, in hospital and bank, in reclaiming jungle and building houses, in thinking and planning together, the manufacture of souls of good quality goes on, inspired by the great motto "Fear God, work hard, be honest." There are many such centres in India all pointing the way to the development of a true nationhood, the redemption of India's birthright.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

The CHAIRMAN said that Dr. Hodge went out to India in 1900 and left it only about *ber 14, 1944*, the Rev. J. Z. HODGE, D.D., read a paper on "India's Political Future and Rural Reconstruction." The chair was taken by Sir MALCOLM DARLING, K.C.I.E.

The CHAIRMAN said that Dr. Hodge went out to India in 1900 and left it only about a year ago. Up to 1929 he was engaged in district missionary work. Incidentally, his own experience was that few had such opportunities to know the heart of India as had missionaries. In 1929 he became secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma, and Ceylon, retiring in 1941, and since then he had been giving all his experience and time to smoothing away the difficulties which beset India. In this work he had brought to bear the disinterestedness and sympathy without which in India one saw very little and understood nothing.

Dr. HODGE then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN, after thanking Dr. Hodge for his very inspiring lecture, said that it fell into two portions—one dealing with the political situation and the other with specific rural problems. He himself was not very competent to speak in the political field, but as Dr. Hodge had given a good part of his address to that subject he felt that he must say something.

The present political position must cause all of them considerable misgivings. He was glad, however, to learn that day that a new appeal had been made to all parties by Sir Mirza Ismail to get together and form a constituent committee to deal with the new situation. Sir Mirza said that all parties were in a somewhat chastened mood, and he (the Chairman) thought that applied to themselves also. When one looked at the present situation and thought of it as a result of 150 years of British rule one could hardly help feeling a little chastened. At the same time, when Dr. Hodge suggested that the settlement of this problem be left in Indian hands he wondered whether that was altogether a satisfactory or sufficient way of dealing with the question. He felt that the British Government was under some obligation to lend a hand too. He had his own views as to what might be done, but he was not going to impose them upon the meeting. We must, he thought, do our best, according to such experience and wisdom as we still had, to help India in this respect.

Turning to the field of rural reconstruction, in which he felt a little more at home, he was glad to see that the author spoke of the peasant as a key man. He had no doubt that he was a key man. He also agreed with his quotation from Ruskin that their object must be to manufacture "souls of good quality," but he did not altogether agree with Sir Rabindranath Tagore that villages were "fatally neglected." That was certainly not the case with wide areas in India, including his own Province of the Punjab, and when he went round India ten years ago it was not the aspect which struck him most. There could be no doubt, however, that the peasant was quite unfitted at present to deal with the modern world.

Dr. Hodge had given an extremely interesting account of a successful experiment made by a Scotsman who brought an unusual combination of business acumen, experience and great disinterestedness to bear upon this difficult problem of rural reconstruction. He himself had the good fortune to visit Gosaba ten years ago, and

he was struck by one thing Sir Daniel Hamilton said to him apropos of another large estate he had in the West of Scotland—namely, that his Scottish tenants gave him much more trouble than his tenants in Bengal.

Dr. Hodge had spoken of a master purpose united to a master method. When both these things were found united to a master hand the result was certainly remarkable. Sir Daniel Hamilton was something of a despot, although certainly a benevolent one, and he would not tolerate anything which was likely to upset the happiness of the whole estate. Unfortunately, men like Sir Daniel, and a few others he could name, one of them an Indian landlord in the Punjab, were not too common in India, and the problem itself as a whole was one that, initially at least, had to be dealt with by the State. How, indeed, were the plans now appearing to be applied to a vast population which, as the paper suggested, was riddled with disease and ignorance? That was an aspect of the problem which did not seem to have been very completely faced in the plans that he had seen, and he hoped subsequent speakers would touch on it.

There was one other question he would particularly like considered. Science was now ready to put all the means for improving conditions in India at our disposal. Was it necessary to wait until a political settlement was reached before applying them? His own mind was not altogether made up on that point. Some people said that they must go ahead at once irrespective of a political settlement, while others said that without a national backing success could not be achieved. His own feeling, on the whole, was that the needs of India were so enormous that they could not afford to wait.

The BISHOP OF RANGOON said that Dr. Hodge had been in India for forty years and he himself had been there for more than twenty, and in the same neighbourhood, and yet this was the first time they had seen each other. He had been extremely interested in the paper as he had himself spent seven years in a village "miles away from anywhere" and had attempted to do the very thing which was described in this paper. So much was heard just now of the problems of the world and of India itself that it was quite a relief to come to a gathering like the present which was not only problem-conscious but answer-conscious, and the more they saw their way through to giving the answer the better it was going to be for the post-war world. Might it not be that the answer to both the questions treated in the paper—the political question and rural reconstruction—would arise in some totally unexpected area? He wondered whether they had heard the story of the teacher who posed a problem to his class: There were thirteen sheep in a pen and seven jumped out: how many were left? One of the boys said, "None, sir," and when his teacher rebuked him for his deficient arithmetic and told him he knew nothing about figures, his reply was, "Sir, you know nothing about sheep." It might be that the answer to the Indian problem lay in another realm. He once overheard a conversation between a Burmese woman and an English woman. The latter said: "I cannot understand why you do not like us. Look what we have given your country—railways, irrigation, education, hospitals." Said the Burmese woman: "I for my part am grateful, and I think my people are, for all those things. But have you given us your hearts?" There was a long healthy silence after that question. Was it impossible to suppose that something of that kind might yet transform the situation? Only the previous day he was talking about this to an Indian who had come over to this country with strong nationalistic feelings, but since he had been here he had discovered what an amount of bitterness was bound up with his nationalism, and when he faced that and had it out with himself he found that he could love this country. It was still possible to win the heart of India and make her our friend. He believed that the Indians were the most responsive people in the world, and if the right chord was touched all sorts of things could happen. If only India were made our friend what an asset she would be at the peace table, and, moreover, she would be saved from all sorts of sinister forces which threatened her with disaster.

Brigadier F. L. BRAYNE said that he had met Sir Daniel Hamilton and had heard from him about his great enterprise. One question which arose was whether this ex-

periment would lapse. There was a very large number of simple things the doing of which would make all the difference to the health, welfare and happiness of the villages of India, but when the person who started them had to go away there was usually no continuity and the enterprise faded out. Some most interesting work had been done on the old Skinner estate within fifty miles of Delhi. For twenty years this estate had been farmed in the most modern way possible. The system of collection and disposal of manure which was employed there was probably a model to the whole world. But now the estate had been sold, and, moreover, by great generosity, sold to the tenants at pre-war prices, and, thanks to the good farming and to war prices, they were able to collect the money within six months; but, now that the estate had been broken up, the whole of this work was threatened with disappearance. Previously the energetic influence had been the landlord and under his orders the tenants did as they were told, but now that they were free to do as they liked the whole thing was ready to collapse, and unless some sort of trust was formed to hold them together this interesting piece of work would disappear.

Government, of course, particularly autonomous Provincial Ministries, must make this work a big part of their programmes, as they did in other countries. Apart from that, to secure continuity two things were absolutely essential. One of these—namely, some form of co-operative system—was fully appreciated at Gosaba. There should be a network of co-operative societies for all needs and purposes, adequately staffed and supervised. The other thing which was necessary was to bring the women into this business. Civilization was a matter of homes, and homes were a matter for women. Until the women came in on this programme the men would be helpless, but for some reason officials could not be made to believe that women were of any use at all in this matter. It seemed impossible to persuade officials in India that women's work offered the basis of all progress. The Army in India was actually more progressive than the civil authority in this respect. Every married line in India, in a pre-war unit or training centre, included a welfare centre for the women. The men had their institutions and arrangements for learning farming and the management of animals, but the women of India had no place where they could learn their equally important work. It was true there were a few domestic training centres, in the United Provinces and in the Punjab, but these were exceptional, and in general there was no provision in India for teaching the village women how to run a home and bring up children. And yet the success of all post-war planning depended on their being able to do their share of the work of raising the standard of living.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK said that it had been a very great pleasure to meet Dr. Hodge again and hear his eloquent paper. Dr. Hodge and he served together some fifteen years ago on a provincial banking inquiry committee, and certainly he (the speaker) and possibly Dr. Hodge also were not very well acquainted with banking, but Dr. Hodge soon proved himself a most valuable member. In his few remarks he wished to concentrate on rural reconstruction. The interesting part of the paper was the description of what had been done at Gosaba under the inspiration and guidance of Sir Daniel Hamilton. He was sorry that he had never managed to get there himself. He had always heard what an extremely good organization it was. But in order to deal with the 320 million peasants in India something like 20,000 Daniel Hamiltons or their equivalent would be necessary. One interesting thing was the way in which Daniel Hamilton managed to get no fewer than four doctors and three nurses to serve in an area of only 34 square miles. His own experience was that it was practically impossible to get the young Indian medical student who had just been qualified, still less the medical man of more experience, to go out and live in the villages.

It was extremely cheering to find a place where the co-operative system had really succeeded anywhere else except in the Punjab, and it would be useful to hear how it was managed. It was said somewhat flamboyantly that co-operation was the one hope for Indian agriculture. What he would like to know was whether these societies had taken advantage of the good prices for agricultural produce to clear off their own heavy burden of debt. It was of no use going back to the old practice of trying to run a co-operative banking system on the basis of borrowing at 8 per cent. from the middle classes and lending to one's members at 18½ per cent. He had heard

ardent co-operators describe that as a reasonable rate of interest. An enormous amount of work remained to be done and it was time to start doing it. Time would not automatically "run back and fetch the age of gold," and there was great danger of a very serious catastrophe on the economic side in India. He hoped that what Gosaba thought today Bengal would think tomorrow and India the day after. But another quotation came into his mind, and unless Indian public men were *wiser* than they sometimes showed themselves to be it might have a tragic aptness :

"Tomorrow, and tomorrow, and tomorrow,
Creeps on with petty pace from day to day,

And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
The way to dusty death."

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said that there seemed to be no immediate prospect of a solution of the political troubles of India. What, then, of the prospect of rural reconstruction? What came into his mind in this connection was not something abstract, but millions and millions of peasants and workers—illiterate, poverty-stricken, toiling and suffering—who make up the real India, which was rural India. It was folly to think that their welfare, which was a crying necessity, could be tackled by their more fortunate brethren—namely, responsible Indians—only when India obtained 100 per cent. self-government. It was a mistake that Indian nationalists threw away the chance of helping rural India when agriculture was entrusted to Indian hands responsible to Indian electorates according to the Act of 1935. His own view was that every opportunity that came in the way of Indians, however small it might be, must be seized with both hands, with a view to help make India a happier and more prosperous land. There was now the suggestion of a Constituent Assembly by Sir Mirza Ismail. The success of this or any other assembly that came into being would depend very much on the spirit that Indians of various parties and sections imported into it. India, fortunately, today was in a chastened mood, and ready and willing to accept anything that offered whereby the cause of India might be helped. This indeed augured well for the future of India.

Mr. HORACE ALEXANDER said that it seemed to him that Dr. Hodge had got very near to the heart of the matter when he suggested that personal contact was better than long-distance correspondence. In India, perhaps more than in other countries, personal contact was of the utmost importance. By personal contact he did not mean necessarily that the Viceroy should invite Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Jinnah to go and see him tomorrow. Was it not likely that in such an intractable situation as this some sort of background work was first needed? He could himself suggest the names of some Indians, and probably of some Englishmen associated with them, who could do a great deal of useful background work in order to try to find a way through the present conflict. Some step of that kind was quite urgently needed.

He must not follow Dr. Hodge into the intricacies of the economic question, but he desired to make one comment. Dr. Hodge had given them a most illuminating account of the work at Gosaba, but he supposed it was his modesty which prevented him from telling them about the co-operative work he himself had done in another Province. Those who read his book *Salute to India* would find an illuminating account of the work he had done in that sphere. They had been reminded of the difficulties which lay in the path of anyone who attempted this tremendous task of rural reconstruction, but they all agreed, whatever the plan of action might be, that it was intensely urgent, and Sir Albert Howard, in the current number of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, gave a very hopeful picture of what could be done without an immense outlay of capital. They were constantly reading in the press about the conflict between this party and that party. The paramount conflict today was between those who were prepared just to let things slide and those who were determined—should he say?—to double the output of India. He added a testimony out of his recent experience of the admirable work done by Calcutta students, some of whom had been prepared to bury themselves in these stricken villages and to work day in and day out on their behalf.

He thought that a combined attack should be made on the political and economic problems.

Mr. K. H. HENDERSON said that it might be of some interest to those present to learn what had been happening in the Punjab. At the time he left Lahore Mr. Jinnah had been engaged on his great attempt to convert the Punjab to Pakistan. He met with a very great defeat, and, speaking from his own knowledge of Punjab politics, he did not think that Pakistan had been a live issue in the Punjab, and without the Punjab Pakistan was useless. One thing which the war had taught them was the integrity of India. The various Provinces depended upon each other, and without some form of central government he did not see how the economics of India were going to work. He agreed that personal contact and friendship mattered greatly. He rather disagreed with the public conference method, and, indeed, he thought it would be a very good thing if they all kept quiet and turned a little to diplomacy, deciding how far they could agree at the dinner table and the tea table before undertaking the large publicized conferences. If they were prepared to do the groundwork in a friendly spirit they need not be afraid of that awful word "suspect." A stranger might be suspect to start with, but one never suspected one's friends. If a few of the Indian leaders were made their friends and could be shown that they were working for them, there could be nothing suspect. But it would take time and it could not be done at public conferences.

In a brief reply, Dr. HODGE reiterated his belief that the only way to break the present political deadlock was to bring all the party leaders, including those still interned, into an unrestricted conference, and in calling such a conference he thought that the initiative lay with Government. He did not think private negotiations would carry very far.

Paying a tribute to his old friend Sir John Hubback, whose concern for the well-being of the Indian peasant was as great as his own, he reminded him that the widespread spirit of social service had done much to remove the doubt that India's educated young men and women would give themselves to service in rural areas. He pointed out that the scheme for a higher grade Christian medical college was based on the conviction that highly trained Indian doctors and nurses would take up rural medical service.

Sir HENRY CRAIK voiced the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Hodge for his paper and to Sir Malcolm Darling for his chairmanship. The opening sentences of Dr. Hodge's paper had captured his sympathy when he said that he could never sufficiently repay the debt of kindness he owed to the people of India. As one who had lived in India even longer than Dr. Hodge, Sir Henry agreed entirely with this sentiment, though with certain other parts of the paper he did not agree altogether, while appreciating, as they all must do, Dr. Hodge's deep personal knowledge of the subject and the great enthusiasm and sympathy which he had brought to bear on this kind of work.

They had also been fortunate in having had as their chairman that afternoon Sir Malcolm Darling, who was one of the greatest living authorities on rural co-operation and whose work had brought material benefits of an almost incalculable value to the peasantry of the Punjab.

He added a word of appreciation of the remarks of some of those who had spoken subsequently, especially the striking and refreshing remarks of Mr. Henderson—a young officer with whose work he had reason to be well acquainted because he selected him for the post he was now holding, and to whom he had reason to be grateful for the way in which he had carried out his task in this particularly difficult appointment. Mr. Henderson's remarks about Pakistan presented a novel and extremely interesting point of view.

BROADCASTING TO INDIA: SOME LESSONS OF WAR EXPERIENCE

BY PROFESSOR L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E., J.P.

MAY I be allowed to begin by making clear the limitations of this paper? I can only attempt to cover one single aspect of the question of the actual and potential "radio relationship" between India and Britain—the aspect which deals with the problems of broadcasting from this country to India. For it is only in connection with this one angle that I have any personal experience. But I do wish to make it clear that I am conscious of the scope as well as of the importance of the whole matter.

If I am obliged to pass over with the barest mention the part that radio may play in many spheres of Indian national reconstruction, it is not because I rate this part low. Again, if I say little or nothing about radio as an instrument of mass education in India, it is not because I do not realize its potentialities. Both these topics are of immense importance. But they are primarily domestic to India; they are national, rather than international, in the nature of the problems they pose. And it is with the international sphere that I am mostly concerned. But even here there are numerous aspects, complementary to the one which I am treating, which cannot be ignored. Who can measure the possibilities which radio offers for the creation of a better understanding between the people of this country and the people of India? Yet these possibilities do not depend only upon sending broadcasts of the right kind from Britain to India. There is also the reverse aspect—the sending of broadcasts of the right kind from India to Britain. Nor does this exhaust the matter. It is not enough to push out broadcasts upon the long-suffering air; one must ensure that people who may happen to want to hear them shall be able to do so.

TECHNICAL PROBLEMS

At this point a number of technical considerations are involved. When broadcasts come from six thousand miles away they must come by short wave; and if they are to be heard by any considerable number of listeners, one of two things is necessary. Either these listeners must have access to receivers with a good short-wave performance, and be able to use these receivers with some little skill, or they must be able to hear the original short-wave broadcast relayed on "long" short wave or medium wave from their local station, so that it can be picked up by a simple, easily tuned set, or, better still, by a public address system. This means that international broadcasting on short wave is limited in its influence for good unless it is backed up by national broadcasting on long short wave or medium wave.

Particularly is this the case with countries so widely separated as Britain and India; for, despite the technical progress made by radio engineers of late, the reception of short-wave broadcasts, even on expensive sets, is liable to be interfered with by sun-spots, by monsoon conditions, or even by the daily disturbances connected with dawn and dusk. These difficulties do not, of course, deter either the radio enthusiast or the man who wants to hear a thing badly enough, such as the broker seeking the closing prices in London or Liverpool. Nor, indeed, do they frustrate the exile, whether in India or in England, who is determined to hear the voice of his own country and of his own people. But by and large they are a pretty effective discouragement to the kind of easy-chair listening which represents the degree of personal exertion so many of us in these busy times can devote to understanding another nation; and the best way to obviate this discouragement is to embody the original short-wave broadcast in the listener's own long-wave or medium-wave programme. This can be done by a direct relay of the short-wave broadcast as it is received, by recording it and putting it out after an appropriate interval, or even by making use of what are called "transcriptions"—that is, broadcasts supplied "tailor-made," not over the ether, but in already recorded form. But in each case time must obviously be found within the limitations of the local service, a fact which raises all

kinds of problems of programme planning in which national needs and tastes complicate the allocation of time as between domestic and international items.

This means, in effect, that the power of broadcasting to promote goodwill between two countries as far apart as Britain and India depends quite as much upon those sections of the respective radio organisations which look after home programmes as upon the sections whose business it is to ensure that suitable broadcasts are sent overseas. For unless those who plan the domestic programmes in each country are both able and willing to "play ball" in the cause of international understanding, the poor overseas broadcaster will find that his only listeners are those who have access to suitable short-wave receivers which can alone tune in direct to the station from which he is speaking. I should be interested to know whether my audience agrees with me in this, or whether they think that the bulk of listening to Britain in India will always be confined to listening on short-wave sets; but that eventually there will be so many of these that local rebroadcasting will not count for very much.

WAR-TIME LIMITATIONS

I should like to stress here what I have just said about the domestic programme planners being *both* "able" and "willing" to include international broadcasts in their home programmes. My own experience in the B.B.C., combined with the ready co-operation I have received in so many matters from All-India Radio, leads me to believe that the "willingness" can almost be taken for granted. But the "ability" depends upon so many factors. Some of these are technical. I know for a fact that the Home Service of the B.B.C. would welcome the inclusion in their programmes of more items from All-India Radio. But the security requirements of the war have concentrated the appeal of radio to the listener in Britain into just two channels—one main service and one alternative. The range of interests to be covered is so wide, and the standing obligations of the B.B.C. in various directions are so clear-cut, that there just is not room for anything but very exceptional items from India.

There is the further difficulty that until lately India has not been able to send to Britain a "signal," as the engineers call it, which is strong enough to make reception in this country reasonably reliable in all atmospheric conditions. Few things are more heart-breaking than to make elaborate arrangements with All-India Radio for the transmission here of some special item of great interest, and then to find, when the Home Service has been eagerly awaiting it, that it comes through so badly that it cannot be understood in Broadcasting House, let alone relayed to Home listeners! I hope very much that the new and powerful stations now in course of completion in India will remedy this, but, in the nature of things, reception across six thousand miles is likely to be "chancy." Perhaps members of the audience who have direct experience of listening at the Indian end would give us the benefit of their personal impressions?

Again, if we consider the Indian end, there are parallel, though not quite identical, difficulties. The "signal" from Britain is on the whole pretty good—it has been much improved even during the last two or three years—although it is still not cent. per cent. predictable. But All-India Radio, like the B.B.C., has a number of direct obligations connected with the war which must take first place. It has to allot much of its technical equipment to the needs of "political warfare" against Japan. And in the domestic field also it has many obligations. For example, it assumes—and rightly assumes, in my view—the prime responsibility for broadcasting in the Indian vernacular languages; and these take pride of place in the allocation of time both in New Delhi and in the local stations. Again, it has to help the American forces in India, for by some unfortunate natural freak the radio channel between the United States and India is so bad that no direct programmes are possible. All-India Radio has stepped into the breach by putting out recorded programmes sent by air from the States; but this, of course, is a further elimination of time that might be available for other things. The B.B.C., incidentally, also helps in this field; and it is pleasant to be able to note that Britain constitutes the main radio link between the American forces in India, as well as on the continent of Europe, and their own homeland.

India, unlike Britain, still enjoys the advantage of a number of local services in addition to the main All-India transmissions, and local station directors are often able

to use broadcasts from Britain for which the New Delhi station cannot find room. Moreover, the radio stations of several Indian States, such as Hyderabad and Mysore, constitute additional channels for certain British broadcasts. Britain cannot decentralize at present, but I do hope that when peace comes, and the B.B.C. has its local services again, there will be a steady stream of items from India available to the listener here. For in all these matters reciprocity counts for a good deal, and it must be discouraging for the authorities of All-India Radio to compare the steady, if still small, trickle of British broadcasts which they are able to relay to their listeners on long and medium wave, with the virtual absence of reciprocal items in our own domestic programmes. But I am quite sure that they know the reason, and will be indulgent to us so long as the war lasts. When peace comes I hope we shall make every effort to do for Indian broadcasts at least as much as India is already doing for British broadcasts. It would be interesting, if time allowed, to speculate upon the kind of Indian broadcasts that would be most suitable for the needs and tastes of British listeners; but I cannot pause to do so. Perhaps my audience may have some ideas which can be discussed after this paper has come to an end?

I regret that my own three years' experience with the B.B.C. was served under war conditions, for I am not sure that the exceptional circumstances have made me a good judge of what will be found either possible or desirable when the stress has passed away. But in many respects, and not least in the all-important field of radio engineering, progress has been so rapid that we have now many more opportunities of using radio to promote understanding between the two countries than have ever previously existed. It is for us to make the right use of them, and, as I have tried to show, this is by no means a simple matter; and we shall only be laying up trouble as well as disappointment for ourselves if we fail to realize its complexity. But at least peace will find us furnished with two things: an effective both-ways channel between Britain and India, and a certain amount of experience which will be valuable to us if we rightly interpret it.

BROADCASTING IN MANY TONGUES

It is sometimes said that there were no broadcasts from Britain to India before the war, but this is not quite correct. As long ago as 1932 the B.B.C. had an Empire service in English, which was much appreciated by both Indians and Europeans who were fortunate enough to possess powerful receiving sets. But, as its name implies, it was mainly intended to link up Britain with the Dominions and Colonies, and it made no pretence of specific appeal to Indians. Then came the war, when Britain was as inferior to her adversaries, save in certain limited fields, in her command of the international ether as she was in more material respects. Gradually the balance has been redressed, and the overseas services of the B.B.C. are now at least as well specialized as, and, I think, a good deal more effective than, the Axis networks. But today, when the B.B.C. broadcasts daily in half a hundred languages, it is useful to remember that only in 1938 was the first foreign language broadcast put out. The great bulk of the experience gained in foreign language transmissions has been acquired under the stress of war and, indeed, under the direct pressure of war needs.

As a result, specialization in the wants of listeners of different nationalities has gone hand in hand with specialization in the languages these nationalities speak. Now I am not sure that this is necessarily a good thing in peace-time, however useful it may be during the war. Let me give a specific illustration. I think that in broadcasting to India from London it is quite vital to find out what Indian listeners want to hear, and also, sometimes, what they need to hear if their picture of a problem is to be complete. But I do not think that it is always an advantage that they should normally hear it from London direct in an Indian language. If it is really worth hearing, English is quite sufficiently well known to bring it to the attention of a very large and influential class of listener; while the experts in All-India Radio can turn it quickly and accurately into a far greater number of languages than London can hope to cover. Nevertheless, under the pressure of war-time conditions, I found myself that I was compelled to increase the number of hours in which London addressed India in Indian languages. This was in part due to the fact that the Axis used such a large number of these languages in its dangerous anti-Allied propaganda,

and partly also to the fact that London was the main source both for war news and for war commentary.

A PASSING PHASE

There was thus a real need to supplement from Britain in several languages the admirable work that All-India Radio was itself doing. For the central position of London as a source of news and comment gives London broadcasts a particular kind of authority for which there is in war-time no real substitute. But I am pretty clear in my own mind that this careful plan of Indian vernacular broadcasts from London has no future after the last shot has been fired. For one thing, there is altogether too much risk of trenching upon what should really be the exclusive province of All-India Radio. For another, there will be duplication, which means waste of effort and resources. And it is not without interest to observe that during my three years the most outstanding broadcasts from this country, if one can judge by the opinions received from India, were mostly delivered in English, either by Indians themselves or by Englishmen selected and presented to the microphone by Indians. Now that I am no longer an officer of the B.B.C. I should like to pay tribute to the really admirable way in which the Indian Section of the Eastern Service have contributed to the information of their own countrymen. In my judgment they have deserved well of the whole United Nations. I think also they have shown that broadcasting from Britain to India depends for its success upon that kind of expert guidance which Indians themselves can alone supply, both in the selection of material and in its proper presentation to the audience.

In saying this I must not be understood to reflect in any way upon the excellence of the present Indian language broadcasts from London. What I do maintain is that the need for them arose with, and is likely to perish with, the war. Take, for example, the various programmes devised for Indian forces. It fell to my lot to provide programmes not only for Indian forces in this country, but also for Indian forces in the Mediterranean and Middle East. These programmes were—and, I expect, are—enormously popular, and the “fan-mail” of Princess Indira of Kapurthala, who compered them, was in my time phenomenal. But their very existence was due to the horrid fact that these Indian forces were outside the range of New Delhi radio, and so could not listen to any Indian station. We were proud to do what we did, but we knew that only the limitation of All-India Radio’s technical resources—a limitation which I hope will soon be redressed—prevented All-India Radio from doing the job themselves.

But there are certain other elements in the present system of broadcasting from Britain to India which are likely, I think, to have permanent value after the war. To begin with, there is the assembly in London of a highly competent Indian personnel. I believe that Britain will always need them if she is to broadcast successfully to India. Indeed, I dream of a regular exchange of personnel between the B.B.C. and All-India Radio, to the great advantage of both organizations. Only by some such device can London be sure of sending to India the items that All-India Radio can joyfully relay, and can Delhi broadcast to London in the knowledge that the transmission is exactly what the B.B.C. are waiting for.

THE RÔLE OF THE BROADCASTS TO INDIA

Again, I think that it has been possible to determine pretty accurately what broadcasting from London can and cannot do. It cannot compete with All-India Radio in live performances of Indian music. It cannot compete in Indian drama in the vernacular languages. It cannot, also, do very much in Indian language poetry, in *mushairas* and such-like symposia of wit and learning. But, on the other side, it can do quite a number of things to supplement what All-India Radio is doing. It can bring to the microphone Western statesmen, scientists, poets, and critics whose names are justly revered in India. It can bring the most eminent living exponents of British art and letters in person to explain their work. It can stimulate the study of the English classics by the voices of great actors. It can not only give the finest interpretations of Western music; it can also interpret Western music in terms intelligible to the Indian listener. And it can reflect, through Indian eyes, for the benefit of Indians,

the proceedings of the Mother of Parliaments, as well as lesser manifestations of the unfolding life—political, social, academic—of Britain. Thus by bridging distance it can project the culture, past and present, of Britain to India. Finally, it can suggest, for India's own judgment, solutions of problems which have confronted Britain and may confront India also. Broadcasts covering all these and certain other topics have been found acceptable to India, and there seems no doubt that when more normal times return the demand for British speakers of eminence in almost every field, but particularly, perhaps, in science, will be very great.

Such are some of the lines, evolved by experience under war-time conditions, which may perhaps point the way to a successful broadcasting service from Britain to India. Of the need of a reciprocal service from India to Britain I have already spoken. Upon the details of the existing programmes and services, of the present allocation of time between the English and the Indian languages, upon a description of the multifarious machinery which each service requires, I have deliberately not embarked. For in my opinion all these have been so moulded and shaped by war needs that their bearing upon the problem is transitory and subject to revision. For the same reason I have not attempted to evaluate the actual effect on India today of the several services broadcast from London which are audible in that country. The times are abnormal; men crave for war news; they are less inclined than usual to search out the good and the beautiful. Yet it is upon these latter things that broadcasting, with its strange power of bringing the problems of humanity to the business and the bosom of the individual citizen, depends for, and in the last resort will assuredly find, its justification.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association at Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, November 28, 1944, Professor L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E., J.P., gave an address on "Broadcasting to India: Some Lessons of War Experience." Sir SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN, High Commissioner for India, presided.

The CHAIRMAN said no introduction of Professor Rushbrook Williams was necessary owing to his many public activities and the many distinguished posts he had held. He also rendered outstanding service to the Indian States as political adviser. He was the author of a large number of historical publications. More recently he had been Director of the Eastern Service of the B.B.C., and it was that experience which enabled him to speak with first-hand knowledge on broadcasting relations between England and India—a subject of the very greatest importance for the future of the two countries.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that the lecturer had been careful to point out that he had excluded from his survey some important aspects of Indian broadcasting; those, in fact, which were of particular interest to Indians, as, for example, broadcasting as an instrument of popular education in India, and as a means of instructing and enlightening the great masses of people with regard to all the vast problems of post-war reconstruction in India. The All-India Radio was originally designed essentially as an internal service, and in view of the vast extent of the country and the needs of the general public the rapid development of the internal service was of the very greatest national importance for India.

Fortunately the authorities in India were fully alive to the need for this development of broadcasting, and the reorganization of the radio service on a nation-wide scale had already been planned and was now under consideration by the Government. Owing to the impetus of the war there had been considerable progress in this

direction. The short-wave stations at Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras provided internal service which had an all-India coverage, and the number of licences issued had increased by about 300 per cent. in the past five years. It was also reported in the Press recently that over 40,000 radio sets had been imported into India from the United States of America under lend-lease.

Not only had the war given a great impetus to the development of internal radio, but also to the provision of broadcasting services to countries outside India's borders. The All-India Radio's external services now covered the whole of Asia and beyond, broadcasts being given in twenty-four languages, nine Indian and fifteen others. That was a development of which India was indeed very proud.

The lecturer had spoken of the notable service which the B.B.C. had rendered and was still rendering to India; the Indian and Eastern services of the B.B.C. had been appreciated both by Indian fighting forces and the civilian population of India. In this connection he would mention that in his recent visit to Indian troops in Italy he was very glad to find how much the B.B.C. broadcasts were appreciated by them there. The All-India Radio, in spite of its various handicaps, was now in a position to do something in return for the service which the B.B.C. was rendering to India. The All-India Radio had been able to send various types of recorded programmes to the B.B.C., studio and transmission facilities were given to the B.B.C.'s news correspondent in India, and messages from British troops to their relatives in England were recorded and sent to the B.B.C.

All this was only a beginning in the reciprocity of which the lecturer spoke. The rapid technical developments taking place in the field of radio throughout the world were also taking place in India, and after the pressure of war needs had been removed the All-India Radio would doubtless be able to send out to England suitable programmes on the kind of subjects to which the lecturer had referred. There was a vast variety of Indian subjects which would be of interest to British listeners.

The suggestion that there should be an exchange of personnel between the B.B.C. and the All-India Radio was interesting. It would be a good thing if the B.B.C. and the All-India Radio maintained a regular staff in each country whose main object would be to give people-to-people broadcasts. There should, in fact, be such an exchange with Canada, Australia and other members of the British Commonwealth, and it would be a most effective way of using broadcasting as an instrument for promoting greater understanding, unity and goodwill among the peoples of these countries.

Mr. LAWSON-REECE (Eastern Services Organizer, B.B.C.) said that he had nothing to add to what the lecturer had said on the general problems, but there were two or three points which he would like to take up. The first was one which occurred to him when the Chairman made his broadcast to India after his visit to Italy, and was thus able to report to his countrymen on the efforts and doings of the Indian contingents in the Central Mediterranean. Not only would news of the Indian contingents fighting in Europe be welcomed in India, but after the war there would be an increasing task for the medium of broadcasting in reporting back on the doings of those who came from India on more peaceful missions as students or to exercise their varying professions.

On the question of personnel, he would say that it was something very near to the hearts of all those concerned with broadcasting that there should be an exchange between the two countries. At this moment a senior member of the B.B.C. Indian News Section was on his way to India where he would be attached to the All-India Radio, and a senior member of the All-India Radio staff was on his way to London, so that even under war-time conditions this exchange was being kept alive.

The speaker wished to pay a tribute to Mr. Z. A. Bokhari who, after more than four and a half years of work in London, was leaving shortly to take up new and responsible work in India. He would take with him the sincere good wishes and goodwill of all with whom he had been associated in the B.B.C.

The B.B.C. was very grateful for the cordial co-operation which All-India Radio had extended to the New Delhi office. It started in a small way two or three years ago and had built up quite an elaborate organization, catering as it did for the pro-

gramme side of broadcasting and also feeding the Home and Overseas Services with commentaries and background material, not only from India itself but covering the whole of the S.E.A.C. front. This could not be done without the facilities and goodwill put unreservedly at the disposal of the B.B.C. by the All-India Radio and the Government of India in all its branches and departments. It was sometimes felt that the B.B.C. should not be in India in the form of a branch office, but the important task of that office was to supply the B.B.C. with programmes for the Home audience and ideas for programmes to send back and to develop relations with listeners in India. Throughout all that work the office had received the readiest co-operation of all official bodies with whom it had come into contact.

Mr. HILTON BROWN said that he was glad that the paper had been written because it enabled its hearers to realize how much had been done and how well it had been done. He had not heard an actual broadcast to India, but he sometimes saw the scripts which went out. There was one advantage which the broadcasts had, and that was that in addressing the Indian intelligentsia the Eastern Services could always depend upon a certain fixed level of intelligence—and it was a high level. For a long time broadcasts to India must aim at the intelligentsia, and that was an argument in support of Professor Rushbrook Williams's suggestion that broadcasts to India after the war should be in English.

He agreed heartily with the need for reciprocity; it was perhaps strange to suggest to such an audience that more broadcasts from India were needed. The reason was that listeners in this country were very ready to label as propaganda anything said by those who had official experience of India, or even by Indians living in this country.

He wished they might consider the kind of talks to be given. There was an enormous field from which to choose; the variety was endless, but there was not time to go into it. He hoped, however, it would be done on a carefully considered plan, by means of series with a theme and a beginning, a middle and an end. If masses of undigested India were hurled at the listeners in the country they would be in a worse state of fog than ever and would give up all attempt to understand.

He regretted that Professor Rushbrook Williams was no longer an officer of the B.B.C. He worked with him to a certain extent, always to his own advantage and benefit.

Mr. J. CHINNA DURAI said that he had given some broadcasts to India from London, but when he was invited to do so for the first time the subject on which he was asked to speak was too high-brow for the people of India. It was the subject of law in England, which the majority of the people of India could neither appreciate nor understand. Although the B.B.C. had done much from the point of view of entertainment of Indian troops in the Mediterranean and Middle East, it seemed that there was some lack of vision as to talks which would be of interest and advantage to the Indian public. The kind of talk which would for the moment promote better understanding between the people of Britain and India would be topics relating to present-day happenings. For instance, he suggested to the B.B.C. when Japan was knocking at India's frontiers that a talk on Japan should be broadcast. He prepared a script and understood that it went over very well.

In this country there were many Indians and also Englishmen who were in close contact with the British public and knew what was passing in the mind of the average Britisher, what he said about India, and what he thought and felt about India, and it would be most valuable if something of this could be made known to India to refute charges of suspicion and bad faith. It might be termed propaganda, as Mr. Hilton Brown had hinted, but if it would serve a useful purpose it ought to be put over, notwithstanding possible criticisms from some unthinking or unimaginative quarters, as a matter of service to India in India's own interests. He would like to suggest that there should be a little more vision in the matter of selection of material to be broadcast to India in the limited time allocated for the purpose.

Lieut.-Colonel H. R. HARDINGE said his excuse for speaking on the most interesting address was more than forty years' experience in India, the later of them until 1938 being closely associated with the development of broadcasting in that country.

He heartily agreed, as surely all thinking people must do, that international broadcasting was a power of the first magnitude in the direction of better understanding between peoples. Let there be, therefore, as much broadcasting, both to and from India, as possible. As to the former, a programme committee composed of Indian and British members should know what India wanted—namely, items of interest to the Indian intelligentsia and English-speaking peoples generally in English. They could afford to possess good short-wave receivers and take these items either direct or via relays from Indian short-wave stations at Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. When he was last in India, he was able as a rule to receive the B.B.C. Empire programme direct at Delhi or Simla quite clearly and satisfactorily.

As to broadcasting in India, he submitted that All-India Radio should edit, condense, simplify and put into the vernaculars such of these items as were likely to be of interest or helpful to the rural population, to be broadcast from Delhi to provincial broadcasting centres and relayed thence on medium wave. Much had to be done by way of providing these rural areas with suitable means of reception. There was a very big field for initiative on the part of the radio trade in this respect. The value of international broadcasting must vary in proportion to the ability of the masses to benefit therefrom. That was why it was so vitally important that the standard of education in India should be raised with the least possible delay. He visualized Indian broadcasting playing a very great part in this direction.

Broadcasting from India to this and other countries surely was at least as important as to India, if indeed not more so. Ignorance of India outside its limits was colossal, for the simple reason that the ordinary public hardly ever heard the country mentioned and was rarely told anything about it. Could not a little room be found in the B.B.C. Home Service programmes for, say, occasional descriptive talks, preferably by Indian speakers, on the country, its peoples, their customs, trials and tribulations, and what not? These could be prepared beforehand if originating (as mostly they should) in India, while “hot” news items could be recorded when conditions were favourable and broadcast when convenient, and if not technically satisfactory re-recorded for transmission by the B.B.C. If occasionally the B.B.C. transmission in the Home Service included merely an edited telegram from India, who cared so long as it came through and was what was wanted? Political news should be mere statements of fact without comment thereon. The average listener in this country was not interested in details of Indian party politics, and India rightly resented anything savouring of political bias over the broadcasting to that country.

Mr. BOKHARI said that Sir Frank Noyce, the father of Indian broadcasting, was present, and India owed him a very great debt.

All-India Radio possessed several medium- and short-wave stations, and no medium-wave station would cover the whole of India; the biggest medium-wave station in India was at Delhi and the area which it covered was 80 miles. In order to cover the whole of India, therefore, it was necessary to have a great many medium-wave stations or to have a short-wave service. If there were medium-wave stations planted all over the country with broadcasts relayed from Delhi, for instance, linguistic difficulties would arise. Delhi could not pretend to cater for anything but the north, and even from the north the speaker would exclude the Punjab.

It was obvious that if the B.B.C. wished to establish itself (and it had established itself) it would have to stand on its own legs and compete with the whole of the world. But India was becoming radio-minded. As to the question of short-wave stations, with the exception of a few thousand sets, very few were medium-wave sets because of the distances. There were medium-wave sets in Calcutta because in the early days Calcutta was the first city to start broadcasting on a medium wave, and there was no other service and the people were satisfied with it. He would stress that the B.B.C. should do its best to invite listeners to listen to the voices of London direct and not to rely on having programmes relayed. They could relay the programme which was asked for, and that was a question which All-India Radio and the B.B.C. would have to decide.

One station director could not dictate the needs of other stations; each station director would have to make his own needs known to the B.B.C., and he suggested

that there would be so many requests from the various stations that the B.B.C. would have to find special transmitters.

About the needs of Indian broadcasts to this country, speaking as a listener and not as a member of All-India Radio or the B.B.C., a telegram was received in India before the war asking for a talk by a man who had to travel by bicycle to his work through the jungle. He had framed it and it was in his office. No doubt things had changed since then, although a famous newspaper (not British) had asked for an article from a representative Indian—for example, an elephant driver.

Mr. R. W. Brock wished to emphasize the enormous scope remaining in India for the extension of radio broadcasting as exemplified by the fact that in a country with a total population of 400 millions, including an urban population larger than the total population of Great Britain, the number of listening sets did not at present exceed 250,000. If that figure reflected past neglect and tardiness in the development of broadcasting in India it was also a measure of the potentialities which lay ahead. One of the main lines of development was emphasized in the second report of the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council—the scope for the multiplication of radio receivers in the villages, where they were essential for every purpose of social and economic progress. In that recommendation was indicated the foundation of what might well become in the post-war period one of the most important new industries it would be possible to establish in India—namely, an industry designed to secure the mass production of communal receiving sets which should be made available, mainly by the aid of grants from public funds, to the whole of the country's 700,000 villages.

With regard to the immediate demand for radio receiving sets, the Chairman had mentioned the recent importation of 40,000 sets, but that figure underestimated very greatly the potential demand at the present time. If imported sets could be made available, he estimated that in the five years after the cessation of hostilities India could absorb anything from 250,000 to 500,000 sets, representing an expansion greater than during the preceding twenty or twenty-five years.

For the first time in her history—with sterling balances totalling £1,000,000,000 (one thousand millions), in addition to large funds available for investment in India—that country was in a position not only to plan large-scale developments but also to finance them without external aid. Consequently he hoped that full consideration would be given in the reconstruction programmes to development plans affecting radio broadcasting; and meanwhile, even at this stage, to the need which would arise, as soon as the European war ceased, for a large increase in the number of sets which India would be able to import from this country or the United States, or both.

Sir FRANK NOYCE said that Mr. Bokhari had much too generously referred to him as the father of broadcasting in India. When he left India in 1937 it was only a puling infant, but as was evident from the lecture, it had grown into a lusty youth of whom any father might be proud. It was only in 1935 that broadcasting in India became a separate department; before that it had been part of the Post and Telegraphs Department. The great difficulty in the way of expansion had been the usual one of lack of funds; the department had been regarded as something of a luxury, and it was not easy to get any money for it. The war, in that direction as in so many others, had greatly stimulated progress and it was now going ahead very rapidly.

Great stress had been laid throughout the afternoon on the question of reciprocity. He thought it was true to say that never in English history had so much interest been taken in Indian affairs as was the case today. There was a constant demand in this country for lectures on Indian subjects, and the questions asked at the end of them showed a keen and intelligent interest in a vast subject. What was wanted was more information about India from India itself. People in this country wanted to hear what leading Indians, and not only leading Indians but especially members of the younger generation, had to say about the economic, industrial, agricultural and political problems which faced India in the future. Reciprocal broadcasts would have another great advantage for the majority of those present: they would enable them to hear once more the voices of old friends in India.

Professor RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said that he was glad that his paper had produced such an interesting discussion, because there was hardly an aspect of Indian broadcasting which had not been mentioned. He would draw attention to one feature raised by Mr. Brock and stressed by Sir Frank Noyce—the question of money for broadcasting. As Mr. Brock had said, it was a definite recommendation of the Report of the Reconstruction Committee that broadcasting should be used to its fullest possible capacity as part of a general campaign for the education of the people. The rather depressing analysis given by Professor A. V. Hill as to the dependence of the whole of India's economy upon food, health and population would be remembered; and broadcasting could play an enormous part in the education of the nation and in laying the foundations for the national effort which would have to be made.

It was interesting to notice that some well-instructed Indian economists believed that during the first five-year period for which the departments of the Government of India, the Provinces and States were now invited to put forward a blue print, there would be something like £2,000,000,000 sterling available. The Report itself was content to put that figure between £600,000,000 and £700,000,000 from official sources alone. Even if a fraction of that amount could be devoted to laying the foundations for a systematic campaign for popular broadcasting in India two things would be accomplished. The mobilization of the people of India towards reconstruction would be greatly accelerated and the importance of linking up India and Britain would for the first time be emphasized. It was correct, as Mr. Hilton Brown had said, that in broadcasting from this country to India at the moment an audience of very high intellectual level could be reached: but it was equally true to assume that there were a great many people who would be interested in what was being said from this country if it could be put into sufficiently simple and clear language. That could only be done through an Indian broadcasting organization, but at the moment such transmissions did not reach the mass of the people at all. The sheer lack of numbers of Indian listeners was the greatest handicap of all at present in trying to use broadcasting as a means of improving international relations. Anything which increased it, anything which enabled broadcasting to be brought to the small country towns, would be an immense gain, and it was from that point of view that he was very glad to hear the real consensus of opinion expressed by the audience as to the part which broadcasting could and should play.

Sir ALFRED WATSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and to the Chairman. He felt in listening to Professor Rushbrook Williams that one of the few virtues of war was the expansion of communications between peoples, leading ultimately, one hoped, to better understanding between them. It was a misfortune largely due to technical considerations that the reverse lend-lease in broadcasting had been so inadequate. He would welcome broadcasts not only on the art and culture of India from Indians, but from leaders of the nationalists, in order to convince, if they could, the people of this country on the merits of their programme.

THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN INDIA TODAY *

By LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. R. STEVENS

SOME weeks ago Sir Frank Brown was good enough to ask me to address you on the subject of the welfare of British troops in India. My views on this subject were unpopular in some quarters in India, and they may prove unpopular with you here. But I can only say in extenuation that I am trying to offer a constructive approach to an even greater problem than the welfare of our fighting men, which is the future relationship of the British and Indian peoples.

Since Sir Frank Brown's invitation, Lord Munster has been in India investigating

* Lecture to the Association on December 13, 1944, with the Right Hon. L. Hore-Belisha, M.P., in the Chair.

this problem. In view of his visit and impending report, I propose to shift the emphasis somewhat. I shall approach my subject by the back door. I shall discuss the morale of British troops in India as a secondary manifestation of their relationship with the Indian peoples.

The normal European population of India was doubled in 1942 by the arrival of 60,000 Italian prisoners of war. I would suggest to you that this was an event of importance. Thereafter, the 400,000,000 people and 700,000 villages which comprise Greater India had twice as many opportunities of seeing Europeans and of observing their habits and behaviour. But the important impact of the Italian prisoners of war lay in the fact that Indian peoples for the first time saw men in their midst with white skins who were not of a ruling caste. The Italian prisoners were men who worked with their hands and who demonstrated, in their limited contacts with Indians, that Europeans were not necessarily super-Brahmins, but men like themselves, men who were obliged to make their way, and to claim prestige, not by virtue of race or birth but by inherent energy and ability.

I think it a great pity that more Italian prisoners of war were not taken to India and that they were not more widely distributed; that they were not allowed to establish their individual industries or to cultivate the land in their painstaking and efficient fashion. Had they done so they might have shown to at least a few of India's millions that the Western world was of one piece with the East, not inhabited by near-divinities born to authority, but by men who grapple in their daily round with the same problems which confront all who work in order that they may live. This, to my mind, is the most urgent fact to be demonstrated to the Indian peoples today if we are to realign our relationships with them. And consequent upon the acceptance of this idea, it will become necessary for Europeans resident in India to be no longer distinguished from their fellow-citizens by any advantage of race, or by any social perquisite, or by any implication of superiority. In no other way can such residents implement the solemn promise of the British Government that Indians are to cease being subject peoples and are hereafter to be arbiters of their own destinies. In no other way can we persuade the Indian peoples to associate themselves freely with that immensely great institution the British Commonwealth of Nations.

THE NEW RELATIONSHIP

I hope that you can accept this thesis, for I do not propose to invite or to refute any of the stock arguments which it usually evokes. I *know* that India is a continent and not a country. I *know* that the major races of India have little common interest or cohesiveness. I *know* that India, as no other country in the world, needs a guide and friend in the Western world. I am as certain as any *burra sahib* that the relinquishment of British control may mean twenty, perhaps fifty, years of internal strife and even of civil war. But I am also certain that time has marched on and has left us no alternative. We must either move in the van of events or else relinquish all our rights to leadership. And I am doubly certain that we can never achieve either leadership or friendship in India if we depend upon the crumbling façade of caste which has protected Englishmen in India in the past.

I have had the fortune to live, at one time or another, in all the great British Dominions. I spent my schooldays in British Columbia, where my father, himself an Englishman, was loath to post on the walls of his factory the current Canadian phrase, "No English need apply." My father maintained stoutly that Englishmen could dig as much ditch or chop down as many trees in a day as any native-born Canadian. Later, I spent many years in South Africa, where the contempt visited upon me as a "verdamnte rooinek"—a red-necked Englishman—was only mitigated by the natural kindness of the Afrikaner. I have also lived in Australia, among people two generations from the sound of Bow Bells, yet who reckoned the "pommy"—the English immigrant—to be only slightly higher in the social scale, and only slightly less obnoxious, than that other English importation, the jackrabbit. Let us be frank. There was a time, and within the memory of many of us, when in every British Dominion many an Englishman, like George Nathaniel Curzon, was a most superior purzon—and was cordially disliked on that account.

The crowning feat of British statesmanship—in which Britain has succeeded in a unique degree—has been the successful evolution of the British Dominions from subject states into allies—allies which owe no tribute to anyone, who are free and independent, and yet who twice within a generation have poured out every resource of blood and treasure in the service of the Mother Country. Today, epithets like “pommy” and “verdamnte rooinek” are all but forgotten, and I doubt if there is an industry in Canada that does not welcome Englishmen. There is only one basic reason for this change of attitude in the Dominions. Political brotherhood has replaced suzerainty, and in his contacts with overseas British peoples the Englishman no longer feels—nor shows—his former attitude of superiority.

I know all the stock arguments on this subject also—the Dominions are largely of British race, their populations are homogeneous, their standards of living approach those of Great Britain, and so on. All very different from India. Again I plead that, whatever the truth of such statements, the march of events has forced our hand. We must either make India our willing associate or else get out. And the only way to make India a willing associate, to the enormous advantage of Indians and Britons alike, is to persuade 400,000,000 people of different race, habits and character from ourselves, that we are prepared to relinquish our status as superior beings and are willing to become partners and associates in the business of living in India.

THE BRITISH SOLDIER'S INFLUENCE

So, coming back to our Italians, if we regard their presence in India as beneficial, in that they show the Indian peoples that sahibry and a white skin are not necessarily concomitant, how much more beneficial might be the presence in India of ten times as many Englishmen in the form of the British Army of today? Indeed, within the next year or two the European population of India will be twenty, perhaps thirty, times greater than before the war. Millions of Indians who have never seen a European will observe the habits of life of British soldiers; and I believe that it is possible to use these hundreds of thousands of Englishmen, who, as part of a conscript army, represent an accurate cross-section of British thought, habits and character, as our ambassadors of goodwill, to dispel old notions, and to create a new concept of what Great Britain in the 1940s really is and really stands for. At this time, at the eleventh hour and the fifty-ninth minute, through the medium of the ordinary workaday Englishman serving his country in the Far East, I believe it still possible to win the confidence and affection of Indians—a confidence and affection which have diminished to a marked degree in the last thirty years.

In a paper as short as this I must omit much that I would like to say about the men who represent British authority in India today, but I want you to believe that I recognize the enormous services which they have conferred upon India and the equally obvious fact that their replacement by Indians is not going to solve India's problems overnight. But, from my experiences as a staff officer in New Delhi, I am satisfied that the five hundred odd British I.C.S. and the x hundred senior officers of the India Command cannot persuade politically conscious Indians either to trust us or to co-operate with us. With very few exceptions these *burra sahibs* are immured behind the walls of the old ruling traditions, and they cannot present the picture of the Britain of today to Indian minds.

All of you know of the hypersensitiveness which characterizes so many educated Indians. That touchiness arises, in part at least, from an inferiority complex. The eradication of that inferiority complex is one of the biggest jobs in the world today. It may be the only road to salvation in India, that single factor which, after the abandonment of British control, will save India from perhaps a century of chaos. With the best will in the world, senior officers and civil servants can do little to help in this task. It would involve a complete about-face in their attitude towards the people whom they govern or command. That would be, I think, too much to hope for or to expect. But I am rash enough to believe that the ordinary British soldier can do the job where his superiors might fail. The need is so great that I think he should be given the chance.

The evidence upon which I base this opinion comes from personal experiences. My first service was in Middle East, where I saw British and Indian troops in garrison

and on operations in Egypt, Libya, Palestine, Syria, Cyprus, Iraq and Iran. In each of these countries (with the possible exception of Palestine) I saw British and Indian soldiers building a permanent structure of goodwill for Great Britain—a structure which diplomats, traders and financiers had failed to build in the past. How did they do it? Well, in the first place, they represented something comprehensible. They were working men going about their jobs, and their jobs made them intelligible to other working men in the countries in which they were in occupation. They were not god-like creatures, like diplomats and financiers, for almost anybody could understand what they were about. In the second place, their standard of intelligence was astonishingly high, higher in some ways, I think, than that of diplomats and financiers. I would say that in the British conscript forces of today one man in every eight—that is, one man in every section, one man in every bell tent—is sufficiently well educated to exercise a dynamic influence upon his comrades, to cause the other seven to think above what would have been their level if the eighth man had not been with them. Consequently the British forces today represent that tolerant, practical and fair-minded Britain which has so much to offer to the world, the Britain which led George Santayana to say in his memorable phrase, "Never since the days of the Greeks has the world known such a wise, just and boyish schoolmaster."

AWAKENING INTEREST

When British troops go abroad they instinctively dislike their surroundings. They thereupon proceed to cure—or to ameliorate—their healthy insular dissatisfaction by making the corner of the earth where they are stationed a little bit of England. Cricket and football pitches go down, the wineshops and cafés are taught "pub." manners, the tea habit is established. There the process used to stop. But during this war the higher standard of intelligence of the Forces has led to a further development. The advantages of interesting British troops in the countries in which they are serving has been recognized by many military commanders. Diverse interests make for efficiency by keeping men keen and active. Local contacts, once frowned upon, have proved a considerable morale factor, and in Middle East troops were encouraged to learn as much as possible about the countries in which they were stationed: whenever military duties permitted they were allowed to identify themselves with local enterprises, which served to introduce them to the civilian populations.

The effect of such contacts on British soldiers in many areas was most marked and most beneficial. But it was as nothing to the effect upon the local inhabitants. For numberless generations these peoples of the Levantine countries have seen soldiers coming and going. The armed man hitherto, for four thousand years, has arrived as the intruder, the power from without which destroyed security and happiness. But the British soldier in this war was different from any who came before him. He did not use the civilian population as his property, nor did he give orders, nor did he steal or kill. Instead, he came rather as a guest who was interested in his hosts, as a guest who was prepared, if given a chance, to help in the housework. As a result, everywhere in the three thousand miles between Tunis and Teheran, the local inhabitants are friends of Great Britain today because of what they know of the habits and behaviour of British troops.

If time permitted I could give you dozens of instances of friendships established by British soldiers which will continue to serve their country long after they come home. I will mention only two. The colony of Cyprus before this war was a bit of a headache to the Government of Great Britain. It is only a few years since a mob burned Government House in Nicosia. A separatist movement was backed by the principal landlord of the island, the Greek Orthodox Church. There was not an English language newspaper in Cyprus; there was not a British industry nor a British merchant trader in the island. At best the Cypriots were sulky subjects. Today this has been changed. The change has been wrought, not by a change in officials or in policies, but by men of the British Forces. Unit commanders, seeking to buttress morale in a garrison station, encouraged their men to be interested in Cyprus, its history, its people, its customs. Today the Cypriots, having become acquainted with the British people in arms instead of with a handful of civil servants, are for the first time in their history proud of their association with Great Britain.

A number of Indian mule transport companies, after serving for four years in Great Britain, returned home this year. They were met at Bombay by that great man, Brigadier Brayne, whose work in village reconstruction in the Punjab may be familiar to some of you. I am going to quote from his report upon these Indian soldiers, who had learned something of Great Britain and of our ways of life here.

"From having walked in the English mud," wrote Brigadier Brayne, "they had picked up the English slouch and stride. They smoked pipes, and quite a number said that they were going to stick to them. Some said that they only wanted a little leave and thereafter to return to England. One said that the people spoke the truth in England. Another said that a lamb born at six o'clock in England could not be caught by a dozen men at four o'clock. His friend agreed, and spoke of sheep-dogs. A sheep-dog was worth a platoon. It fetched the sheep named by the shepherd. A long-handled English hoe, said another, was a better implement than a *khurpa*. They all approved of latrines, and were quite shocked when I told them that the Punjab hated latrines. They said they found no party faction nor litigation in England. They wanted to know why Indian roofs were still flat, so that thieves could move about them at their pleasure. They said that chimneys, and flowers in the courtyard, and cooking on a grate—each of these things was right and proper. Indeed, all the things for which I have been laughed and sneered at by British and Indians for the last twenty years seemed to these men to be merely common sense."

THE VALUE OF FRIENDLY GESTURES

Now I put it to you, if only a small proportion of the hundreds of thousands of British troops who must train, garrison, convalesce and spend their leave in India were to show the same intimate appreciation of Indian values which these transport drivers showed of English habits and environment, we would be on our way to establishing permanent friendships in India such as I believe we have established in the Middle East. The British soldier, by discovering interests in the Indian scene, would benefit in morale; for boredom during the years of training and garrison duties is a most dangerous enemy of military efficiency. But any benefit to the British soldier, marked though it may be, would be as nothing in comparison with its effect upon Indians, who I believe would not fail to react favourably to any appreciation of their country, their manners and their way of living. And, above everything else, such contacts would be a reassociation of East and West on a new basis, a move away from social isolation, and towards fellowship.

I will give you one instance of what a friendly gesture can accomplish in India. I am fond of ballet, and I found the Westernized Indian ballet, as sponsored by great exponents like Uday Shankar and Bhagat Ram, to be exciting and absorbing. I wrote one or two articles on the birth of this new ballet and the part that India might play in the future of this form of entertainment. These articles led me to acquaintanceship with a certain number of professional entertainers—actors, novelists, painters, story-tellers, radio stars, poets (India has more than her quota of poets)—and similar artists. I found them to be made of much the same stuff as their Western opposite numbers. They taught me something of the entertainment business and of the arts in modern India. I discovered that organized entertainment offered excellent vehicles for my propaganda. I appealed to these friends I had made—these technicians of the film, radio, theatre and advertising professions—and I found them very ready to assist me. They contended that we had been doing many things in the wrong fashion. I instituted audience reaction tests to confirm their recommendations, and found them to be right in every instance. So, having discovered the right way to put our case, I went back to my friends in the entertainment industries and asked further assistance. This likewise was willingly granted. Before leaving India we had made a start in morale-building enterprises and in selling the war to the Indians, not through suspect official agencies, but through the normal channels of entertainment. All this arose out of my expression of appreciation of the Indian ballet. I am certain that in the thousand other activities which comprise the mosaic of Indian life a similar interest would engender a similar response.

If the proposal to introduce Britons to Indians has any merit, and if the association is to be fruitful, I feel that we must face the fact at the beginning that such enterprise

will not prosper under the auspices either of the Government of India or the India High Command. The Imperial gulfs between ruler and ruled have not been bridged, and cannot be bridged by a generation of officials and commanders whose roots are in a system that is rapidly passing away. With the best will in the world—and I do not question either the willingness of the Europeans in India to make concessions—they cannot administer an enterprise based on what is to them new and revolutionary psychology. They are not *en rapport* with the Indian intelligentsia, and I fear that in some cases at least they are even more out of touch with current British thought. To do them justice, these harassed and hard-working officials who carry the burden of administration in India have had little home leave in the last ten years, and they do not realize that the British conscript army of today is perhaps as representative of British opinion as the House of Commons or any other British institution. There is nothing of "Soldiers Three" left in the British Army except in the pages of Kipling, and sometimes I wonder if some of those in high authority in India realize this.

DISCONTENT OF SERVING MEN

To both the Government of India and the India High Command the presence of hundreds of thousands of British soldiers in India raises problems which make their presence there, in the eyes of administration officers at least, a cause for worry rather than for congratulation. Take, for instance, the matter of morale. Many British soldiers have been in the Eastern theatre for from five to seven years. Military necessities have prevented a regular repatriation programme. The presence of large bodies of Allied troops in England, and exaggerated reports of marital infidelity, have added to the unrest. British soldiers in India are even denied their favourite Aunt Sally at which to shy their grouses, for N.A.A.F.I. is not allowed to operate there. Instead, almost the only people whom they see riding in luxurious motor-cars are the army contractors. To all too many soldiers, therefore, India and its people represent only squalor, servility and abysmal ignorance. They hate India because, in Mr. Nehru's sad phrase, they have never looked upon India's face.

When I first went to Delhi I felt that something might be done. I had seen British and Indian soldiers, under the stress of the desert campaign, come to a fine pride in each other and to a heart-raising fellowship. I was not prepared to accept the oft-repeated dictum that British troops had always disliked India and always would. For it was not true. Every week in New Delhi excerpts from censored letters, forwarded for my information, gave instances of British soldiers, prompted by intelligent officers, who were discovering India to be a land of absorbing interest. One regimental commander had organized a sort of Brains Trust, in which British and Indians sat in a circle and questioned each other on every subject under the sun. Another British unit had adopted a nearby village, had organized welfare work, entertainment and sports. Another C.O. asked me for lecturers who would, as he said, "put his men in the Indian picture." A fourth unit tried to arrange its leave rosters on an occupational basis, so that men who had been steel workers in Civvy Street might have a chance to see the great Tata mills, farmer-soldiers might visit Indian experimental farms, and so on.

INHIBITIONS

But these intelligent unit commanders were mere voices crying in the wilderness. When through the media of our publications, our radio programmes, our films and our posters we attempted to awaken a deeper interest in India among British soldiers I encountered continuous difficulties. I report the following instances not as complaints nor as criticisms of my superiors, whose hands I know in many instances to have been tied by long-standing instructions, but simply to show how hard it is to put new wine in old bottles. When I planned a series of articles for our publications by Indian authorities who would write on their own subjects, I was forbidden to commission such articles on the ground that no Indian would write for any official publication without dragging in politics. When I tried to place another of our publications, an ably edited discursive weekly of the *Spectator* type, on general sale in order that educated Indians might know what the British Army read and thought, I was forbidden to allow civilians to see it lest the soldiers' letters—we were proud of

our correspondence columns, for they were up to the best British standards—should be twisted into criticism and used to embarrass the Indian Government. When I wanted Indian lecturers I was offered Rs. 50 a month—£3 10s.—over and above their subsistence. At every turn I found almost insuperable difficulties in fostering contacts between the British civilian army and politically conscious Indians and in encouraging them to be frank and friendly with each other. Indeed, I was finally told that this was not my job. My superior was probably right. Yet I came away even more convinced than before that I was on the right track, that a great opportunity existed, and that to establish fellowship between representative Britons and Indians on a basis of equality was one of the most crying needs, indeed one of the greatest tasks, of our time.

WHY NOT FRATERNIZATION?

If you calculate the intelligentsia of India at one-tenth of one per cent. of her population, you will find yourself with a half-million Indians who comprise the leaders of the commercial and industrial communities, the technicians of India's industries, the teachers and the professional classes. These men and women are the vanguard of westernization in India. They make their livings by keeping abreast of Western methods, technique and modes of thought. Their faces are turned towards the West—that is to say, towards Great Britain, which has always been the gateway to the New World for Indians. As a class, this intelligentsia fear and loathe the Japanese. Pan-Asia can never be other than a menace to them. Individually the relationships of these Indians with Europeans are pleasant, or no worse than indifferent; in their general outlook they can be said to be pro-British but anti-Government of India. They are particularly resentful that after twenty years of haggling the old forms of suzerainty and of social differentiation still prevail. Their attitude towards their own political parties is cool, and in many instances is tinged with despair. On the whole I would say they were disillusioned with politicians, British and Indian alike. They long to see India emerge to greatness. To them her road to destiny seems unreasonably long.

There is nothing in the foregoing attitudes to keep British soldiers and educated Indians apart. A great many soldiers in India are sympathetic to Indian aspirations. The Indian wants a new India—the British soldier wants a better Britain. There is consequently common ground for friendships, which, if formed, might profoundly affect the future. The opportunity exists, and time marches on.

I hope I have made it clear that I believe that a far greater association of British and Indian peoples is possible than has been achieved in the past; that such development might affect the futures of both countries; that the activating agent in establishing such friendships cannot be the European residents of India who adhere to traditional attitudes, but the British civilian armies, whom I believe to represent and interpret more correctly the current thought of Britain.

As to method, I have ideas of my own as how to proceed, but I realize that they are the ideas of one who spent a very short time in India and consequently have no value except as personal opinions. I would like, however, in closing to express my deep personal satisfaction with the recent appointment of Brigadier Desmond Young as Director of Public Relations, Indian Army. If he is given a directive to popularize India with British troops and to foster liaison between the Indian intelligentsia and our soldiers, there is no man anywhere better qualified to carry out such a programme and to launch what might turn out to be a great Imperial enterprise.

N.B.—A lively and critical discussion on this paper followed, and will be printed in the April issue of *THE ASIATIC REVIEW*.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

POST-WAR ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA : OFFICIAL PLANS

BY R. W. BROCK

IN India, while political planning tarries, economic planning is proceeding smoothly and swiftly and is finding expression in detailed programmes which—always provided they are carried into operation with the necessary vigour and co-operation—should yield very solid benefits and make possible the attainment of a reasonably high level of prosperity. It is not only conceivable, but probable, that, as and when conditions become propitious, Government will make their own direct contribution to the evolution of a new form of government in view of the apparent inability of the party leaders to achieve that objective without official assistance. Meanwhile, however, the "reconstruction planning" which Sir Ardeshir Dalal has joined the Government of India, as Planning and Development Member, to promote, has one aspect which it may be timely to stress. In recent years India's form of government has moved forward more rapidly than her economic system, resulting in a certain degree of mal-adjustment. The system of Parliamentary democracy established under the India Act of 1935 was superimposed on an economy still largely medieval. Consequently, at this juncture a period of economic planning and development, pending a further advance in the Constitutional sphere, may not lack advantages and should certainly give Indian Parliaments and Cabinets wider scope when unqualified autonomy is finally achieved. Unfortunately, at all stages since the Montford Reforms, "empty Exchequers"—and the consequent inability to effect more than minor extensions of the social services—have represented the heaviest single handicap confronting Indian Ministers, and Provincial autonomy has proved relatively infructuous and disheartening predominantly on that account. That handicap, it is now possible to predict, will not survive into the post-war years. During the present century a succession of Commissions and Committees have formulated developmental projects, covering every sector in which progress was realized to be desirable, but in most instances with little or no effect owing to lack of funds. Now, however, for the first time, we have planning without impecuniosity, and in the implementation of these schemes the Government of India, the Provincial and State Governments will all take part.

It is true that the large new financial resources now available are at present at the exclusive disposal of the Government of India, but it is equally true that this power of allocation will be a most potent factor in promoting not only progress but co-ordination; nor is there any reason to assume that the co-operation so prompted will be in any sense reluctant. On the contrary, as the Reconstruction Committee of the Government of India assert in their Second Report, now available : " There is general agreement as to the measures over a great part of the field and for a task of this nature and magnitude a pooling of all resources will clearly be desirable, if not necessary, and this will inevitably entail a considerable degree of co-ordination. Co-ordination is especially necessary in respect of such subjects as resettlement, industrial development, electric power, irrigation, road transport and road planning. In certain matters requiring unified direction it may be possible to set up autonomous authorities with powers of an all-India nature in agreement with Provinces and States. In certain cases it may be desirable to set up regional authorities which extend over the territory of neighbouring Provinces and States, somewhat on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A." (one of whose leading experts is now in India to investigate and make recommendations).

Inevitably, the first target of economic planning in India must be increased production, agricultural and industrial, accompanied by improved transport and communications. The social services demanded equally by the people and their political leaders can materialize only when individual and collective incomes have expanded sufficiently to make such schemes financially practicable. Universal education, a very

much higher standard of health and similar desiderata are unavoidably deferred until there emerges the very much larger margin for taxation which an all-round and substantial increase in production can alone make possible. In rural India usury remains the most formidable single hindrance to social progress. In the villages, where most of the population live, communal amenities financed from local rates will emerge only when usury disappears. In these small communities, of which there are 700,000, there is room for a rate collector (symbolizing the public interest) or for a moneylender (symbolizing private interest), but not for both! Indeed, so long as usury—now utilizing more capital than industry and Government securities combined—maintains its present traditional and evil dominance, the modernization of agriculture and industry alike may remain a popular aspiration but will never emerge as a solid achievement. British loans, which at least financed productive undertakings and enterprises, have been eliminated, but the usurious loans of the rural moneylenders, which are mainly unproductive, survive, and will continue to cripple rural, and ultimately industrial, development at their source so long as they do so. What incentive has any cultivator to increase his output, by any means, so long as the usurer remains the principal beneficiary, as he is in nine cases out of ten today?

India is entitled, and should be encouraged and assisted, to attain all the industrial development of which it is capable; but, in terms of employment, what will such maximum development yield? The Reconstruction Committee, after noting that India's population, now numbering 400 millions, is increasing at the rate of 11 to 15 per cent. a decade, assume that this rate will remain operative "for two or three decades." Meanwhile, "The population at present employed in organized industry is officially computed as 2.16 millions in 1941 as compared with 1.75 millions in 1938, or an increase of nearly 25 per cent. in three years. The increase in 1944 as compared with 1938 would be of the order of 50 per cent." In other words, the number of workers in "organized industry," as distinct from village industries and small concerns employing unskilled labour, falls below *one year's increases* in the country's total population. The Committee accept the inevitable inference that, "while no definite estimate can be given of the possible expansion of industry and other forms of non-agricultural employment resulting from post-war development, it would appear very doubtful if it can absorb the whole of the probable increase, and, as emigration is likely to be more restricted in the future, it will be clear that the pressure on the land is likely to continue." Hence the necessity for such a comprehensive programme as that formulated by the Imperial Agricultural Research Committee, involving a capital outlay of £750 millions, to stimulate every form of agricultural improvement, and the Reconstruction Committee's supplementary recommendation that a land development organization should be set up in each Province to promote measures not undertaken by existing Services. It is lamentable that "millions of acres have already been rendered unproductive by erosion and that much land is going out of cultivation, or profitable use, every year." The incidence of the Bengal famine, in which the casualties exceeded those sustained by all the forces of the Empire in every theatre of war, supplies poignant justification for the Reconstruction Committee's insistent claim that the measures of land development proposed "are required not only to decrease the pressure on the land and raise the standard of living of the agricultural population, but also to ensure the food supply of the non-agricultural population."

If larger agricultural outputs are essential to sustain the constantly expanding rural population, to feed India's 50 million urban population, to supply the raw materials needed by Indian manufacturers and leave a margin for essential exports, they are also necessary to provide the increased purchasing power without which all schemes for expanding industrial production would be wholly futile. In the inter-war period, Indian industries, aided by high protective and revenue tariffs, expanded mainly by displacing imports. Henceforth they can expand only by the coming into operation of capital development projects which must, certainly for some years to come, raise imports to new high levels, with the United Kingdom and the United States ranking, in that order, as the principal sources of supply. How will these projects be financed? There is some natural perturbation in this country concerning our ability to discharge our immense and growing debt to India, and in certain quarters in India an equally unjustified doubt about our determination to do so, possibly inspired by recollections

of our default on our debt to the U.S.A. after the last war, but also reinforced by newspaper suggestions that the present amount of debt, originating in a hasty and ill-devised agreement, constitutes an inequitable obligation which should be pared down by every possible device. There is no reason to assume that the latter suggestions reflect official policy. On the other hand, as between the American and Indian debts, it is legitimate to stress at least one fundamental difference—viz., that whereas the U.S.A. was unready to accept payment in goods—ultimately the only practicable method of discharge—India is not only ready but anxious to accept payment in this form, and is concerned only to secure the goods she requires within the shortest period possible, making due allowance for the trading and financial difficulties with which post-war Britain will be confronted. The assumption in the “Bombay Plan,” and in the report of the Reconstruction Committee, is that India’s sterling resources will, in fact, be available for utilization in this form, excluding only the substantial amounts it will be necessary for India to retain in London as part of her currency reserves. Capital goods will be India’s principal immediate requirement, but in the long run it is not open to doubt that British industries exporting consumer goods will also benefit by the increased prosperity in India the utilization of such capital goods will tend to promote.

The vague assumption that, on balance, British or indeed any other overseas industries interested in the Indian market will be disadvantaged by the development programmes now being evolved in India finds no warrant in the Reconstruction Committee’s report. Rehabilitation of existing industries and services will be the first task, and indications of the heavy supplies needed for these purposes will undoubtedly be forthcoming from the group of leading Indian industrialists who will visit this country early in 1945. A great deal of worn-out plant will require replacement and additional machinery will be required for installation in many long-deferred extensions of existing factories. The Railway Board plan to spend over £200 millions in the first seven years after the war, largely in providing for rehabilitation and replacement of rolling stock, but also to cover the cost of a yearly addition of 500 miles of new lines for a period of ten years. Local manufacture of locomotives has been provided for, but will necessarily take some years to mature. The extension of civil aviation will also necessitate heavy imports of aircraft and ancillary equipment. For the initial post-war period, plans have been prepared for a system of trunk air services in India which are considered necessary for the proper development of India as a whole—socially, commercially and industrially. The services planned involve a route mileage of 10,500, and, with a frequency of at least one return service daily, will involve flying approximately 7·5 million miles a year. The services will carry mails, freight and passengers. Stimulated by the existence of these services, there will undoubtedly emerge, as a result of local or private initiative, a considerable number of feeder air services to meet local needs. The Postal and Telegraph Department have drawn up plans for wide extensions of the postal, telegraph and telephone systems. Other plans contemplate the construction of new harbours and a considerable extension of inland transport. It is considered that the development of the Royal Indian Navy necessarily implies the concurrent development of the merchant navy, leading up to the “acquisition of an adequate share in the world’s carrying trade.” The road programme includes construction of some hundreds of thousands of miles of new roads, and it is laid down that motor transport should be extended “to get it into the heart of the countryside” and that “motor transport should also be used to a greater extent than hitherto by the Governments of India for administrative and ‘development’ purposes.” The manufacture, as well as the assembly, of motor vehicles in India is ultimately probable, but meanwhile large imports will be required to overtake the arrears of demand accumulated in a country of expanding incomes during the long war period.

In order of urgency it has been decided that “power, which is the basis of all industrial development, should have priority over others.” Furthermore, “The policy of Government is to secure the development of electric power on a regional basis, to promote the maximum economic development and utilization of such power, and to eradicate such factors in the present system as retard the healthy growth of such development. This policy may involve the development of electricity supply in

India as a State or quasi-State enterprise. In furtherance of this policy, Government have secured allotment of manufacturing capacity for additional heavy power equipment for several key electricity undertakings in the country. They have also decided to set up a Central Technical Power Board for the whole of India."

Although the rationalization of the Indian coal industry is being taken up, it is on the development of hydro-electric power that India relies as her main future source of power, and as her "potential" is the second largest in the world, and only about one-twentieth has so far been developed, the scope of the plans now being worked out can be assessed. Furthermore, the resumption of leadership in this field by the Central Government is of good augury. Their general outlook and programme may be inferred from the statement that the functions of the new Central Technical Power Board will be "(a) to initiate, co-ordinate and put forward schemes for electric power development throughout the country in consultation with Provincial and State Governments; (b) to set up a well-equipped standardizing, testing and research organization for electricity supply and problems connected therewith; and (c) to undertake education and propaganda to encourage the accelerated development and utilization of electricity." Finally, "Government have also accepted the policy of furthering the industrial use of electricity in the country—e.g., by the manufacture of fertilizers, etc. In order to implement the policy of large-scale development throughout India, schemes for the training of electrical engineers abroad will be pursued. The scheme will provide not only for training in the commercial and administrative sides of electricity undertakings, but also for further advanced training of selected men in technical subjects."

Incidentally, a point meriting detailed analysis is the extent to which the capital cost of the many new electric power projects now contemplated will include import duties, although the plant imported is outside the range of Indian manufacture. I am prompted to make that comment by the official intimation that: "Protective duties are imposed in pursuance of the accepted policy of protection. The principles and working of this policy must form the subject of a detailed investigation." Such an investigation might profitably embrace the extent to which high revenue duties—less essential now than hitherto—hamper Indian industries, and even Provincial and State Government projects, in respect of imported equipment still outside the range or programme of local manufacture. A relevant consideration here is adduced by the Reconstruction Committee when they say: "If industrialisation is to be one of the major aims of economic policy, a steep and even spectacular increase in India's import trade would be inevitable in the post-war era." As they also remark: "One of the weaknesses of the fiscal system has been the extent to which Central revenues have been dependent on Customs duties. The present trend towards the enlargement of the scope of direct taxation and excise duties is a wholesome development which should be further encouraged in the post-war period."

As expounded by its authorized spokesmen, British policy in relation to India may be summarized as "political reconciliation and industrial co-operation." The first of these two complementary objectives remains to be achieved. But it may be anticipated, with some confidence, that the second will be furthered by the decision, noted by the Reconstruction Committee, that, "In order to promote Indian industrial development and also to provide first-hand up-to-date information of what is happening in other countries it is proposed to arrange visits by leading Indian industrialists to Great Britain and if possible to U.S.A., and to give them all facilities possible under present circumstances to make contacts, exchange ideas and discuss mutual arrangements for implementing post-war plans. Arrangements are under way for the first group of certain well-known industrialists to leave as soon as they are ready."

Over a decade ago I had the opportunity to propose and make the preliminary arrangements for the series of discussions between the Lancashire and Indian cotton-mill industries, which culminated finally in what became known as the Mody-Clare-Lees Agreement. Although no two industries had been, or could have been, in more direct or prolonged opposition, it is noteworthy that such an agreement proved possible, and, while it lasted, was of mutual advantage. There is no reason to doubt that, in the very much wider consultations now pending, agreements will also be reached and will also prove of mutual benefit, not only to the industries directly

concerned, but also to the people of the two countries so long associated, and whose destinies, despite all differences and misunderstandings, remain inextricably intertwined, politically and economically, and also for purposes of defence, now and for an indefinite period to come.

FAMINE PREVENTION WORKS IN BENGAL

BY D. N. SEN-GUPTA

It is welcome news that the Government of India has set up a commission to "consider the possibility of improving the diet of the people and the quality of the food-crops."

The province does not produce sufficient food for her requirements, and even in normal times a supply of food from outside sources is essential to make up for the deficiency. Sir John Russell, who studied the subject of production of crops in India a few years ago, was of the opinion that the crop produced in Bengal was insufficient except in years of plenty. The position has not changed since his survey, and, as years of plenty do not occur normally more than once in four, the yield during the remaining three years falls short of the requirements of the people.

The yield during the year 1942-43 was poor, though not far below the average crop for a poor year. The production in the other provinces of the country was also not good. If the foreign markets had not been closed for the purchase of rice, the situation could have been met by imports from Burma and other neighbouring countries.

The land in the province is mainly deltaic in character, and the major portion of it is below the flood-level of the rivers. The stretch of country near the sea is below the tidal level. Near the western and eastern borders of the province the land is higher and more or less hilly.

The rainfall is about 60 inches per annum in the west and it gradually increases to about 120 inches in the east. The major part of it precipitates between the months of June and October.

The soil, the tropical climate and the heavy rainfall make the country suitable for the cultivation of rice. Rice is, therefore, the principal crop and the staple food of the inhabitants; and irrigation and drainage works suitable for its cultivation should be carried out.

There are three varieties of rice grown in the province. They are "Aman," "Aus," and "Boro." Of these the first is the most important in quality and yield. Cultivation of the other two varieties is limited to areas which are either too high or too low for the production of the best variety. The "Aus" rice is cultivated in early summer, when the land is more or less dry. "Boro" is the winter rice, and it is grown in the lowlands where water for irrigation is available for bringing the crop to maturity. Wherever possible the land should be made suitable for "Aman" rice, so as to ensure a better return. The "Aman" crop is sown during June and July and harvested in the following December and January. To bring it to maturity the crop requires about 42 inches of water, distributed as given in the following table:

DEPTH OF WATER IN INCHES.

	1st to 10th.	11th to 20th.	21st to end of month.	Total.
May ...	—	—	2	2
June ...	2½	2½	2½	7½
July ...	4	4	4½	12½
August ...	4	2	2	8
September ...	3½	2½	1½	7½
October ...	1½	1½	1½	4½

42

Near the western edge of the province the country is hilly. It was previously covered by large tracts of dense forest; but, owing to the increase in population and

the demand for fuel and timber, the forests have been largely denuded. This deforestation has changed the climatic conditions. The thunderstorms of April and May, which are necessary for preparing the fields for cultivation, are not as frequent as at one time. The October rainfall, which brings the rice crop to maturity, has also become defective. Although the total rainfall is sufficient during the period when the rice plants are growing, its distribution is not suitable to the crop. Previously, when the dense forests were in existence, a large proportion of the rainfall used to be absorbed by the dry leaves and roots of the trees. The springs in the locality had a better supply from this source, and the ricefields could get water from them when the rainfall was in deficit. But now, owing to the denudation of the forests, the run-off is very rapid, the springs dry up quickly and the damage to the crop due to the lack of water is more frequent. This quick run-off has also affected the fertility of the soil by removing from the surface a large portion of the finer particles which bind the soil, retain the moisture and provide the soluble plant food. Moreover, the manuring humus washed down from the forests is now limited. The yield from these fields has thus deteriorated considerably and is about 7 cwt. of paddy (unhusked rice) per acre, whereas with a good supply of water and proper manuring the production could be threefold. An adequate replanting of these forests is therefore necessary to increase both the agricultural and the forest produce.

In 1939 a committee was appointed, with Mr. H. P. V. Townend, I.C.S., as chairman, to enquire into the matter of deforestation. It recommended afforestation, and suggested that the owners of existing forests should be compelled by legislation to manage their property in such a way as to prevent serious deterioration, and in cases of mismanagement the Government should take over direct control. The recommendations were framed after consideration of forest laws operating beneficially in other countries, and they should be brought into effect as early as possible.

The proposed afforestation will regulate the flow of the streams in the locality of the forests and high floods in the rivers fed by them will be moderated, while the flow in them during the dry periods will increase. This effect will be all the more perceptible if similar afforestation and protection of the existing forests is carried out also in the neighbouring districts of the province of Bihar. The more important of the rivers to be benefited thereby are the More, the Ajai, the Damodar, the Selye, the Darakeswar, the Cossye and the Kalighye.

The country is dry and needs plenty of water for the cultivation of rice. The seepage from the forests even after the suggested afforestation will not be sufficient to meet the requirements of irrigation. The country is hilly, and there are many sites where simple earthen dams thrown across depressions will conserve sufficient rain-water to meet the shortage. These earthworks, with a little financial help and guidance from the Government, can be constructed by the cultivators concerned during the period when they have no employment. Between the hilly tracts and the river Bhagirathi-Hooghly the country is flatter, and about 70 per cent. of the land is arable. But the soil is not fertile and the poor cultivators cannot afford to use any manure except small quantities of cowdung. The rainfall is also defective, and except in small areas there is no arrangement for artificial irrigation. The unirrigated fields produce only half a ton of paddy per acre, when it should be possible to double the yield if the fields were properly irrigated and manured.

The rivers in this region are torrential. They are fed by the streams from the hilly tracts of this province near its western border and from the neighbouring districts in the province of Bihar.

As the forests in the catchments of these streams are largely denuded, run-off of the rain-water falling on the catchments is rapid, and during the rainfall the rivers are in flood. But they run low between the rainfalls as they have very few other sources of supply. Inundations of the country by these rivers, owing to their highly fluctuating water-level, is unsuitable for cultivation. A large area in this region has, therefore, been protected by embankments to shut out the floods. The fields thus deprived of water require irrigation. To meet the situation the construction of irrigation canals, with sluices at their heads to control the supply, is necessary. A scheme which would cover an area of about 200 square miles of land in the districts of Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah has already been prepared, and the project is ready

to be put into execution. It consists of the construction of a barrage across the river Damodar near Burdwan in order to raise the water-level for the purpose of obtaining a flow of gravity. A sluice erected on the river-bank at the head of the canal would control the flow of water into the country. In order to ensure an adequate supply during the low stages of the river, it is proposed to construct a masonry dam across a gorge in the river Barakar—a tributary of the Damodar—and convert it into a reservoir to conserve about 5,000 million cubic feet of rain-water.

The districts which this scheme would serve are very malarious. It is therefore under contemplation that, in addition to the irrigation of the fields, the canal should supply sufficient water through the decadent channels of the locality to flush out the stagnant and dirty pools of water which are believed to be causing malarial infection.

The scheme has been sanctioned by the Bengal Government and it is waiting for funds for its execution. Two other similar schemes, which would draw water from the rivers More and Darakeswar, cover an area of about 250 square miles of highland in the districts of Bankura and Birbhum, the two driest districts of the province. These are also ready for execution.

The silt carried in suspension in the water of the rivers from which these canals would be fed is rich in plant nutrients, such as nitrogen, potash and phosphates. The proposed irrigation would therefore supply the necessary manure to the soil and thus increase the yield.

The country along the river Damodar, from about 20 miles above the town of Burdwan, is below the flood-level of the river. To protect this country and the crops from damage by the sudden and heavy floods of the river, embankments were constructed along both the banks. It was found difficult to maintain both these embankments owing to the floods being very high, and it was considered necessary to demolish the embankment along one of the banks with a view to reducing the flood-level by spreading out the river discharge. Since the country behind the embankment along the left bank was more important, as it protected important towns and also roads and railways leading to Calcutta, the right embankment was removed in the eighties of the last century. It was then thought that the confinement of a silt-carrying river within embankments would lead to a progressive silting of its bed and increase its flood-level. The demolition of the embankment, it was expected, would divert the silt from the river and the channel would improve, giving a better section for the passage of floods. The flooding of the country under these new conditions would not be heavy and damage to crops and property would be low. But it turned out that the lowering of the flood-level was only temporary; high sandbanks soon formed, and the flood-level is now almost as high as before. The sand brought down with the flood-water has been deposited on the countryside, and it has rendered the soil almost barren. The low pockets far away from the river, which the rolling sand could not reach, are still fertile; but the crops here are damaged almost every year by uncontrolled flood-water. The extensive spreading of flood-water over the country has reduced considerably the flow in the river in its lower reaches, and as a consequence the channel has shrunk to about a fifth of its original size. The river cannot accommodate even an ordinary flood and the water rushes to the low pockets. Several other embankments in the district of Midnapore along the rivers Selye and Darakeswar have also been abandoned. The effect of the removal of these embankments is much the same. That eminent irrigation engineer, the late Sir William Willcocks, in his lectures delivered in Calcutta on the ancient system of irrigation in Bengal did not, on this account, speak favourably of the removal of these embankments.

Actual observation in the river Mississippi does not support the theory that if a river with silt-laden water is restricted within embankments, it silts up progressively. It has been noticed in the river Damodar that the dispersal of water away from the river leads to a deterioration of the channel.

It is now well known that where the surface slope is the same, a shallower channel has a greater silt-carrying capacity than a deeper one. This has been expressed by Kennedy in the following formula: $V_o = cd^m$, where V_o = critical velocity. A lower velocity would cause silting of the channel and a high velocity produce scouring; c and m are constants which vary with the nature of the silts in suspension in the river-

water—their values are determined by observations in existing channels. d = average vertical depth of water in the channel. This is the critical depth corresponding to the critical velocity.

When a silt-charged river is embanked its section changes until the critical depth, which would move the silt charge forward under the altered condition, is obtained. There is no further deterioration after this régime condition is reached. When the river becomes shallower it increases in width to accommodate the discharge.

Higher flood in the rivers mentioned before was not due to the existence of the embankments along the rivers, but to deforestation in their upper catchments. The flood embankments removed should, therefore, be reconstructed to give protection to the large area of land which is lying almost fallow due to the damage by floods. The lowlands which are still fertile would immediately give good returns; the high fields close to the rivers would be spared any further deposit of sand, while the sand already deposited would gradually be washed down, with the result that the soil would regain its original fertility. The proposed afforestation near the western border of the province would reduce the flood-level caused by the arrest of rain-water precipitated on the forests.

There is a persistent demand among the public for restoration of the embankments. The fear that it might raise the flood-level of the rivers has so far stood in the way. But there should be no trouble if these embankments be constructed well away from the river-banks, so that an ordinary high flood could be accommodated within the embankments. In addition, escapes should be provided in the embankments at suitable places to pass the extra discharges at extraordinary high floods on to the country behind the embankments. Discharges through the escapes would cause some damage to the country; but as extraordinary floods occur at long intervals of years, these damages, compared with the present conditions, would be negligible. A similar proposal was made in connection with the Mississippi embankments by the commission which deliberated on the flood problem of that river some ten years ago.

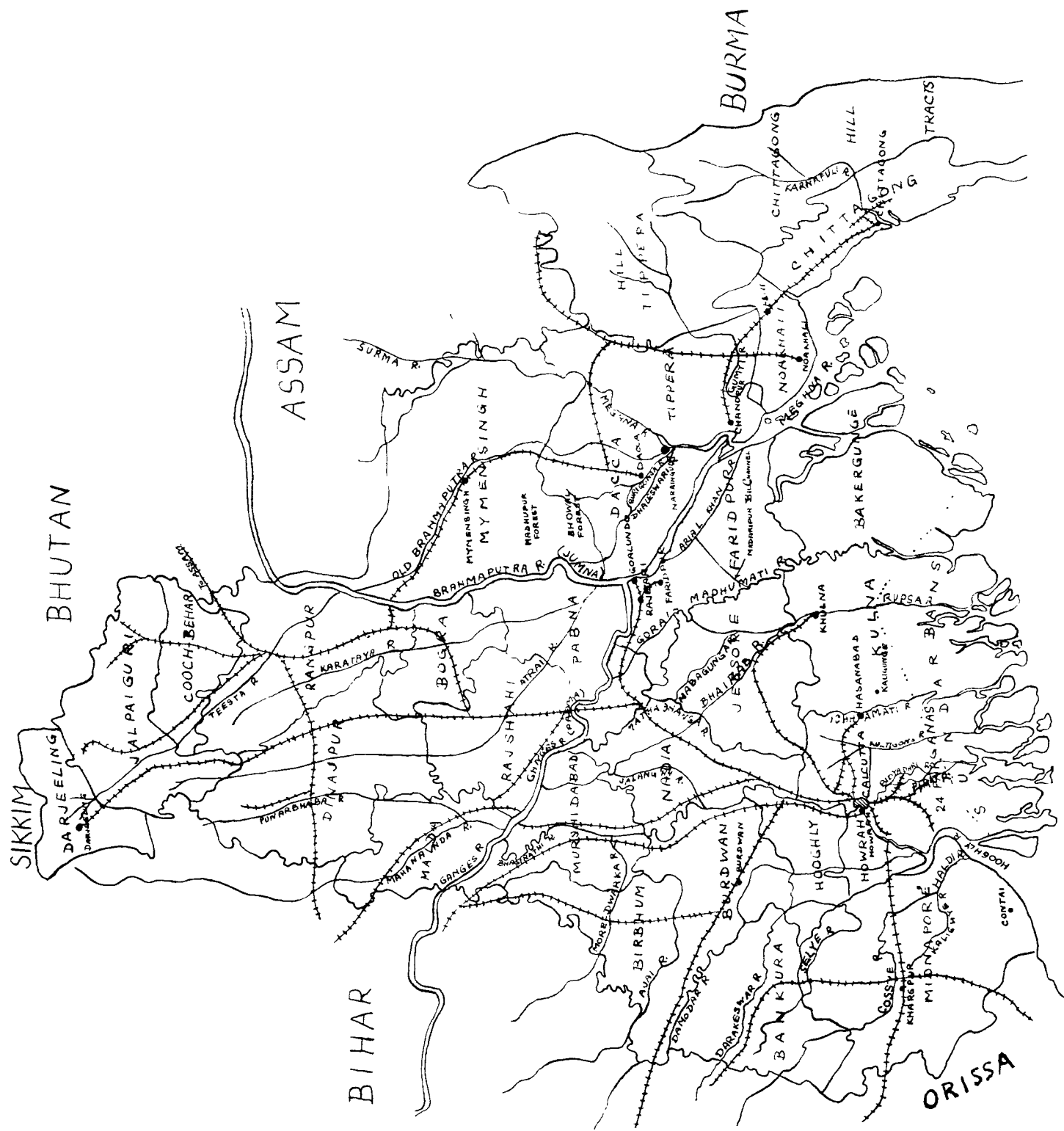
The river Kalighye, which rises from the highlands near Khargpur, overflows a large tract of low country. If the highland near Khargpur, now denuded, were planted with forest, flood in the river Kalighye could be considerably lowered and damage to the flooded lowlands reduced. Patches of cultivation in the highland, which now suffer from want of water during the dry spells, would benefit from the seepage from the forests. The situation is similar in the low area near Kandi in the Murshidabad district, and similar measures would be beneficial.

There is a large tract of lowland in the Contai sub-division of the district of Midnapore, which is protected by a sea-dyke and several other tidal embankments. Crops in the pockets of the lowland are frequently damaged owing to overflowing caused by heavy local rainfall, as the existing drainage channels cannot remove the excess water sufficiently quickly. The drainage basins are saucer-shaped and the rain-water from the surrounding highlands runs into the pockets much too quickly. It should be possible at a low cost to arrest the run-off from the higher fields and divert it direct to the drainage channels before it reaches the pockets. As the area of the low pockets is fairly large, this proposed improvement in drainage would give a substantial increase in the return.

The impression that all embankments are harmful led to their neglect, and their sections are in many places too weak. It is on this account that extensive damage occurred during the cyclone which passed over the south-western part of the province in 1942. The sea-dyke near Contai and several other embankments of this locality were wrecked and the hinterland was flooded with sea-water. The crop was almost wholly destroyed and there was a severe famine. Neglect of these tidal embankments is very harmful, as inundation by sea-water spoils the soil for cultivation until the salt is washed away during the rains.

Embankments should have a freeboard of at least 3 feet over the highest flood-level and be wide enough to cover the hydraulic gradient when water pressing against them is at its highest level.

The river Ganges, which now passes through the eastern portion of the province, used to flow about 400 years ago along the river Hooghly-Bhagirathi. The change in the course of the Ganges apparently took place owing to the river finding a shorter



way to the sea. A look at the map will show that the present course is still a little shorter even after delta-building in the sea for so many years. There had been attempts at improvement of the offtake of the Bhagirathi river from the Ganges, but they were not successful, and the river Bhagirathi is gradually deteriorating. The diversion of the Ganges has affected the other rivers of Central Bengal as well—such as the Jalanghi, the Mathabhanga, the Bhairab, the Nabaganga and the Ichhamati. Owing to the deterioration of these rivers, drainage of the country lying between the Bhagirathi-Hooghly and the Gorai-Madhumati-Kupsa has been seriously affected. The situation has also been affected by the construction of the railway lines from Calcutta to Goalundo, to Khulna and to Hashanabad. They run more or less across the direction of drainage and the openings in the lines are not everywhere sufficient to cope with the drainage. Roads across the drainage lines also have insufficient openings. The excavation of suitable drainage channels and provision of sufficient openings in the roads and in the railways would bring under cultivation a large area of lowlands in the districts of Murshidabad, Nadia, 24-Parganas, Jessore and Khulna.

Although the country is below the flood-level of the rivers, very little flood-water spills over it owing to neglect of the side-channels. The silt borne in the flood-water is rich in plant nutrients. In Eastern Bengal, where the river-water spreads freely over the country, yield of paddy is about double that obtained in this area—being 1 ton to $1\frac{1}{2}$ tons per acre. Re-excavation of the side-channels, with controlling sluices at their head where necessary, would considerably increase the return from the fields. Sir William Willcocks strongly stressed the necessity of excavation of these channels in his lectures delivered in Calcutta a few years ago on the subject of irrigation in Bengal. With a little financial help and guidance in matters of engineering, the local people should be able to carry out the works on a co-operative basis.

The rivers of Central Bengal formerly had good outlets into the sea. Owing to their deterioration very little upland discharge passes through them, and the outfalls into the sea are now merely tidal creeks. These channels act during flow-tides as carriers of the silt brought down by the various rivers into the bay with the upland flood-water, and they are forming the deltaic land known as the "Sunderban." Where the level of the "Sunderban" became fairly high the land has been reclaimed by the erection of embankments to keep out sea-water. The land thus brought under cultivation is very fertile and is a large source of supply of rice for the province.

The tidal creeks of the "Sunderban" maintain deep channels, where they have plenty of spilling ground during high tide. But when the spilling is curtailed the channels become shallow. This led to the belief that a tidal creek cannot maintain itself unless it has a large spill area. It is argued that the entire silt charge brought up by the stronger velocity of the flood tides cannot be moved down by the ebb current, and that a portion of the silt is deposited in the bed of the channel unless the river has a spill area where the silt can drop down. This is an exaggerated view of the evil effect of depriving a tidal channel of its spill. A tidal creek which has a large spill area maintains a deep channel for the movement of the larger volume of water. When the spill area is cut off the creek assumes a shallow section compatible with the smaller flow, and it continues to retain this section provided no obstruction is offered to the tidal impulse.

Professor Reynolds of Manchester University, as the result of research in this connection in his hydraulic laboratory, came to the conclusion that a tidal creek will keep open if it widens gradually and if it has a length of $8.5\sqrt{h}$ miles, where h is the rise of tide at the mouth of the estuary in feet. The result of this experiment seems to be confirmed by the steady condition of the tidal creek in the "Sunderban" known as the Moni river. It has a length of about 25 miles with an average tidal fluctuation of about 10 feet.

The present policy, which has practically stopped any further reclamation of the "Sunderban" is not therefore justified. When any land rises so high that it would drain easily into the neighbouring creek during ebb tide, its reclamation should be permitted.

It is found from observation that the formation of land from tidal spill can proceed to a level about a foot above the average hightide level of the monsoon, and beyond it the rise of the spill area is not appreciable. A spill area at this level does not, therefore,

help in arresting any silt in the river-water, and it does not contribute towards proper maintenance of the river. In the circumstances, there should be no objection to reclamation of such areas.

Until recently the city of Calcutta was draining into a creek in the "Sunderban"—namely, the Bidyadhari river. The colloidal matter contained in the sewage of the city and the solid matter washed down from the streets caused silting of this river and its branch, the Piali river, to such an extent that the drainage of the city has been affected, and a new outfall into the river Kultugong is under construction for the diversion of the drainage.

The river Bidyadhari and its branch, the Piali river, are the drainage outlets for a large area of rural country, approximately about 500 square miles of land. Owing to the deterioration of these rivers their drainage basin remains waterlogged throughout the rainy season and the crop is damaged almost every year. It is necessary to improve these rivers to save the crops and improve the health of the locality. As already stated, a tidal creek which opens out in a funnel shape in its downward course and which has a length of $8\sqrt{h}$ miles, where h is the average fluctuation, maintains itself in a good condition. The tidal impulse does not receive a check in such a channel, and the silt carried in suspension with the flow tide is washed down with the ebb. A scheme for the improvement of the Bidyadhari river and its branch, the Piali river, has been prepared on this line. It should be carried out as early as possible.

Deterioration of the Bidyadhari river has affected its outfall—the Matla river. This is causing difficulty in the drainage of the neighbouring country. Many channels within the jurisdiction of the police station at Kaligunj have also silted up, and the consequent difficulty in drainage is causing distress.

The reclaimed area of the "Sunderban" was full of tidal creeks—large and small—before the reclamation was done. In order to reduce the length of the marginal tidal embankments many of the important creeks which should have been kept open were dammed up, and the consequent obstruction to the tidal impulse caused deterioration of the main channels, giving rise to the present difficulty in drainage. Large drainage schemes are required to meet the situation.

Reclamation in the "Sunderban" has all been done by private enterprise. The embankments are in many places too close to the channels and they are mostly of slender sections. Breach in these embankments, resulting in overflowing by sea-water, is a frequent occurrence. The Government should take them over for maintenance and for carrying out improvements where necessary. The cost involved might be realized from the persons benefited.

Between the river Rupsa and the lower portion of the river Madhumati the drainage condition of the country has been upset owing to changes in the course of the river Bhairab which used to flow through this country. It should be beneficial if channels could be excavated for the introduction of silt-laden flood-water into the country. Channels should also be excavated where necessary for the drainage of the excess water.

The Eastern Bengal railway line from the Gorai river to Faridpur via Rajbari has very few openings. The same applies to the road which runs parallel to the railway line. Although the river Ganges (known here as the Padma) flows very close, the country behind the railway embankment is, on that account, almost entirely cut off from the flood spill of the river. The soil thus deprived of the manuring silt in the spill-water has lost its fertility. The old spill channels of the Ganges have deteriorated and the drainage system of the country has been upset. A comprehensive scheme, which would involve re-excavation of the spill channels and construction of suitable openings in the railway and the road embankments, should be carried out to improve this territory. The scheme would eventually introduce silt into a vast area of lowland lying north of the Madaripur Bil channel. This low pocket would otherwise remain low and the crops in it would always be subject to damage from flood, as at present.

There is an embankment along the southern bank of the Madaripur Bil channel, which was constructed with a view to preventing escape of the clear water of the swamp from the channel, as the flow of clear water would help to keep the channel in good section. But this has produced a bad effect on the low country behind the

embankment, which lies partly in the district of Bakergunj and partly in Faridpur. When the flow was unrestricted the fresh water used to push saline water from the low pocket. But now saline water is creeping up, and the people are clamouring for the construction of embankments to save their land from sea water. Such a solution is, however, not practicable as the land is very low. The reintroduction of more fresh water is necessary to improve the soil.

In recent years there have been changes in the course of the river Arial Khan, which flows close to this low area. Silt-laden water from this river should be introduced into the pocket to silt it up to a higher level.

About three centuries ago there was an avulsion in the river Brahmaputra, and the lower course of the river was diverted along the Jumna, which joins the Ganges near Goalundo. Drainage of the country served by the old course of the river, which falls within the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh, is defective. It is necessary to carry out a large number of small drainage schemes here to save the crops from frequent damage.

The forests of Bhowal in the district of Dacca and that of Madhupur in Mymensingh are being denuded. The rapid run-off of rain-water caused by the denudation of the former has reduced the underground storage of water in the hilly region, and this has affected the dry-weather flow of the river Burigunga, which flows past the town of Dacca—the second largest town in Bengal. Crops in a large area of lowland north of the town are frequently overflowed owing to the rapid flow of rain-water from the denuded Bhowal forests. Replanting of the denuded forests would be beneficial to this area. A similar treatment of the Madhupur forest is also desirable in the interest of the cultivation at the foot of the forest, where frequent damage now occurs to the crops owing to premature inundation.

There is a vast tract of low country in the north-eastern portion of the district of Mymensingh which is flooded to a great depth by the river Surma and other tributaries of the Meghna river. The inundation occurs so early in the season that very few crops grow in it. It should be possible to grow the winter rice (Boro) in this area when the land dries up. As this crop requires irrigation, it would be necessary to store flood-water at suitable places for the purpose in small reservoirs constructed in the flooded area with earthen-circuit dams. As there is practically no current in the flooded area, no appreciable damage would occur to the dams when these would be overflowed. As the soil is fertile the yield should be fairly high.

The increase in population is leading to an encroachment on the hills of the districts of Tippera, Noakhali and Chittagong, and the denudation of the forests is affecting the flood-levels in the rivers fed by the hills.

The main river of the hills of Tippera is the Gumti river. There are embankments along the river at those places where spreading of flood-water is likely to cause damage to the crops. A thorough enquiry was made recently which proved clearly that these embankments are necessary under present conditions, and that without them the crops would be inundated too early. To keep the flood-level under control, replanting of the denuded forest is necessary where possible.

The hill tribes of Tippera, Mymensingh, Noakhali and Chittagong practise a type of cultivation which is known as "Jhoom" cultivation. The people do not plough their fields nor do they adhere to any particular field for cultivation. They clear patches of forest land by burning the plants and trees, and with the advent of rain in May and June they plant paddy seeds in holes made with a sharp instrument. The following year they shift to other areas for "Jhoom" cultivation, and the year after to another, and so on until they return to the first area. Formerly they used to return to the same area at long intervals; but now, owing to the increase of population, the forests are thus too frequently disturbed for "Jhoom" and the run-off of rain-water from the forests is somewhat heavy. It would be difficult to train the people to any other form of cultivation; consequently, terracing of land, as is done in the undulating fields of Western Bengal, would not be possible; moreover, the hills here are mostly too steep to allow of such terracing. In the United States of America, where large areas of forests were cleared for obtaining land for cultivation, the following remedies were adopted for combating the evil effects of deforestation:

(1) Terracing of land, which prevents rain-water from draining off the land too

quickly. In Bengal, dwarf banks 9 inches to a foot high are erected at the lower ends of the terraced fields to retain water in the fields. The check offered by these banks prevents water from running off too quickly, and there is no erosion of the finer top soil which provides food for the plants.

(2) Excavation of drainage channels with gentle slopes more or less following contour lines. The earth excavated is thrown on the lower sides of the channels in order to prevent rain-water from escaping along the steep hillsides.

(3) Afforestation of the hill slopes where the gradient exceeds 6 horizontal to 1 vertical. It is difficult to control erosion in steeper slopes.

(4) Division of hill slopes into alternate belts of forests and fields under cultivation. The eroded soil and drainage of the cultivated fields are more or less arrested in the forest belts lower down.

Remedy (4) would probably be the easiest to introduce in the Tippera hills.

Conditions in the hills of Chittagong, including the Chittagong hill tracts, Mymensingh and Noakhali, are similar to those obtaining in the Tippera hills, and a similar solution is recommended.

The Karnafuli river, on which the port of Chittagong is situated, is the main river of Chittagong and the Chittagong hill tracts. Except in the lower reaches where it is tidal, the river is not embanked. But owing to deforestation the flood-level is rising. This may require the construction of embankments along the river at the foot of the hills, and immediate measures are necessary to reduce the run-off of rain-water from the hills for keeping down the flood-level.

Owing to rapid run-off of rain-water from the hills of Chittagong and Noakhali, sufficient rain-water does not soak into the soil and the underground reservoir of water becomes depleted too early; consequently, the flow of sweet water in the hill streams close to the sea has been so reduced that tidal water creeps up too close to the fields under cultivation and is causing harmful inundation. The proposed control of the forests would remedy the situation. The large tract of lowland near Feni in the districts of Noakhali at the foot of the hills, which is frequently inundated too early owing to rapid run-off from the hills, would also be benefited.

The changes in the river Ganges and Brahmaputra led to changes in their tributaries as well. The rivers Punarbhaba, the Atrai and the Karatoya, which are the main drainage channels of the districts of Malda, Rajshahi, Bogra, Dinajpur and Rangpur, have been deteriorated as a consequence of these changes. The drainage system has been dislocated and there are many low pockets which are never drained properly. Resectioning of these channels, together with the excavation of drainage channels from the low pockets, is necessary to obtain a good drainage of the country.

Water hyacinth is doing harm to the standing crops in Eastern Bengal. It is an aquatic floating plant, which grows very rapidly and smothers the crop plants. Strong measures should be taken to eradicate this weed from the rivers of Bengal. The flooded districts of Eastern Bengal, where this weed grows in abundance, adjoin similar districts of Assam, where the weed is giving similar trouble. As the weed floats down from Assam it is necessary that the two provinces should take combined action in the matter.

In short, the following are the remedial works suggested :

(1) Construction of the Damodar and Hooghly Flushing and Irrigation Scheme, the More Irrigation Scheme and the Darakeswar Irrigation Scheme.

(2) Construction of small irrigation schemes, including small-tank irrigation schemes in the districts lying west of the river Hooghly-Bhagirathi.

(3) Drainage schemes all over the province, particularly in Central and Northern Bengal, including provision for more openings in the roads and railways, required for proper drainage and introduction of the flood-water which is necessary for giving a healthy flushing to the country.

Earthwork is the main item, and it can be done by manual labour recruited from the poor cultivators during the slack season. As the men have no field work during this period, nor any other employment at this time, their engagement on these works will not divert them from their other pursuits, while the province will obtain a substantial increase in the produce from the soil.

CHINESE POETRY IN WAR-TIME

BY PROFESSOR LU CH' IEN

CHINA is a country where poetry has been used as a means to educate the people. Ancient Chinese theories of education take humanity and moderation as the criteria of good poetry, and the habit of using poetry to express such ideas has contributed to building up the peace-loving character of the Chinese. Professor Giles, in his *History of Chinese Literature*, describes the outstanding characteristics of Chinese literature as "the harmony of literature and morality," and all past Chinese poets and philosophers have used poetry not only to express life but also to teach various ideals of human character. Thus the idea of dying for one's country, of loyalty and love of society is to be found throughout Chinese literature in such masterpieces as *The Lament* of Ch'ü Yuan, the poems of Tu Fu and Hsin Ch' i Chi and other treasures of the Chinese people. During the nineteenth century, however, China was in an unfortunate position and Chinese poets, under oppression, devoted their energy to the improvement of their technique, stifling the real spirit of poetry. Then, as a result of the May the Fourth movement of literary renaissance the old traditional forms were destroyed, making way for the modern poetry which uses the vernacular and has been influenced by foreign forms. But although this poetry has been developing for twenty years, yet both among the common people and the educated class classical poetry still has its place; for the symmetry of the old forms is based on the characteristic of the Chinese language, and it has a better musical quality, so that it is more easily appreciated than modern poetry and is still popular.

Since the war there has been progress in all departments of Chinese life, including poetry. We shall deal with tendencies of modern poetry in a later essay, and content ourselves here with mentioning certain characteristics of the old poetry.

As already noted, the progress in the old poetry during the past hundred years has been limited to technique, with a resultant lack of vitality; but since the war a new spirit has been infused into Chinese poetry, and although this may call to mind the Western proverb "New wine in old bottles," the new content has not burst the old forms of poetry in China. Instead, not only is the content new, but the form has also been renewed, moulded by the workings of the new spirit. This confident assertion is based on my own experience since the war as editor of a magazine called *The Poets' Forum*, and this essay is written to give a general idea of developments in Chinese poetry to our friends abroad.

On July 7, 1937, the roar of guns at the Marco Polo Bridge announced the beginning of a great era. A group of poets, meeting by accident at the time, resolved to unite their efforts in order to write of this tremendous theme. On December 4 of the same year the *Chinese Weekly Review* issued a war-time special called *China at War*, offering two thousand five hundred American dollars for the best poem on the war in Shanghai between the Chinese and Japanese forces. At that time Chinese papers throughout the country printed many poems on the war, but since there was no magazine devoted to poetry I started *The Poets' Forum* in Hankow.

My countrymen love poetry because it is an expression of moral character, and all the great men of China, even at an early age, have written poems which are remembered and treasured. Thus, when our great leader President Chiang Kai-Shek was only thirteen and studying in his grandfather's home, his tutor asked him to write two lines on the subject of bamboo, and he wrote these two lines:

"In my gaze the mountains are full of bamboo
Which make even summer appear cold."

Bamboo here symbolizes a man's lofty character—a common enough device in Chinese poetry—and the statement that even in midsummer bamboo can make the day less sultry reminds one of the verse in the Old Testament, "As the shadow of a great rock in a thirsty land," revealing the nobility of character of the boy who wrote

it. Again, when he was twenty-one years old our leader wrote a poem in which occurred this line:

"I will recover the sacred land and fulfil my duty."

A.

The President has now no time to write poems, but many of our generals at the front are fond of writing poems during their leisure, thus carrying on the tradition of certain heroes in Chinese history such as Yueh Fei of the Sung Dynasty or C'hi Chikuan of the Ming Dynasty, who, apart from their glorious achievements in war, also left us many great poems.

Chinese traditional poetry can be divided roughly into two groups: firstly, the classical poetry consisting of lines of five or seven characters or of a mixed number of characters, a form that was largely used from the Han to the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, often for poems of a considerable length; secondly, the later form of poetry, originating in the Tang Dynasty, comprised four-lined epigrams and eight-lined couplets, the latter having either five or seven words to one line. This form was the one used in the official examinations, and its rules were very strict. The four-lined epigrams contained first five lines, and later four lines, of which the second and fourth were rhymed, while the first line might have the same rhyme or not.

Four-lined epigrams were a popular form of poetry and particularly suited to war-time, when poets had little leisure for correcting and polishing their poems. Admiral Sah Chen-ping, a retired officer of over eighty years, has written many poems in this form since the war, expressing his loyalty to the Republic and his respect for our leaders; while two other generals, K'ung Keng and Lin Hu, have also written much during the war. Thus these veterans, although they are too old to participate actively in the war, still express the same spirit as that which animates the soldiers at the front.

Hsu Ch'ung-Hao, another old general of the early days of the Republic, left active service long ago and has been for ten years Secretary-General of the Examination Yuan. Since the war he has written many poems, recently printed, in which he sings of war-time achievements and praises Free China, especially the province of Szechuan, with its beautiful and magnificent scenery. He travelled with Tai Chuanhsien, President of the Examination Yuan, to Hsi K'ang, and wrote over a hundred poems on the social customs there. Another general, Yao Tsung, has printed a volume of poems since the war, in which he describes his travels, and these poems are considered superb by Ch'en San-li, an old poet. Ch'en Ming-shu, a member of the National Military Council, is also a general with a philosophical mind and literary taste, who considers that all the poets since the Sung and Ming Dynasties have written nothing but repetition, and who has tried to express his real feelings.

I will now mention a few generals who are still at the front. One is General Ch'eng Ch'ien, a scholar of the old school with a well-developed literary taste, who, although he has spent many years in war, has never forgotten his poetry. In the twenty-seventh year of the Republic (1938) he wrote a long poem on the war in couplets, using forty-two rhymes and eighty-four lines, to which he later added a sequel of the same length. Another long poem he wrote is *The Achievements of Dr. Sun*, which ranks as one of the masterpieces of modern Chinese literature. General Ten Pao-shan has also written poems since the war, including one called *The Red Cliff*, which describes the loftiness of the mountain, symbolizing the sternness of army discipline, and which should be read by every soldier. General Sun Wei-ju, who fought against the enemy for three years in the Chung Tiao Mountains, sometimes also wrote poems, such as *Crossing the River at Midnight*. But these poems are not ones that enter the experience of ordinary poets.

Among the younger generals there are even more poets. Lo Cho-ying, for instance, has written many poems on his experiences in the war, and so has Huang Chieh, from whom we quote these lines:

"In hard fight under the Southern sky
Life passed like a dream.
When shall we recover our north-eastern provinces?"

A.

Chang Shih-hsi has also written poems on the war, and Ch'en Ch'eng-kan, whose pen-name is "A Soldier of the 138th Division," has written descriptions of marches in the mountains. Chen Ch'an-hsing, a young airman, is also a poet. These men have described their war-time experiences in their poems, so that their writings have become historical records of the war. Thus in a description of China's war-time poetry it is only right that the actual participants in the war should be mentioned first.

Regarding the poems of other poets, I shall take those of Yü Yiu-jen as the model of China's war-time poetry. In a previous article I have described the five characteristics of his poetry as follows: Firstly, he can describe in his poems whatever comes into his experience during his travels, whether foreign custom or scenery or personal feelings, and thus his poems cover a wide field. In his descriptions of his travels in Soviet Russia, for instance, he uses images from actual life which no Chinese poet has ever used before. Secondly, he has not only written of the revolution, but has also made many records of the various wars in China since the establishment of the Republic, and these accounts are both lively and accurate. Thirdly, in his long poems he has adapted all the virtues of ancient poems to form a new style which is magnificent. Fourthly, his short poems are heroic, since he is a Northerner and has none of the softness of Southern poets. Fifthly, he has used the most familiar words and constructions to embody new ideas. Thus, since the war, his way of writing has come to be known as "The Yü Style" and he has had many imitators among the younger poets. I shall quote a few examples from his poems:

THE LONG AND SHORT POEM

"The long song is long, the short song is short.
The sacred war takes its course,
And brothers follow each other
To lay down their lives for the country;
Until the barbarians are defeated
And we return home singing.

The short song is short, the long song is long.
To die for one's country
Is eternal glory.
We love our dear ones, we hate our foes;
Our heroes are not afraid and the humane need not fear fate,
But let us rise up together to defend our sacred land."

THE FATHERLESS CHILD

"The whole land suffers beneath fire and sword.
Where can the exiled people go?
The fatherless child sheds tears
And wets his mother's garment.

In the East village the house is burnt
And people have fled from the West suburb.
My father went out to fight the barbarians,
But when did he die on the battlefield?

There was a young girl in the neighbours' house on our left
And a little boy in the right-hand neighbours' house,
But the mad brigands took them away.
I cannot tell what they wanted to do with them.

How many orphans has the battlefield made?
How many tears are shed for the fatherland?
Who will defend our fatherland?
And the poor young ones of the fatherland?"

SONG OF THE WOUNDED SOLDIER

"A man must be a soldier,
 With our lives we must win back peace;
 And I am the lucky one,
 Having travelled a myriad miles on the battlefield.
 Our fatherland is threatened with great danger
 As war rages like a mighty wind;
 And for every inch of our fatherland there is an inch of blood,
 For the nation is supreme and life held cheap.
 For barbarian horses ravage the land
 And millions of refugees toil at the front.
 Then, glorious heroes,
 Bind up your wounds and pacify the country.

The heroes of old
 Won glory by serving their country;
 Shedding their blood, slaying their foes
 They brought no stain on their lives.
 Now the Eastern battlefield is linked with the Western battlefield
 Millions of our brothers are martyred for their country,
 Going out to risk their lives.
 What does it matter if hands, ears and fingers are wounded,
 If the doctor says I shall be strong again in a hundred days?
 So in dream I march again to war
 Where peach blossoms fall and willows shed their catkins;
 But I would rather stain the grass with blood.
 —Do not weep, for am I not laughing?"

THE MOON FESTIVAL

"The wounded soldier sighs,
 The sun has set and the moon rises;
 For he complains that carefree people simply enjoy the moon,
 But it was in moonlight that enemy planes wounded him.
 —The moon is setting, my bones are aching;
 The fate of the country is at stake
 And I am fortunate to be in the sacred war.
 Last year I sang and danced at the moon festival in the army,
 But this time I grieve that I cannot participate.
 The moon is very full tonight,
 It is the time when our soldiers defeat the barbarians,
 And then they will return singing.
 So I am content to have my body disabled
 For the sake of the country."

These are masterpieces which illustrate the new life which has come to Chinese poetry from the war. The war has, indeed, written a new page in the history of Chinese poetry.

Many new poets were inspired by Yü Yiu-jen, while certain older poets were also influenced by him. Chia Ching-te, for instance, who is carrying on political work under General Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi, has written a book of poems in this new style, in which he has enumerated the following five rules:

1. Poets should write on ordinary topics in poetic diction, for it is not necessary that all people should understand poems, although, on the other hand, strange phases and archaic words should be avoided.
2. Poets should express themselves in their writing: there are many things peculiar to the modern world, and it is not enough simply to imitate the ancient masters.

3. The ancient masters all have good points which should be imitated; but it is not enough to study one school of poetry alone, for that will limit one's achievement.

4. Poets should not write until they have pondered long over their subject.

5. Even the ancient writers had no objection to satires and complaints; so now that there is freedom of speech in China poets should express their beliefs frankly.

Since the war Chia Chin-te has written many poems on the people of Shansi, for he is a native of that province, and his style somewhat resembles that of another famous Shansi poet, Yuan Hao-wen, who lived about a thousand years ago.

Yang Yung-ling of Szechuan, who participated in the reconstruction of Sikang, has described in his poems some of the difficulties of national reconstruction. The great Tibetan Buddhist scholar, Hsi Jao Chia Ch'o, writes poems in Tibetan, and below is given the translation of a poem he wrote one morning to me, when we were together in Chungking:

"I love my friend whose heart is like the lotus
And whose poetry is fresh and fragrant;
I see the flag with the blue sky and the white sun
Floating over high mountains and deep valleys.
May this ancient race gird up its loins
To annihilate the dwarfish monster of the East,
And I will come to pour out my bright blood
For China the splendid and magnificent."

Jung Hsiang of Mongolia has written poems in Mongolia and Chungking, and it is a characteristic common to both Tibetan and Mongolian poets that their style is simple, varied and forceful.

There are other Chinese Buddhists who have written good poems since the war, foremost amongst them being T'ai Hsu, whose name is familiar to our foreign friends; he prefers the poetic form which has lines of six words, and although this is the form commonly used for Buddhist epigrams, the content is concerned with the war and the modern world. In addition there are two monks, Kuo Ling and Ling Hai, the former living in Omei Mountain.

I shall say no more of these poets, but I wish to lay stress on the fact that since the outbreak of war Chinese poetry has entered upon a new path, and all who make anthologies of Chinese poetry must be profoundly conscious of the new vitality in Chinese verse. I myself have made an anthology of Chinese patriotic poems from ancient times until the present day, choosing those which may best serve as models for contemporary writers. Owing to such an introduction from myself and others, two poets have recently achieved prominence, their lives and work making a deep impression on this generation: one is Ch'iu Feng-chia, who lived from 1864 to 1912, and the other is Wu Fang-chi, who lived from 1896 to 1932. Ch'iu Feng-chia was a Cantonese, and during his father's time his family moved to the island of T'ai Wan (Formosa). In 1889 he passed the official examination and became a teacher there; but five years later China declared war upon Japan to protect the integrity of Korea, with the result that the next year T'ai Wan was annexed by the Japanese, and Ch'iu Feng-chia then made himself the head of the guerilla forces who harassed the enemy and set up a republic in T'ai Wan. This first republic in Asia only survived for one year, for after severe fighting against the Japanese the troops of Ch'iu Feng-chia were defeated, and he himself returned to Canton, where he wrote his poems, expressing his anger against the Manchu Government and his longing for the island of T'ai Wan. He died the year that the Chinese Republic was established, leaving fourteen books of poems, but since traditional scholars at that time cared only for technique, his poems passed almost unrecognized, and it is only since the war that they have been widely read, his complete works having recently been published.

Wu Fang-chi, the second poet mentioned, was a Szechuanese whose short life was a poem in itself. The year that Ch'iu Feng-chia died he entered Tsinghua University, but was dismissed because of his support of a friend who had been wrongly treated. He lived for some time in extreme poverty, studying hard, and then taught as professor in the North-eastern University, Chengtu University and

Chungking University. He was much influenced by Confucian philosophy, but was above all a patriot, and believed that Chinese poets in the past had fallen into four mistakes :

1. Although too many poems were written, the great majority were imitations, filled with laments and the fear of death.
2. Too many poems confined themselves to such subjects as scenery and pleasure.
3. Chinese poets were indolent and proud, and possessed a strong escapist tendency.
4. Too many poems were written on occasional topics, and were dry and uninteresting.

Wu Fang-chi believed that Chinese poetry was capable of expressing lofty and beautiful ideas, and he himself wrote many poems before the war, in the last of which he praised Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the Father of the Republic. He aspired to write an epic, but he did not live to realize his ambition. It is generally believed, however, that if he had been spared to this heroic period he would have achieved great things, for he was one who did much to lead modern Chinese poetry on to its new path.

Apart from the "shih" style of Chinese poetry there is another style of poetry called "tzu," which originated when certain poems were set to music at the end of the T'ang Dynasty. The lines of such poems are irregular, but each "tzu" had its definite form, being restricted by the music to which it was set. The music of "tzu" has, unfortunately, been lost at the end of the Sung Dynasty, but later poets continued to write in this form, which could be divided into two kinds, the short "tzu" consisting of about fifty words and the long "tzu" consisting of from about a hundred to three hundred words. Poems in this form were usually used to express emotions of a gentle nature, until Su T'ung-po and Hsin Ch'i-chi began a new tradition by using "tzu" to express heroic ideas; but they had few followers in this style. In the early days of the Republic few writers wished to enlarge their poetic vision by writing in the heroic style, but since the war there have emerged several followers of the school of Su-Tung-po, although they are few compared with the poets who write in other styles. Since there are not many examples of the modern "tzu" I will introduce certain of my own poems in this form which have been collected in a volume called *The Trumpet of National Resurgence*, published in Hankow, Chungking and Chengtu, and now being reprinted in various war areas, since they are in demand as the best-seller among collections of modern poetry. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this style :

PREFACE

"My soul, once proud, has grown less bold,
But who will sing so wild a song?
The accents of the bards of old
Cold and unroused have slept too long.

My verses herald a new dawn,
Of this resurgence I am part;
Although my skill is faint and worn,
Yet all I write comes from my heart."

TO HIS SON

"Son, do you know the state of things today?
Our life is like a boat that drifts away.
To play the man you must have courage rare,
And fortitude to meet rebuffs and care,
And so Life's burden on your shoulders bear.

For us to write about the war is vain;
No victory shall we, by speaking, gain.
It matters not if but bare hands have we,
For when the end is reached a change must be;
Only we must hold fast integrity."

AFTER THE FALL OF PEKING

"I cannot bear the map upon the wall,
For green of the West Hill I straight recall;
And ever with this anguish deep I yearn,
That makes men grieve when toward the North they turn.

All men awake, but I indulge in wine.
Throughout the earth with tears the homeless pine.
War winnows out the firm from feeble one:
Do you not blush, sunflow'r, to face the sun?"

Among the imitators of the style introduced in *The Trumpet of National Resurgence* Chi'en Shan-k'ai is probably the best, who has given an excellent picture of the magnificent view from Chungking, our war-time capital; while many elder poets, such as Ch'ou Shu-an, Ch'en Fei-shih and particularly Ling Ken-po and Wang Lu-yi, have also been influenced in their style.

In the past when poets described scenery it was usually restricted to the Yangtse River Valley, few writing of outlying regions such as Mongolia, Tibet, Kweichow, Yunnan or Sikang; but since the war the poets' horizon has widened and Lieu Ting-ch'uan and Tsen Hzien have written poems in Sikang on the snowy mountains of Tibet and the Buddhist monasteries there. A young scholar, T'ang Kuei-chang, who has made an anthology of Sung poetry, has written poems on new subjects such as *Seeing Friends off to the Army* and *The Bayonet*. Such poems could not be seen before the war, and although their number is still small, yet each poem is filled with the spirit of war, showing that the poets of China are completely mobilized.

There is another form of Chinese poetry called "ch'ü" which originated in the Yuan Dynasty and which is an even better medium for the expression of thoughts than the "tzu," since the language used is colloquial, unlike that of the "tzu" or "shi." It used to be said that the "chü" form was derived from the "tzu," but actually such is not the case. The Mongolians have two kinds of poetry, poems and songs, the latter consisting of lines of no definite length, thus providing greater freedom of expression, and it is from these Mongolian songs that the "ch'ü" are derived. The music of this form of poetry has not been lost, so that it is the only kind of poetry in China that can still be sung; but few writers use the "ch'ü" form because it is more complex than the more ancient styles, having to conform to a definite musical pattern. There are two kinds of "ch'ü," the long and the short, the long being formed by linking together several short poems. Since the war, however, this form of poetry has been more widely appreciated and Yü Yiu-jen, whom we have mentioned earlier, has written poems in this style; perhaps it is no coincidence that he comes from Shansi province, where there were many writers in this style during the Ming Dynasty. Shao Li-tzu, the former ambassador to Moscow, has also written "ch'ü," and we will quote here a short poem which he wrote in 1939:

"We have fought for over a year,
And our determination is increased;
We shall fight on ceaselessly on all fronts,
For the spirit of our army is unconquerable,
And those who are in the interior strive to reach the front
To rebuild our nation."

Each word of this poem is so forceful that we are obliged to make a new evaluation of this form of poetry and consider it as publicity literature; for all our compatriots, whether old or young, can sing such poems, and the touring singing groups organized by our Ministry of Education have set many such poems to music and are singing them in all parts of China. I have written poems in this style and will quote here three poems I wrote at Peipei after a speech I made to two thousand young men:

I

"I desire all men to be brave,
 Not believing in empty words,
 But taking up their responsibility upon their two shoulders
 Let us raise our flags and shout aloud
 And with clenched fists overthrow all obstacles;
 For then our hearts will know no sorrow,
 But in our shabby blue gowns we will work hard."

II

"I desire all men to have self-confidence,
 Not living indolently,
 But becoming as new men;
 Let us take heart,
 Emerging from difficulties and facing troubles fearlessly;
 For the nation depends upon us,
 And we must advance towards the light."

III

"I desire you to help each other
 Without selfishness,
 Working together in harmony,
 For then it is easy to achieve much.
 There is no distinction of soldiers, farmers or merchants;
 Then arise, young men, and do not falter,
 But let us fight the enemy together."

These poems were all set to music by a young composer, Yin Shang-neng. The rest of my poems in this style have been collected in nine volumes, and my friend Jen T'ai is translating them into English.

The "ch'ü" style of poetry has gained greatly in popularity since the war, and is an evidence that the poetic vision has been much enlarged in this great age; taking into consideration the recent progress which we have already mentioned, we are confident that the future progress will surpass the general anticipation. These poems, moreover, intensify our war effort, whether in the interior or at the front, and wherever these poems appear, in newspapers, magazines or books, they breathe the spirit of war. Mao Cheh-tung in his autobiography wrote a poem expressing his thoughts, and Tung Pi-wu sang these lines:

"How dare rats and foxes obstruct our path,
 Where we hear the clash of resounding swords."

Tsen Ch'i has written in praise of the Chinese Air Force; in fact, participants in every field of action are expressing themselves in poetry, so that it is impossible, owing to restrictions of length, to mention them all. Apart from these, however, there are also the poems sung by the people, which are not written down, and I will make a brief survey of these also.

The poems which are not written down are folk songs; their characteristics are that they have no definite form, they are not transcribed in writing, they are not composed by professional poets and one poem may not be completed for several years. In ancient times in China the study of folk songs was frequently used to find out the wishes of the people, and therefore many anonymous poets used this style to express their ideas. The greater part of the *Book of Songs* consists of folk songs which were selected and written down by the song-collecting officials of ancient ages. During the Ching Dynasty Tu Wen-lan made an anthology of ancient folk songs, whose characteristic is that they contain strong local colour.

Since the war folk songs have been made in all parts of China, but since no comprehensive collection of these has been made, there must be many good songs which

are still unknown. As editor of *The Poets' Forum* I have collected a certain amount of folk poetry, one group of which are known as "Flower Songs"; these are the folk songs of the province of Chinghai and they formerly dealt with topics such as love, the weather, or traditional stories, but recently friends from that district tell me that there have been songs composed in connection with the war, two examples of which are given :

I

"Horses speed past upon the city wall,
Flying to the battlefield;
I shall be at home to look after the fields,
While you, my love, go to fight the war."

II

"Millions the troops beneath the great flag,
Advancing together to attack the enemy's headquarters:
When I have said goodbye I shall miss you,
But when victory is won we shall meet again."

Another group of folk songs are those of the Miao people in the South-west, and here is a poem which expresses the peace-loving spirit of the Miao :

"There is a tiger on the mountain,
And a buffalo at the mountain's foot;
The buffalo can eat its grass
And the tiger can eat its flesh;
So living their own lives,
There is no enmity between them,
And so it is with the Miao people
And the people from other parts of China;
Miao and Chinese have no enmity."

Nevertheless, if there come invaders then the Miao will resist oppression and fight on without faltering, and this determined and resolute spirit is shown in the following two poems :

"There is a fort in the East and there is a fort in the West
With no definite boundary between them;
But if one people invades the other,
They will fight it out to the finish."

"It doesn't matter, so long as one is patient,
For patience will bring success;
One thrust of the spade cannot make a well,
One stroke of the brush cannot draw a dragon."

So we catch a glimpse of the folk poetry since the war and see that it, in common with other branches of Chinese poetry, has received new life and vigour. Thus we are confident to predict that after the victory is won literary reconstruction will proceed apace in this country, and we believe that all the poets in the world will join with us in praying that that day will come soon.

THE SITE OF THE NESTORIAN MONASTERY AT HANGCHOW

BY STEPHEN D. STURTON, O.B.E., M.A., M.D.(CANTAB.)

(With some additional and explanatory notes)

"It is a well known fact that there was formerly a Nestorian Church at Hangchow, capital of the Province of Chekiang in China, but as far as the writer is aware the exact site has been long forgotten."

Marco Polo mentions this church in his description of Quinsai, or Hangchow, as follows: "Il hi a une gliese de cristienz nestorin solement" (L. F. Benedetto, *Il Milione*, p. 152); or: "In this city there is, in so great a number of people, no more than one very beautiful church of the Nestorian Christians only" (Moule and Pelliot, *Marco Polo*, i., p. 339).

The late Archimandrite Palladius of Peking published in Russia in 1873 and at Shanghai in 1875 (*The Chinese Recorder*, 1875, pp. 108-113) the translation of an inscription of A.D. 1281 which he had found in a scarce book named *Chih shun chên chiang chih*, dated about 1333, c. 9, fol. 8, 9, in which it is recorded how the assistant governor of Chinkiang Ma-hsieh-li-chi-ssü (Marco Polo's Marsarghis) had built six monasteries at Chinkiang and "in Hang-chou at the Chien-ch'iao Gate he built the Yang-i hu-mu-la or Ta-p'u-hsing Monastery." Here *hu-mu-la* is the Syriac 'umra, monastery. The text and translation of this passage have been published also in the *T'oung Pao*, 1915, pp. 637, 677; in *Christians in China*, 1930, pp. 144, 149; and P. Y. Saeki, *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, 1936, p. 514 (text in Japanese edition, 1935); and the text is quoted in *Tung ch'êng chi yü*¹ (ed. *Wu lin chang ku ts'ung pien*, pt. 25), c. 1, fol. 11.

"Valuable light has been thrown on the site of this church by Professor Saeki in his *Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*, p. 516, by his translation from the *Hsi hu yü lan chih*,² circa A.D. 1547, c. 16, fol. 11v°-14r°, which states: 'SAN T'AI FU tz'ü (Memorial Hall, or Shrine, of the Three Grand Tutors): East of the Chien Bridge; it is the site of the Shih-fang Monastery, just west of the Hsi-ch'un Bridge, which was founded by the Yüan dynasty monk Yeh-li-k'o-wên and has long ceased to exist. In the twenty-first year of Chia-ching (1542) Hsieh P'ei, Minister in the Board of Civil Service, built the Hall in honour of Hsieh An, granted the title of T'ai fu in the Chin dynasty; Hsieh Shên-fu, granted the title of T'ai fu in the Sung dynasty; and Hsieh Ch'ien, granted the title of T'ai fu in the Imperial Ming dynasty; etc.' The rest of the long passage consists of the lives of the three eminent men. (In the above paragraph a shorter and more correct version has been substituted for Saeki's, which Dr Sturton had used.)

"The writer of these notes has long been interested in finding the site of the Nestorian Church at Hangchow, but has hitherto been unsuccessful, even after reading what Professor Saeki has published on the subject, with the important clue of the Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors. Searches near the supposed site of the Chien-ch'iao Gate failed to reveal any Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors, and none of the small temples near by bear any name resembling this. Old Chinese residents stated that there was such a shrine in the city, but that it was in another part. The writer recently noticed a small stone tablet over a gate in the Ch'ang-shêng³ Road near the West Lake, in the former Manchu City, bearing the inscription 'Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors Hsieh'; and on examination of the shrine found that it was a single room, not much more than a hovel, with the honorific tablets of the Three Grand Tutors on the altar. On being questioned, the woman who appeared to be in charge of the shrine stated that it had not always been on that site, but had been removed from the Mao-lao Hsiang, and that nothing now existed on the old site.

"The Mao-lao Hsiang (correctly Mao-lang Hsiang⁴) is a lane with a right-angled bend on the south side of the Hsin-min Lu⁵ [running south for about 100 yards and

then turning east], about 100 yards south-west of the Kwang Chi Hospital, in which the writer works. There are two small temples in this lane, but neither of them bears a name in any way suggesting the Three Grand Tutors. The name is, however, applied loosely to the district rather than to the lane only, as the next street, whose proper name is Chin-ch'ien Hsiang,⁷ is also locally known as Mao-lao Hsiang.

Further enquiries among old residents elicited the fact that the shrine had stood where there is now a small fish and vegetable market on the north side of the Chien-ch'iao street,⁸ about 300 yards west of the supposed site of the Chien-ch'iao Gate. Immediately east of the market is a narrow lane, now ending blindly, and known as Ta tung shan Lung,⁹ which is almost exactly co-linear with the west arm of the Mao-lao Hsiang. That this is definitely the site of the Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors, and therefore of the ancient Nestorian Church, is proved beyond doubt by the presence of a stone obelisk in the north-east corner of the market, commemorating the removal of the shrine in the seventh year of the Republic of China (1918), when the market was established.

"The site is somewhat the shape of a church, having a long portion corresponding to the nave of a church, and a wider portion corresponding to transepts, while beyond this there is a small house containing a stone altar, behind which are three vacant panels said to have been occupied by the tablets of the Three Grand Tutors. Is it too fanciful to suggest that this altar, or at any rate its materials, may have survived not only from the 'Shrine of the Three Grand Tutors,' but also from the Nestorian 'Monastery of the Cross' which stood here before the shrine?"

To the above notes of his most interesting discovery (made, it should be noted, early in 1942 in a city occupied by the Japanese) Dr Sturton added a short paragraph about the Mao-lao Hsiang, suggesting (1) that this lane may formerly have run straight through to the Chien-ch'iao Street on the line of the present Ta tung shan Lung, and (2) that the name Mao-lang, with its local corrupt pronunciation Mao-lao, may be a remnant of *hu-mu-la*,¹⁰ which was the regular transcription of the Syriac *'umra*, or "monastery". With regard to (1), it must be enough for the present to say that the Mao-lang Hsiang is recorded, apparently in its present position, in the *Hsi hu yu lan chih*, circa 1547, and in the *Wan li Hang chou fu chih*, circa 1600, while in neither book does it appear among the lanes which run into the Chien-ch'iao Street. And with regard to (2) that Dr Sturton's idea may have been unduly encouraged by Saeki, who for some reason transcribes the Syriac word as *'mura* in place of the more usual *'umra*; that the colloquial omission of the final nasal *-ng* is not very unusual in the dialect of Hangchow; and that the name does not seem to be really difficult to explain otherwise. One might even suggest, as a mere guess, that the lane was named after the Li pu tso shih lang Mao Tsan,¹¹ a local resident who obtained the great distinction of being Chuang yüan¹² in the examinations of 1538. And there is so far no evidence that the old site of the shrine was ever in the Mao-lang Hsiang, beyond the word of the lady in charge of the present shrine; and she, if she had any real knowledge of where the shrine had formerly stood, must have been using the name as applied to the district rather than to the lane.

The names of many of the lanes in the neighbourhood have unfortunately been changed in the course of years. The Ch'un-hsi¹³ (or Hsi-ch'un) Bridge is now called Chang-chia¹⁴ Bridge; and there were formerly both Ch'un-hsi Hsiang, running into the main street from the south, and Hsi-ch'un Hsiang,¹⁵ running into it just opposite from the north; while the name Tung shan Lung¹⁶ does not appear in the topographies which have been consulted dating from circa 1547 to 1718. If by chance this latter alley represents the old Hsi-ch'un Hsiang, we should be tempted to correct the text of the *Hsi hu yu lan chih* to read "just west of the Hsi-ch'un Lane" in place of "just west of the Hsi-ch'un Bridge". But this is only a guess which must await further investigation.

The text translated above from the *Hsi hu yu lan chih* (ed. *Hsi hu chi lan*), c. 16, fol. 11v°, is given below.¹⁷

Another account of the San t'ai fu tz'ü, based perhaps partly on the *Hsi hu yu lan chih*, is found in the *Ch'ien t'ang hsien chih*¹⁸ prefaces dated June, 1680, and October 31, 1718, c. 13, fol. 26v°, which may be roughly translated as follows:

"HSIEH SAN T'AI FU TZ'Ü: East of the Chien Bridge; the site of the old Shih fang ssü; for making offerings to the Chin T'ai fu Hsieh An, the Sung T'ai fu Hsieh Shên-fu, the Ming T'ai fu Hsieh Ch'ien. In Chia-ching the Li pu shih lang Hsieh P'ei built it. The site of the hall (or shrine) was formerly very spacious and large, the design great and lofty. At the end of the Ming it was burnt by soldiers. Afterwards it was closed and passed to another family. A descendant, the Chou t'ung Hsieh Ping-kung, contributed money to redeem and restore it. Though it does not attain to one tenth [of the splendour] of the old time, yet the eaves rafters were renewed, the winter and autumn sacrifices were restored, and at the time it was spoken of with praise. In it are inscribed tablets, 'Diffusing fragrance for a hundred generations,' and for the Chuang yüan, and the Tsai hsiang, all written by Wên Chêng-ming of Ch'ang-chou.¹⁹

Grand Tutor, it may be explained, was the honorary title of the second of the highest Ministers of State in the old Imperial Government. The dates, etc., of the three Grand Tutors Hsieh are as follows: An, 320-385; Shên-fu, circa 1140 to circa 1210; Ch'ien, 1449-1531. Ch'ien was first in the Chü jên examination of 1474, and Chuang yüan in 1475; his son P'ei was also top of the Chü jên and obtained a first class in the Chin shih examination. Their respective biographies will be found in the *Chin shu*, c. 79; *Sung Shih*, c. 394, fol. 7r°; *Ming shih*, c. 181, fol. 6r°. P'ei has no separate biography, but is included with his father. Wên Chêng-ming (1470-1559) was a well known writer and painter. It is not clear whether the inscriptions written by him for this Memorial Hall had escaped the fire or had been restored."

These last paragraphs are of little importance for our purpose, except that by bringing the history of the Memorial Hall down to the end of the seventeenth century they confirm the great probability that the site which has been found is really the original site of the hall and therefore of the church.

With regard to Dr Sturton's description of the market-place as having "somewhat the shape of a church," he himself in a later letter calls attention to the improbability that the church should have lain thus north and south, when the Syrian Christians were specially particular about worshipping towards the east, as is emphatically stated in the Chinkiang inscription, which records the building of this very church. And he would be the first to admit that the suggestion that this was the site of the actual chapel of the monastery cannot be completely convincing unless it is subsequently confirmed by careful excavation. He adds that he thinks that "there may have been further buildings to the north where there is now a large private house and grounds to which I have not gained access."

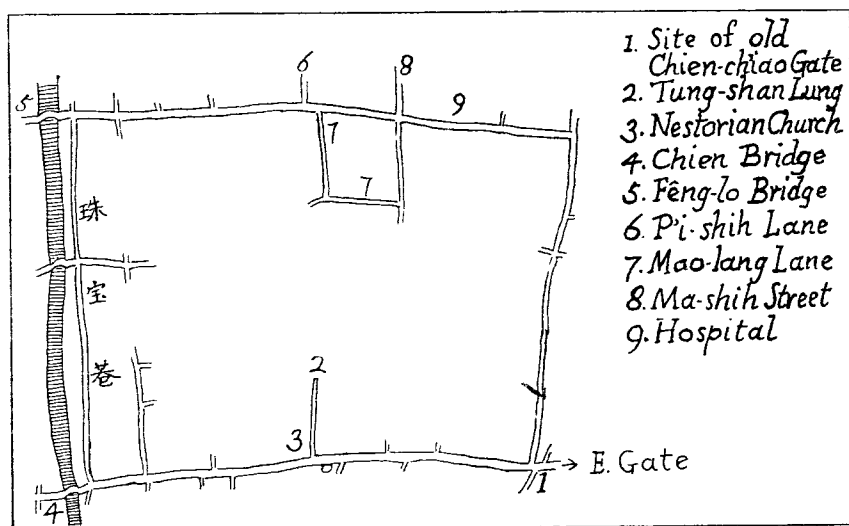
The details given in the *Hsi hu yü lan chih*, 180 years or so after the fall of the Yüan dynasty, appear to make it probable that the author had access to some inscription (either the actual stone, or a rubbing of it, or the text preserved in some book) or other record which has not yet been traced.

In any case Dr Sturton has proved satisfactorily that the monastery and church founded by Marsarghis in 1281 and mentioned by Marco Polo in 1298 stood on the north side of the main street which still leads in from one of the east gates of the city to the Chien Bridge, occupying a corner site bounded on the south by the street and on the east by the Ta tung shan Lung, roughly about 250 yards east of the Chien Bridge and about the same distance west of the site of the old Chien-ch'iao Gate. And it is, as far as can be learned, the first of the many Christian monasteries which existed in China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to have its position thus exactly recorded.

Dr Sturton ends his paper on "Nestorianism in China," to which the above notes were appended, with two short personal paragraphs:

"In conclusion I wish to thank my colleague, Mr. F. B. Wood, who has accompanied me on many trips during this investigation, and my colleague, Mr. Norman Shen, who has helped with the local enquiries.

"These notes are affectionately dedicated to the memory of George Theodore Moule, of Hangchow, whose twenty years of friendship meant much to the writer, and who passed away on March 9, 1942, less than twenty-four hours after he heard that the site had been discovered."



1	東	城	記	餘	2	西	湖	遊	覽	志	3	長	生	4	謝	三
	太	傳	祠	5	茅	郎	巷	6	新	民	路	7	金	錢	線	巷
8	薦	橋	直	街	9	大	東	山	街	10	忽	木	11	吏	部	橋
	左	侍	郎	茅	12	狀	狀	13	春	熙	熙	橋	14	章	家	東
15	熙	春	巷	16	山	也	街	17	三	太	傳	祠	在	薦	橋	可
	舊	十	方	寺	靖	靖	當	熙	春	橋	西	元	僧	也	里	不
	溫	建	久	廢	嘉	贈	二	十	一	年	吏	部	侍	郎	謝	深
	建	祠	以	奉	晉	傅	太	傳	謝	安	宋	贈	太	傳	縣	志
19	甫	皇	明	贈	太	在	謝	遷	者	云	云	18	錢	塘	祀	晉
	謝	三	太	傅	祠	太	薦	橋	東	舊	十	方	寺	址	遷	嘉
	太	傳	謝	安	宋	郎	傅	謝	深	甫	明	太	傳	謝	頗	廣
	靖	間	吏	部	侍	明	餘	堯	謝	丕	建	祠	址	舊	裔	孫
	闕	模	模	宏	敞	損	末	兵	燹	後	沒	歸	他	姓	什	一
	州	謝	謝	秉	公	蒸	貲	贖	還	雖	不	敵	昔	時	百	
	而	棟	楠	聿	新	宰	當	重	舉	時	論	稱	之	中	書	
	世	流	芳	狀	元		相	題	額	皆	長	洲	文	徵		

THE KIRGHIZ RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

BY A. SOLONYTSIN

DURING the past year the Kirghiz Research Institute for languages, literature, and history has prepared fourteen papers connected with linguistics, literature, folklore, ethnography, archæology, and history, all of which have considerable scientific value.

The linguistic department recently completed a 1,600-page Kirghiz-Russian dictionary. This is now in the press, and its publication will help to strengthen the cultural bonds between the Russian and Kirghiz peoples.

The folklore department has been very active in its study of the "Manas" epic, the recording of which has occupied the institute's workers for many years. It is an unrivalled example of folklore which has been handed down from generation to generation. The recording is not yet complete, although over 1,100,000 lines of verse are already written down.

Bards who recite the "Manas"—the "Manaschi"—have phenomenal memories in addition to poetic talent. Only this can explain the fact that for centuries hundreds of thousands of verses have been handed down orally.

The folklore department is preparing an academic edition of the epic, and prose versions in Kirghiz and Russian are also being prepared.

The institute is gathering folklore connected with the present war, and writers, teachers, local journalists, and collective farmers who participated in the war are being invited to help.

Considerable work is being done in the study of past and present literature. The oldest period is covered in Professor Bernstein's paper "The Sources of Kirghiz Literature." Samanchin, senior scientific worker at the institute, has written a monograph about Tokolok Mondo, a leading Kirghiz *Akyn* (bard).

At the present time Samanchin is working on an analysis of the work of the poet Klycho, founder of Kirghiz written poetry.

An *Anthology of Kirghiz Literature*, which the institute is preparing in Russian, will acquaint the peoples of other republics of the Soviet Union with the outstanding Kirghiz poets, novelists, playwrights, and with Kirghiz folklore.

The department of history is compiling a four-volume monograph history of Kirghiz and Kirghizstan. Among the authors engaged on this work are many representatives of the still young intelligentsia.

The same department has this year begun a study of historical and archæological monuments in the Tian Shan mountains, which is planned to go on for a number of years; an expedition has already started work.

A number of expeditions are also being sent to all parts of the Kirghiz republic to make a deeper study of the language, ethnography, and history of the Kirghiz people.

A VISIT TO THE TURKISH PARLIAMENT

BY J. BELL

[This talk was given in the Thursday night English programmes over the short wave from Ankara. The wave-length is 31.7 metres and the time is 21.30 British Summer Time.]

A visit to the Turkish Parliament during a Session is an interesting experience. From the spectators' gallery one looks down into the chamber below, where the

Deputies are assembled. It is strongly reminiscent of the British House of Commons. There are 455 Deputies. They are seated at desks covered with official papers. Few of the Deputies are under forty-five years of age. Messengers are entering and leaving the House continuously. Here and there a member leaves his desk and holds a whispered conversation with another member. Women Deputies look stately and efficient and give the onlooker the impression that they realize to the full that the destiny of the Turkish Republic is partly in their hands. The hands of the clock point to fifteen hours. Without any ceremony whatever the President of the Chamber enters and takes the "chair." In the British House of Commons the President of the Chamber is the Speaker. He is dressed in black robes and wears a long grey wig hanging down to his shoulders. His office is surrounded with great outward dignity, and before him on the table rests the historic "mace," his symbol of authority. All this outward seeming is absent in the Turkish Chamber of Deputies. Nevertheless, the President of the Chamber is the guardian of the dignities in the House. If any member should offend against the rules of debate he is called to order, and if for sufficient reason the President should "name" an offending member he must at once withdraw from the House.

The arrangement of the Turkish Parliament is very simple. In front of the President and extending the full length of the Chamber are rows of desks with aisles between. The desks are arranged to accommodate three Deputies at each desk. Behind the President's chair are several secretaries busy at their respective tasks. On the President's left are benches which are occupied by the Prime Minister and his Ministerial colleagues.

There is no official opposition in the Turkish Parliament. It is true the People's Party, a body of some Party Deputies, exercise what might be called a watching brief. This Party meets weekly and subjects all Parliamentary business to a keen scrutiny. Should it disapprove of any measure coming before the House it might at any time offer a united opposition. Nevertheless, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is composed of all the Deputies, who are elected in conformity with special laws. The election takes place normally once every four years, and the whole Assembly is the sole and real representative of the nation, and in the name of the nation it exercises sovereignty. Each Deputy, therefore, is not only the representative of the constituency or district which elected him or her but also of the whole nation.

The President of the Republic of Turkey is the head of the State, and in this capacity presides over the Assembly on special occasions and over the Council of Ministers when he deems this necessary.

The Prime Minister is chosen by the President of the Republic from among the members of the Assembly. The other Ministers are chosen by the Prime Minister from among the members of the Assembly. After these members of the Council have been approved by the President they are presented to the Assembly, and the new Government presents its programme to the Assembly and asks for its confidence, and thus under the presidency of the Prime Minister they constitute the Council of Ministers or Cabinet.

The Grand National Assembly, of course, may always exercise control of the Government and cause it to fall at any time.

On the occasion of my visit to the Turkish Parliament the debate on the annual budget was in progress, and in this instance the procedure was in the main similar to that of the British Parliament. Deputy after Deputy was called by the President of the Chamber. On hearing his name mentioned the Deputy in question left his seat and went to a desk or rostrum fitted with a microphone. From there he made his speech. Sometimes applause broke out, or laughter, at something the Deputy said. Each speaker was treated with the same deference and quick dignity.

This short sketch will suffice perhaps to give my hearers some idea of the working of the Turkish Parliament and enable them to realize that the National Assembly of this young Republic is a vital organism developed on democratic lines, ever adapting itself to the changing needs of time, and never losing sight of the fundamental political principle that "sovereignty without restriction or condition belongs to the nation."

THE PAN-TURANIAN MYTH IN TURKEY TODAY

BY ALEXANDER HENDERSON

ON September 8, 1944, the trial opened before the Istanbul Court of Martial Law of twenty-three persons accused of spreading racialist and Pan-Turanian doctrines and of organizing secret societies with the purpose of conspiring for the overthrow of the Turkish Government. The accused included a university professor, high-school teachers, civil servants and army officers. They had been arrested in May, to the accompaniment of the widest publicity in the Turkish Press. The decision to prosecute was taken by the Cabinet on May 18, and in a speech on the following day President İnönü had declared that the Government would not tolerate the subversive activities of the Pan-Turanians. Between May and September the prosecution was engaged in preparing their case. The evidence laid before the court included the depositions of the accused, reports of meetings, speeches and correspondence.

The aims of the Pan-Turanians are conveniently summed up in the programme of a secret society founded in July, 1941, by Zeki Velidi Toğan, Professor of Turkish History at the University of Istanbul. The aims were: (1) To unite the Turks of Asia with Turkey to create one racially pure Turkish State; (2) as soon as Germany's victory was assured to overthrow by a swift bloodless *coup d'état* the present Turkish Government and replace it by a nationalist Government which would put racialism and Pan-Turanianism into effect; (3) to organize the prisoners of war of Turkish race who were in German hands; (4) to conduct propaganda in Turkey for the ideas of the society.

While the starting-point of the present effervescence of Pan-Turanianism coincided with the outbreak of the German-Russian war, the activities of certain of the accused dated back to before the present conflict. In particular, Zeki Velidi Toğan had long been politically active. Born in 1890 in Russian Turkestan he had, during the Bolshevik Revolution, worked for the creation of an independent Turkestan. He was then secretary of the Central Moslem Organization of Tashkent. In 1922, at a secret congress of the "National Union" of Turkestan, he was appointed to represent this organization abroad, and in 1923 went to Iran, Afghanistan, and finally Germany. He arrived in Turkey in 1927, was appointed to the Chair of Turkish History at Istanbul University, but expelled from the country in 1932 on account of his political activities.

He again spent some time in Germany, returning to Turkey and his professorship in 1938. It was alleged that he then, and again in 1939 after the outbreak of war, tried to organize a movement for the independence of Turkestan and for the dissemination of the Pan-Turanian ideology. In 1941, after the German attack on Russia, he sought permission to go to Germany. When this was refused he set to work to establish a secret society.

Toğan's principal lieutenant, who later formed a separate secret society, Reha Oğuz Türkkan, was alleged to have begun spreading Pan-Turanian ideas in 1936-37, when he was still a student. In 1938, Türkkan was alleged to have said to one of his associates: "We shall bring off a sudden *coup d'état* with the help of the Regiment of the Guard. We are in permanent contact with a foreign power which will help us with arms. We shall go straight to the Grand National Assembly and seize power by arresting first of all the Deputies. Here is the poison-gas revolver which I got from Germany for my part in the revolution."

Türkkan began his overt activities by publishing the review *Boskurt* (Grey Wolf) in 1939. When this was suspended he organized a society called "Kitapsevenler Kurumu" ("Booklovers' Association"), which, under the guise of harmless cultural enlightenment, was intended, according to Türkkan's own statement, "to spread racialist and Pan-Turanian propaganda," and to prepare the way for the "Gürem" secret society which he later founded. In 1941, permission was obtained to publish

Boşkırt again. It soon attracted the attention of the Soviet representatives in Turkey, who cabled back to Moscow long extracts from its articles. The magazine finally came to an end in 1942, and was rapidly followed by *Gökboru*, under the same editor and with the same policy.

Another and rival group of Pan-Turanians was led by Nihal Adsiz, a secondary school teacher, who is accused of spreading racialist and Pan-Turanian ideas among his pupils. Adsiz laid especial stress on the necessity of purifying the Turkish race of all non-Turkish elements and of ensuring that none but racially pure Turks should hold official positions. Adsiz affects a hair style copied from that of Hitler, has designed a colourful uniform for himself and his followers, and likes being photographed in martial postures. He appears to have been a turbulent character since his student days, when he was expelled from the Military Medical School for indiscipline. According to his own statements, he was expelled because members of the staff, whom he alleged to be of non-Turkish origin, had combined against him. He referred to the Director, who, he said, was an Albanian, and to his class master, alleged to be of Circassian origin. It is obvious that a man with this sense of grievance and persecution would be attracted by Nazi racial theories; there is a clear parallel between the young Hitler in Vienna seeing the Jews as his enemies and the young Türkkan imagining "non-Turkish" Turks as plotting against him.

It is interesting, too, that Türkkan is himself not a racially pure Turk; his great-grandfather is stated to have been a *dönme*—a Jew converted to Muhammadanism. Türkkan appears originally to have derived his ideas from his adopted father, Dr. Rıza Nur, editor of the review *Tanrıdağ*, which came to an end with its editor's death in 1942.

The movement led by Toğan, Türkkan and Adsiz has hardly been of serious political import, despite the publicity given to its suppression. That publicity was doubtless designed to placate the U.S.S.R., against which the movement must ultimately have been directed, and to help to improve Russo-Turkish relations. But it is interesting as an example of the influence of a myth on politics, in which respect it resembles the Nordic myth of Nazi Germany.

The idea of a union of all the peoples who speak some form of Turkish originated in the years shortly before the last war from the linguistic movement which aimed at purifying the Ottoman Turkish language of its Persian and Arabic elements, an effort which is still going on. The sociologist and poet Ziya Gökalp, one of the leaders of the language reform movement, may be considered as the emotional promoter of the Pan-Turanian ideology. He is the myth maker, the celebrator of the "ancestors" of the modern Turks—of Attila, Jenghiz Khan and Oghuz Khan—and of the ancestral home of the Turkish race which is nothing so limited as modern Turkey, but a vague vastness described by Ziya Gökalp as "the broad eternal land of Turania."

So far the notion had been little more than the plaything of a few intellectuals; but with the entry of Turkey into the war on the side of the Central Powers, the astute Enver Pasha and his German friends perceived a practical use for Pan-Turanianism. Combined with Pan-Islamism, or, as an alternative to it, the Pan-Turanian racial ideology was intended to disrupt the Czarist Empire from within, the British Empire in Egypt and India, and to advance the prospects of the Turkish Empire, with Constantinople as a double-purpose capital—religious as well as racial.*

A compact statement of what Pan-Turanianism hoped to achieve is provided by the *Tasviri Efkar* of April 15, 1918 (quoted in M. A. Çzaplica, *The Turks of Central Asia*, p. 118, Oxford, 1918): "To penetrate in one direction into Egypt and to open the road to the 300,000,000 of our co-religionists, on the other side to advance to Kars and Tiflis, to liberate the Caucasus from Russian barbarism and to occupy Tabriz and

* Lewis Einstein, Special Agent at the American Embassy, Constantinople, noted in his diary under May 18, 1916: "I have just gone through a fat dossier on Pan-Islamic agitation which is going on everywhere, mainly with German funds. . . . Here, however, the movement is a failure and has been succeeded by an old Turkish revival." (See Lewis Einstein, *Inside Constantinople*, London, 1917.) The "old Turkish revival" to which he refers was the movement led by Ziya Gökalp.

Teheran, to open a road to those Mussulman countries such as Afghanistan and India—this is the task we have assumed. This task, with the aid of Allah, with the assistance of the Prophet, and thanks to the union imposed on us by our religion, we will carry through to the end.”

The practical steps taken to further this ambitious programme included the establishment at the Turkish War Office of a committee, on which sat German officers, for the purpose of organizing propaganda in Persia and Central Asia, with special attention to Turkestan. A German agent, Dr. Werner Otto von Hentig, spent two years and much hard cash in organizing fifth column activities in the Middle East and Central Asia. Not surprisingly, von Hentig was again at his old games in the Middle East during the early part of the present war.

The most serious result of this Pan-Turanian agitation was the rising in 1916 of the Kirghiz tribesmen of the Chu river and Issik-Kul region of Turkestan, a rising in which several thousands of Russians were massacred. According to the official Russian report the insurgents were led by a Turkish general. The rising was suppressed with great severity and the land on which the Russians had been killed was confiscated from the Kirghiz. (See *A Manual on the Turanians and Pan-Turanianism*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1917.)

It is doubtless these events during the last war which have caused the U.S.S.R. to keep a sharp watch on the relatively trivial manifestations of Pan-Turanianism which have appeared in Turkey since 1941.

Like other myths, Pan-Turanianism has its symbols drawn from a conveniently vague and mysterious past. Prominent among them is the Grey Wolf, already noted as giving its name to one of the leading Pan-Turanian reviews. This symbolic animal first appears in Chinese legends of the sixth century A.D. as a she-wolf which had nourished the last survivor, a boy, of the tribe of *Hiung-nu* (the Huns), whose Central Asian empire had been broken up by civil war and the attacks of the Chinese. The wolf and its nursing were conveyed by divine power to a region which would appear to have been the Altai Mountains. Here they passed through a tunnel or cave and came out on a fertile valley, where the wolf gave birth to ten men children who grew up, became warriors and captured wives. Soon a clan, using the wolf as its symbol, developed and spread out in the valleys of the Altai. In the sixth century they are described by the Chinese as going by the name of *Tu-kiu*, a word meaning “helmet,” and adopted by the tribe as its name because the hill around which they had settled was shaped like a helmet. *Tu-kiu* is thus supposed to be the origin of the name Turk. The she-wolf is the mother of the Turks and was worshipped by them before they were converted to Muhammadanism.

For the Pan-Turanians of today, therefore, the Grey Wolf is a powerful symbol rich with associations reaching back into a legendary, mythical past.

The name of Dr. Riza Nur's review, *Tanridağ*, is likewise symbolic. The word means literally “Mountain of God” or “Mountain of Heaven.” The word *Tanri*, used in modern Turkish as a synonym for Allah, has an ancient ancestry. It originated in the pagan Shamanistic religion practised by the Turks before their conversion to Islam. In the eighth century A.D. the word *Tanri* or *Tangri* was already in use as meaning the chief deity superior to the spirits of earth and water, also worshipped by the Turks. As late as the nineteenth century the Siberian Turks, generally known as Yakuts, though nominally Christian, still adhered to their ancient pagan beliefs in which the chief god was *Tangra*. Similarly some of the Turkish tribes of the Altai worshipped *Tengere Khan*, the “Lord of Heaven.” Thus the expression *Tanridağ* is, like *Bozkurt*, powerfully evocative of mystery and myth, of the emotionally charged “dark backward and abysm of time” in which the Turkish race began. The use of *Tanri* in Turkish racist ideology is something like the attempt made to popularize Valhalla, Odin and Thor by Nazi racial theorists.

Yet another element in Pan-Turanian mythology is provided by *Orhun*, used as the name of the last review edited by Nihal Adsiz. The magazine was suspended indefinitely in the spring of 1944 after the publication of two open letters to the Prime Minister which led to student demonstrations in Istanbul and Ankara.

Orhun is another name from the legendary past of the Turks. It is supposed to have been the capital of a tribal State which existed from the latter part of the sixth

century to the middle of the eighth in the region of the Upper Yenisei and of the Orhun (usually spelt Orkhon on English maps) river which joins the Selenga to flow into Lake Baikal. *Orhun* figures in a celebrated poem entitled *Kızıl Elma* (a symbolical expression for a promised land) by Ziya Gökalp. The poem describes how Turgut, an idealist from Istanbul, goes out to look for the promised land of the Turks. At Baku he meets a girl named Ay and they fall in love. Turgut imagines that he hears Ay say to him: "The *Kızıl Elma* you seek is here and I am the fairy of the promised land." He consults a local wise man on the significance of this revelation and is told: "My boy, *Kızıl Elma* is not a promised land already existing somewhere in the world. For the moment this land is an ideal and its sky a dream. Today it is a legend, but tomorrow it will be a reality. . . . The sword and the spirit of the Turks have contributed to the rise of Persia, Arabia and China. They have given each of these peoples glory and history, but the Turk has always sacrificed himself for others. His own existence always remained incomplete. He left Turfan* and went to Orhun. . . . This, my boy, is what you will find at *Kızıl Elma*. You will find unity, national life. There a collective culture and thought will flourish. We shall see a new Turfan, a new Orhun, a Turkish social being who will cease to ape other peoples."

In the end the girl Ay, who has also listened to this homily, decides that *Kızıl Elma* can be realized on earth by establishing in Switzerland a Turkish university city where Turkish culture can be studied and developed, and from which scholars, poets, technicians, merchants, industrialists and other leaders shall go out in all directions—to Kashgar, the Altai, Kazan, Konia—to lay the foundations of the national existence. Fortunately Ay has just come into a sizeable legacy, so there is no difficulty about carrying out this project. The poem ends with Turgut of Istanbul and Ay of Baku living happily ever after in their university city in Switzerland.†

This pretty fantasy, though presented in idealistic terms, can quite easily be taken to symbolize the notion of a vast Turanian empire extending from Istanbul to Central Asia by way of Russia. The poem is an important contribution to the Pan-Turanian myth.

A further contribution to the dissemination of the Pan-Turanian idea has been made by the Turks who have resettled in Turkey from the U.S.S.R. or whose families originated in Russia. They are represented in an association known as the "Turkish Cultural Union," which aims at keeping alive in Turkey the folklore and culture of the Turks outside Turkey. In 1942 this society held a congress in Istanbul at which were performed folk dances from the Crimea, the Volga, Azerbaijan, the Urals, Turkestan and elsewhere, while a poet recited a piece about Atatürk in the Turkestan dialect. In the same year the society began the publication of a review, *Türk Amacı* (*The Turkish Goal*).

In addition to the periodicals so far mentioned are various others operating on the periphery of the Pan-Turanian idea and propagating more or less straightforward nationalism. Such are *Millet* (*The Nation*), *Çığır* (*The Age*) and *Türk Yurdu* (*The Turkish Fatherland*).

This efflorescence of literary, political and historical reviews is evidence of the fascination which a racialist, extreme nationalist and Pan-Turanian ideology holds for the Turkish intellectual.

For the moment Pan-Turanianism amounts to little more than a myth. The attention paid by the U.S.S.R. representatives in Turkey to the propaganda of a few intellectuals was out of proportion to the real strength of the movement. It was, however, understandable, for the Russians argued that if these publications were allowed to appear, then surely the Turkish Government, which keeps a very strict control on the Press, did not view the Pan-Turanian idea with disfavour. Myths, moreover, can grow into realities, and they can be exploited—as the Nazis have exploited their racial myth and as they attempted to exploit the myth of an independent Ukrainian State. They might similarly have used the Pan-Turanian ideology as a

* For a description of Turfan today, see Mildred Cable and Fancesca French, *The Gobi Desert*, London 1942.

† See Tekin Alp, *Le Kemalisme*, Paris, 1937.

basis for stirring up trouble in Turkestan, as they did during the last war. Russian suspicions were further strengthened by the fact that the Germans were broadcasting propaganda in the form of Turkish spoken in Azerbaijan.

In suppressing the Pan-Turanians the Turkish Government took a useful step towards the improvement of relations with the U.S.S.R.

It seems certain that the Nazis assisted the Pan-Turanian movement, but it is doubtful whether they were prepared to go very far with it. Such irredentist movements can usually obtain a certain amount of cash and advice from one or other of the secret departments in Berlin. They are helped just in case they may come in useful. And they are dropped the moment it becomes clear that nothing is to be gained from them. For the present the Turkish State is much too firmly founded to be threatened by anything the Pan-Turanians have so far accomplished, whether with or without German assistance.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

I.—DISRAELI

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

As I sit down to write the first of this series of articles, I am seized with apprehension. What do I know of British thought and feeling? Very little, I confess. I have given the subject no more than twenty years or so; and that is not enough. Fortunately, I am offering neither judgments nor valuations; only some impressions.

I give pride of place to Disraeli, not because he is the most important figure on my list, but because he happens to speak to me most urgently at the moment. This, I think, is as it should be. A theme should impose itself upon an author or it will lack inevitability. What comes to us is always finer than what is deliberately created. Manufactured prose is, of course, an abomination.

But all this is by the way.

I remember very well my first morning in London. Snow; sparkling air; everything bathed in a dim mysterious light. I was enchanted. This is exactly how I had imagined an English winter to be. Somehow it reminded me of the lovely Lady Christabel.

Breakfast over, I went out. Parliament Square was my destination. Arrived there, I stood gazing at the statue of Disraeli.

My disappointment was great. The pinched ascetic features told me nothing. I had pictured Disraeli as a combination of eagle, leopard and primrose. The stone image conveyed not a hint of this to me. Indeed, it repelled me by its chilling deadness. I turned away, preferring to dwell with the portrait that my fancy had painted for me.

But why this interest in Disraeli? He impressed me in 1928 as an underdog who refused to remain an underdog. Yet he was not a rebel. No, he accepted the conventions as part of the game of life: but, almost negligently, he filled them with new content. What, however, appealed to me most in him was his brave attitude to life. He was no passivist quietly moulded by his surroundings. He was a born fighter. He felt that the stars have nothing to do with our fate: it is in ourselves that we are thus or thus. Such, anyhow, was his faith in *Coningsby*. "But what is an individual against a vast public opinion?" exclaims the hero of the novel. "Divine," says the stranger. "God made man in His own image, but the Public is made by Newspapers, Members of Parliament, Excise Officers, Poor Law Guardians." Disraeli did not merely preach. He acted his dreams. He went as far as it is possible for a man to go in a Constitutional Monarchy. He climbed, in his own words, "the top of the

greasy pole." In brief, Disraeli's life seemed to me more thrilling than that of Byron or Shelley. These two went out like brief candles in the night; Disraeli lived on not only to savour the elixir of success but to give Britain a new pride and a new vision.

Today, however, I see him in a slightly different light. He was, I feel, a consummate artist, not, as I had supposed before, a natural force. Of course he was not an artist in the ordinary sense of the word. His books, though live, witty and full of thoughtful things, are not flawless masterpieces. They seem to have been "thrown off"; they are a part of his surplus energy; the whole of Disraeli is not in them. He was an artist in his life and politics. And these two are what matter to us.

The first twenty years of a man's existence are of vital importance; it is then that the human machine is created to perform its work in the world. What follows after is of much less consequence. After thirty, what is there further left to tell? "The rest is but the liberation of a mighty spring, the slow running down of energy. The man recedes to give place to his deeds, whether such deeds be the assault of great fortresses or the escalade of mighty sentences."

The early years of Disraeli were far from happy. Kindly but queer parents; schools where his Jewishness was treated as a stain; and a strong feeling within himself that he was somehow different from others. All this preyed upon his mind, and made him create an artificial world of his own. It was a world of colour, luxury and sunshine. And, of course, he was the central figure in it. Life, it seemed to him, would be intolerable if he were not the greatest among men; not one of the greatest, but quite definitely the greatest. He had scores to settle, and he would settle them. But what path should he pursue? Byron, he noticed, had done not at all badly by writing poetry. But writing poetry was a risky business. Sometimes fame only came after death. Too bad. What was the use of posthumous triumph? For himself, he would rather be Alexander than anyone else.

So he dreamed at the age of fifteen. But it was not enough to dream. He noticed that, in the matter of studies, he was not far advanced. He set to work. All day he read, and in the evening he filled his notebooks with such remarks as: "Friday, June 2nd: Lucian. Terence—the *Adelphi*, which promises to be an interesting play. *Henriade* . . . Virgil, 2nd book of the *Georgics*, which begins with a splendid invocation to Bacchus; it, however, all vanishes in a sleepy lecture on grafting boughs and lopping trees. Prepared Greek . . . Grammar, etc." And another day: "I have a prejudice against Demosthenes, and though his speeches are replete with Virtue, Patriotism and Courage, history tells me that he was a Villain, a Partisan and a Poltroon." He was particularly interested in secret societies, the *Vehmgerichte*, the Council of Ten, or the Jesuits. He instinctively approved of the precept "Develop yourself: not for enjoyment but for action." And he gave special attention to the methods by which St. Ignatius collected disciples and attached them to himself. The organization of the Catholic Church seemed to him marvellous. Ah, to combine in one person both spiritual and temporal power! To be a Richelieu—how grand!

Almost the whole of the future Disraeli is to be found in these boyish daydreams. But the point that concerns us at present is that he was learning to experiment with himself. Soon, quite soon, he was to learn to experiment with others. And in this double capacity lay much of the secret of his power. It is hardly necessary to say that he used this power like an artist—that is to say, more for impersonal than for personal ends.

He put on many masks—that of a dandy, of a cynic, of a man of the world—but these did not grow into his face. Once he had made people forget that he was a Jew and a commoner—he succeeded in doing that—he dropped all make-believe. Then it was seen that he was at once sensitive and proud. But for long he had to protect himself against the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune. Carlyle was very rude to him. He asked, in his trumpet voice, how long John Bull would allow this absurd monkey to dance on his chest. What was Disraeli's reaction? In 1874, when he came to power, he offered Carlyle the highest distinction he could. He had done a similar good deed earlier, in 1868, when he granted a pension to the children of John Leech, the *Punch* artist, who had plagued him for thirty years. No, there was no pettiness in the man. His motto seems to have been: "Understanding is the Siamese sister of appreciation." But he did not find in others the same attitude. Women apart—he

found them the best of collaborators—most men looked upon him as a charlatan. Gladstone, of course, held him to be the Evil One in person. Disraeli did not despair. Little by little the most suspicious and hostile people were won over. This was not a matter of a little judicious flattery. No, it was the triumph of character, genius and talent. Disraeli came to know the British as few have known them. He played on their feelings as a master-musician plays on a favourite instrument. Take, for instance, Queen Victoria. She was deeply prejudiced against Disraeli, but in time she came to rely upon him as upon a trustworthy friend. And Sir William Harcourt, an opponent, wrote on the departure of Disraeli from the House of Commons: "Henceforth the game will be like a chessboard when the queen is gone—a petty struggle of pawns." Could a man receive a greater compliment? The once despised Jew ended up by being accepted, both by friend and foe, as a true Englishman. This was Disraeli's apotheosis.

And he was a true Englishman. This explains his politics. He treated it, as wise Englishmen always do, as an art. And in all art it is not the generalized qualities that matter, but particular beauties or excellences.

After some fumbling, Disraeli realized that the English were at heart Conservatives, not because they were opposed to all change, but because they thought that change must be the result of a vital necessity. It is stupid to destroy old institutions because one feels that one has found better ones. Let the two grow together. The better ones will silently eliminate those of lesser value. Pragmatism is the only test of superiority. In fact, all well-bred people are Conservatives. Why? Because they know the force of history, the laws of growth and the significance of form. Conservatism is, in brief, the philosophy of a highly cultured people or race. Disraeli knew all this, and so was a conscious and deliberate Conservative. But he was aware of forces and tendencies that other members of his party had not even dreamed of. A State, however powerful, was not, he thought, an immovable machine but a living organism. It must develop. There were abuses in England. Well, these must be removed. He had not the least hesitation in appropriating the programme of the Liberal Party. He wrote in *Sybil, or The Two Nations*: "That we may live to see England once more possess a free Monarchy, and a privileged and prosperous people, is my prayer; that these great consequences can only be brought about by the energy and devotion of our Youth is my persuasion. We live in an age when to be young and to be indifferent can be no longer synonymous. We must prepare for the coming hour. The claims of the future are represented by suffering millions; and the Youth of a Nation are the Trustees of Posterity." For himself, he prepared for the coming hour.

Not only he bettered the lot of the common man—whose friend he ever remained—but he dreamed high dreams for England. When he learnt accidentally at a dinner that the Khedive, being short of money, was anxious to pledge his 177,000 shares in the Suez Canal, he at once acted on his own initiative. By borrowing the money—nearly four millions sterling!—from the firm of Rothschild he acquired the Khedive's holding. He had secured the highway to India. This was a stroke of imaginative statesmanship.

The Queen was delighted. Never had Disraeli seen her so pleased; she kept him to dinner, "nothing but smile and infinite *agaceries*." What particularly appealed to the "Faery"—so Disraeli used to call her—was the thought of the fury of Bismarck, who, insolent man, had declared only a short while ago that England had ceased to be a political force.

Not satisfied with this triumph, the Queen suddenly demanded the title of Empress of India. Disraeli had supported the idea earlier, but now, in 1875, it seemed to him inopportune. The notion, he knew, was un-English and would be attributed to his taste for Oriental tinsel. So he counselled patience. But the Queen was determined to have what she wanted. Disraeli bowed to her wishes, and a Bill was brought forward. The public outcry was great; but Disraeli reassured everyone. He even began to talk of the golden age of the Antonines.

Was this play-acting? No, Disraeli had long had his own ideas about the Empire. He had always thought that England could not be considered apart from her Colonies. Twenty years earlier he had advised Lord Derby to grant representation to the

Colonies and to create an Imperial Parliament. Forty years earlier he had spoken in rhymed numbers of Federal Power and the Spirit of the Future. He had no patience with those who thought of the Empire only in terms of £ s. d. Political and psychological considerations, he insisted again and again, were what decided the fate of a nation. England was nothing if not the metropolis of a vast Empire. For the organization of the latter he had a programme: colonial autonomy, accompanied by an Imperial Customs tariff, a Crown right over unoccupied territories, a military *entente*, and, lastly, the creation of an Imperial Parliament in London. This was too bold and novel a policy for his day, but he never ceased to uphold it. Had he been living today he would almost certainly have approved of the conception of a Commonwealth—free and equal nations united by the ties of interest, understanding and affection.

Disraeli was in many ways ahead of his times. He tried to refashion England: tried to give her an intellectual and romantic ideal. He did not quite succeed. Never mind. All was not failure. He had infected some with his ideas. That was enough. For himself, in old age, little remained to cling to. He saw through many things. Words no longer intoxicated him: he sought far beneath them for the real; and more and more did he find truth in individualism. After all, what had been the most precious experience of his life? That things are stronger than ourselves; that the greatest genius is but a straw in the wind; that all idealisms are doomed to pass away. But something mattered, mattered infinitely. What was it? That he had loved and been loved; that friends had been loyal; that he had tried to serve England. These, these were the only reality. The rest was sound and fury, signifying nothing.

So thought Disraeli in the solitude of Hughenden. The dandy who wished to astonish the world was finishing up as a philosopher. Flowers, youthful faces and music were his final consolations. Here we have the fulfilment of a noble destiny.

HINDU NUMERALS*

By C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S. (RTD.)

THERE is a widespread belief in England and a still more widely spread belief in France that the figures used today in Europe came from Arabia. They are commonly called "Arabic numerals" and "chiffres arabes." This belief appears to be erroneous. The valuable article in *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines* shows that our modern figures came from India and were adopted by the Romans shortly after the Christian era and their effective occupation of Egypt. Indeed, it is sufficient to compare Arab and Hindu numerals with our own to see from which ours came—e.g.,

European	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Arabic	١	٢	٣	٤	٥	٦	٧	٨	٩	١٠
Hindu	१	२	३	४	५	६	७	८	९	१०

There is no doubt a certain resemblance between Arab and European figures, but that is not to be wondered at, since they both came from a common source in India.

Unfortunately, the Romans adopted Hindu figures too soon. The Hindus had not

* Mr. Seddon, M.A., I.C.S. (RTD.), formerly reader in Persian and Marathi at Oxford, has very kindly looked through this paper at my request.

invented the zero when the two nations first met in Egypt. The Hindus discovered the zero about the third century A.D., but by that time the Romans had made the other Indian numerals their own and did not adopt the 0 for several centuries.

Although the Romans copied the Hindu numerals they deformed them in the process. Here are their figures, as given by Boethius in his manual of arithmetic that has survived. Boethius was killed in A.D. 525.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
/	z	4	β	γ	6	~	\$	6

Still, we can see in these deformed figures—e.g., 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8—the ancestors of our present numerals. Strangely enough, the Romans gave to each of these new figures a separate name—e.g., 1 Igin, 2 Andras, 3 Ormis, 4 Arbas, 5 Quimas, 6 Caltis, 7 Zenis, 8 Temenias, 9 Calentis.

The Greeks seem to have kept their numerals unchanged until after the fall of Constantinople. As is well known, they were merely the twenty-four letters of the alphabet plus three disused letters. To the letters were added marks above and below, and finally an M to differentiate their values—e.g.,

$$\alpha' = 1 \quad \alpha = 1000 \quad \frac{\alpha}{M} = 10,000$$

If the Hindus, Romans and Greeks had no zero, how could they work out multiplication sums? The Romans and Greeks did them by the use of the Pythagorean abax ($\alpha\beta\alpha\xi$), called by the Romans the mensa Pythagorea. Boethius gives the abax as under. The example given by him was 4,600 multiplied by 23. I have substituted for his a simpler sum and have done it in modern numerals to avoid confusion :

1,000	100	10	1	24 × 25
		2		(5 × 4)
	1			(5 × 20)
		8		(20 × 4)
	4			(20 × 20)
	6			
				= 600

N.B.—As the figures in 10 column amount to 100 the total is omitted and 1 carried forward.

It seems certain that the Indians were using this abax after Alexander's invasion; but they must, I think, although there is no evidence on this point, have been using it before. I should be inclined to hold that they probably invented it. The Greeks claim that Pythagoras, who lived in the sixth century B.C., discovered it; but he was a great traveller and was reported to have visited India and Egypt. He may well have brought the abax back with him from his travels. Æsop, who was his contemporary, undoubtedly got his fables from India. For centuries before Alexander's invasion the Hindus had been trading on a big scale. There was also a great university at Takshasila (the Greek Taxila), where mathematics and science were taught; as the Hindus had then no zero, the mensa Pythagorea or some such contrivance was necessary for mercantile and mathematical calculations.

As might be expected in a land where the zero was born, India still produces gifted mathematicians. Among my own Indian friends were two wranglers: the first, Mr. Paranjpe, was senior wrangler at Cambridge; the second, the late Mr. Balak Ram, was perhaps even more remarkable. He took his degree in Lahore University in English literature and did not take up mathematics seriously until he went to Cambridge; there he graduated as fourth wrangler.

The Indian method of doing compound addition is definitely superior to our

own.* Like ourselves, they have no decimal coinage, but make up for it by the use of fractions. I give a simple example. The perpendicular lines stand for quarters and the horizontal lines for units.

R:		annas:		pies:
1	..	15	..	6
2	..	4	..	0
5	.	8	.	1
<hr/>				
9	..	11	..	7

R:		annas:		pies:
1		/// ≡		11
2		1		0
7		11		-
<hr/>				
0		11 ≡		11 -

Naturally, all Hindus are not first-class mathematicians, but I have never met a high-caste Indian who was not a good arithmetician. This is mainly due to the fact that in the Deccan, at any rate, Brahman and Prabhu boys, helped by a prodigious memory, learn their tables up to 24×24 . French boys only learn theirs, owing to their decimal system, up to 10×10 . The result is that although the French are the most mathematically gifted of any European people, a French boy if asked what 11×12 amounts to will beg for a pencil and paper; on the other hand, a Brahman boy in Maharashtra will, when asked what 23×24 amounts to, give the correct answer without a moment's hesitation.

POST-WAR PLANS FOR INDIAN STATES

BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

IN preceding articles it was urged that while, in a political sense, Indian Federation is deferred indefinitely, economic planning on a federal basis remained possible as well as desirable, and that the reconstruction plans now under the consideration of the Government of India should be so moulded as to bring every State, as well as every Province, within their scope. This is now official policy. In its report just issued, the Reconstruction Committee of the Government of India emphasize that: "It is desirable that departments of the Central Government and each Province and State (of a suitable size) should now prepare a definite plan for post-war development over the whole range of subjects, including finance. This plan should be in detail for a period

* The superiority is more noticeable in bigger sums. The Englishman has then to divide a large number of annas by 16, whereas the Indian, having already divided the total into quarters, has only to divide them by 4.

of five years, but there should also be a long-term plan which may extend over a period of as much as twenty-five years or longer in such subjects as education, health, roads, etc." By way perhaps of stimulating prompt compliance with this injunction, the Committee add that: "For the purpose of planning, it may be assumed that hostilities in the Eastern theatre might cease by the end of 1945 and that it would be possible to begin development over the whole field early in 1946." Inasmuch as implementation of such plans will begin almost immediately after the cessation of hostilities, it is certain that any State or Province which fails to conform to this timetable will thereby prejudice its own material interests.

In his Budget memorandum for the year ending October, 1945, the Finance Member for Hyderabad State, Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, C.I.E., who is maintaining in every respect the sound financial traditions and procedures established by the late Sir Akbar Hydari, observes truly that: "Co-ordination of effort, pooling of all knowledge and ideas, and avoidance of overlapping are imperative in the common interest. . . . In the Indian States there is considerable dependence on the good offices of the Government of India, not only in the matter of obtaining technical advice and guidance from foreign experts which the various departments of the Government of India propose to employ, but also in the matter of obtaining priorities for machinery and plant, and of facilities for training young men abroad to man new industries and carry on the ambitious programme of agricultural and industrial development." Urging that industries in India should be dispersed over wider areas than hitherto, the Finance Member remarks: "This consideration is of particular importance to Hyderabad, which, though industrially backward, is endowed by Nature with raw materials, mineral resources and sources for generating power and supplying water for irrigation, and therefore needs all the encouragement and facilities for evolving out her economic future for the good of Hyderabad and ultimately for the good of the country as a whole." Post-war Planning Committees have prepared reports covering all important phases of future development and these documents are "under active examination." The "faithful ally" of the Crown is also becoming, not less acceptably, the "faithful ally" of modern progress and all this signifies in terms of economic advancement and social welfare.

Mysore, too, continues, as always, along the same broad road, missing no opportunities that arise to put its great natural resources to more profitable account. The area under mulberry cultivation, which was 30,000 acres in 1939, is now 70,000 acres—representing, one hopes, an expansion which has come to stay. Mysore industrial concerns have fulfilled war orders valued at over £7½ millions. In industrial undertakings, other than railways and electricity works, the State has invested nearly 360 lakhs and in railways about 700 lakhs of rupees. The success and proved indispensability of the pioneer State hydro-electric power works are constant incentives to embark on extensions. The current shortage of coal in India, so inimical to transport as well as industry, at present affords an additional stimulus. At Jog, in the north-western corner of the State, a giant electric station is arising which in its final stage will develop 128,000 h.p.; sufficient, as explained by a Mysore official, to run 128 locomotives every minute of the day, or 26 huge cotton mills night and day, or to light up 32 towns like Bangalore. As the Minister for Public Works recently reminded the Legislative Assembly: "By developing every such scheme to its fullest possible extent we will have a network of hydro-electric schemes, and the day will not be far off when all these will materialize."

India needs a similar development of hydro-electric power in every State and Province, and the new Planning and Development Department of the Government of India is hoping, without avoidable delay, when peace enables a return to normal production, to transform that aspiration into a living, throbbing reality.

BRITAIN JOINS HANDS WITH HER EMPIRE TO HELP THEIR FIGHTING MEN

Now, as victory draws near and we review the vicissitudes of the past five years, it is to this steadfast singleness of purpose we can trace the determination that brought us through the nightmare onslaughts of the Battle of Britain to the approaching dawn of a victorious peace. And we do not forget that we owe our liberation from the threat of enslavement to the quiet heroism and dogged determination of our fighting forces, who have sacrificed their lives that their fellows may live as free men.

But they did not fight alone. On the home front their efforts have been backed with equal devotion by the men and women who have worked untiringly to provide them with the munitions of war, or to alleviate the hardships they have borne so uncomplainingly. Ever since the outbreak of hostilities, the Red Cross and St. John and the Women's Voluntary Services have striven unremittingly to lighten this burden, and their membership extends from the mother country to the farthest reaches of her great empire.

Of these services, one of the most enterprising is run from the Red Cross Comforts Depot under the direction of Mrs. Angela Latham. In 1939, Mrs. Latham founded knitting parties in India, under Mr. Odling of Kalimpong, who got the hillmen to make seaboot stockings and sheepskin jerkins for distribution amongst Indian sailors and civilians through the India Comforts League. Thinking that pilots in the India Squadrons of the R.A.F. might appreciate similar garments, Mrs. Latham contacted Mr. Goodchild of the India Office, who immediately asked her to mother one after another of the most active squadrons. Since then Mrs. Latham's helpers have sent an unceasing stream of comforts—gauntlets, stockings, waistcoats, socks—to meet the enthusiastic demands of their ever-increasing squadrons. Moreover, personal contact is made with all of the pilots who request her assistance for their men, and as a sign of their appreciation, the Squadron Leader of the Baroda Squadron recently sent Mrs. Latham the badge of their mongoose, "with thanks and compliments for all that you have done for the squadron."

Mrs. Latham herself modestly deprecates any tribute to her own efforts and praises the devotion of her volunteers, who are now mostly over seventy. "One lady of eighty," she says, "has made a pair of gauntlets for every day of war, and although the waistcoats are most complex and professional to make, she learned how to do them this month and made twelve because we need them so much." Mrs. Latham goes on: "Since 1939 I have made and collected over a million garments and seen they got to the right people—from blitzed to A.T.S., from admirals to stokers and from generals to despatch riders, not to mention the R.A.F."

Daily letters of thanks pour in from the grateful recipients of these garments and are sent out to the Indian donors of the planes flown by the men. The feelings of these pilots are perhaps best realized from a representative extract from a letter written by the Squadron Leader of the Punjab Squadron:

"... I can assure you that these articles, especially the coats, are very much sought after by the pilots. The squadron is in great heart, and the fact that there are people so ready to work making such comforts for us does help us along in the job to which we have set our hand."

N. G.

ASIA PRESENTED

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

(The author here continues her survey of how the affairs of the Asiatic continent are being presented on the air and the screen.)

I.—ASIA ON THE AIR

Is Mr. Gandhi's statement that "the Viceroy of India is the greatest autocrat in the world" true? Mr. E. P. Moon, late Punjab Civil Service, in a week's five-minute-a-day series of talks on *How India is Governed*, told General Forces listeners that it is not so. The Viceroy is answerable direct to the Secretary of State and through him to Parliament, and therefore his controls finally are democratic.

To those who know something of the structure of the Government of India this is elementary knowledge. But many British people—who are (at least in theory) responsible for the way in which India is ruled—know little or nothing of the complicated system which has been evolved during the last century and a half. Certainly the average British Tommy, finding himself in India to fight the Japanese, has only the vaguest idea, possibly much distorted by the loud and conflicting shouts of political factions. This short series of explanatory talks must have helped to dispel ignorance and provide an antidote to the distortions. It was a model of crisp, precise statement, with a leaven of personal experience and opinion to humanize the bare facts.

The Central Government, headed by the Viceroy, which is responsible for Defence, Currency, Tariffs and Foreign Policy, means little to the vast mass of the Indian people, said Mr. Moon. It is the Provincial Government which directly impinges on their lives, and in particular the District Officer, who represents in living human terms the voice of authority, the magic stroke of a pen, which will redress their wrongs and solve their problems. In being accessible to his people, especially to the humble and illiterate, the District Officer is directly carrying on the ancient Indian tradition of the *dharma* of the ruler, as laid down in the Arthashastra some two thousand years ago: "The king must be accessible to his subjects at any time of the day or night to dispense justice and settle disputes."

This tradition suits India, and there have been many wise and admirable District Officers, much beloved and respected by their flock. But, according to Mr. Moon, the growth of sophistication and lawyerdom and the multiplication of forms and instructions from above are rapidly changing the District Officer from a personal friend and ruler into a distant official buried in files, who has to work through the arid medium of pens and paper instead of the hearts and minds of men.

This fossilization of the District Officer is dealt with in greater detail in the speaker's book, *Strangers in India*, in which his hero (the book is evidently autobiographical) resigned his Government service in 1938, convinced that he personally could do no further good in India.

Curiously enough, this situation is paralleled in the last century as seen in a recent talk in the Home Service, in which E. M. Forster described William Arnold's book, *Oakfield, or Fellowship in the East*, an uninspired but sincere autobiographical novel by Matthew Arnold's younger brother, William Arnold. He went out to India first as a soldier, changed to the civil service, and became Assistant Commissioner to the Punjab and finally Director of Education there in 1853.

The hero of the book, Oakfield, is beset by the same moral problem of the serious and conscientious young Englishman in India described in Mr. Moon's book. "Have I any right to be here? Am I really helping this people? Is my rule benefiting this country?"

E. M. Forster describes Oakfield-Arnold's arrival in Calcutta fresh from England. "He was full of enthusiasm and the desire to serve, but he gets no pleasure out of India, except for the initial thrill of tropical scenery." The fault is not India's, but

the hero's, who can find no key to unlock the mysterious door of an alien people's heart. "He works hard at languages . . . but gains no understanding of native life, which he regards with a sort of resentful despair. 'Until the point of divergence between Eastern and Western mentality has been discovered,' he says, 'co-operation is impossible. And though Christianity may be true, to preach it to India is to begin at the wrong end.'"

Just before he dies, at the age of thirty-one, he says bitterly: "Must I go on patiently, taking a bushel of falsehood for a grain of truth, casting my bread upon the waters, resume my work in India? No, I cannot do it."

But Arnold, or his hero Oakfield, did not fail—except perhaps in results. He brought the great qualities of goodwill, of sincerity and honesty to the country he came out to help and rule, qualities which are truly appreciated in India, where generosity and personal loyalty are real virtues. Among a people whose own philosophy bids them "in works be thine office; in fruits let it never be," such men as William Arnold, for all their apparent failure and their self-mistrust, leave behind them a legacy of true endeavour and friendship which India will never forget.

The small Portuguese colony of Macao, occupying the tip of Chung-Shan, the large island at the mouth of the Pearl River, flowing out of Canton, was the subject of a delightfully descriptive talk by Richard Curle. It has been in Portuguese occupation since 1547 and "its cobbled streets and red roofs . . . are redolent of the Middle Ages. . . . As you looked down upon their winding narrowness it was bare-footed friars you expected to see, not Chinese coolies."

But in spite of its medieval European appearance, Macao's prosperity was due to the fact that it was the playground for Southern China: "A sort of perpetual carnival reigned there: horse and dog racing, dance halls, lotteries, cheap liquor and, above all, gambling which never ceased . . . intricate, teeming and intense. Outwardly all was decorous, as became those who took their pleasure seriously, and even the Chinese gambling at fan tan or dice, while they nibbled melon seeds, kept their emotions in restraint. But the chatter of the onlookers and strollers filled the rooms with that kind of harsh twitter which spoken Cantonese suggests to the European."

Apart from the entertainment industry, the people of Macao lived chiefly by fishing and making fireworks. It will be interesting to see what difference Japanese occupation will have made to this strange mixed city.

II.—ASIA AND THE CINEMA

In "Adventures in Bokhara," at the Tatler, the Russian cinema has given us delicious entertainment—an eighteenth-century fantasy in the style of the Arabian Nights, made in Asia by Asiatic technicians and an Asiatic director and with an entirely Asiatic cast. The difference between this breath of authenticity and the Hollywood-made, Hollywood-starred film of China, "Dragon Seed," is the difference between bad showy ersatz and the real genuine article.

Russia is an Asiatic power as well as a great European one, and this film, although entirely free from propaganda, shows this. The story is a typically Eastern one. In Bokhara there reigns a tyrannical and black-bearded Emir whose ministers extort from his subjects until they groan under the strain and to whom freedom of the subject is unthinkable. To the city comes one day Nasreddin, a round-faced, smiling, good-natured fellow, under whose air of frank joviality a sly mischief and Robin Hood quixotism hide. He is the kind of hero beloved in the East—the hero of a thousand and one stories: the poor man who gets the better of the rich and powerful through a mixture of effrontery, cunning and wit, who succours the poor and rescues the fair damsel in distress.

The fair damsel in this case is the beautiful daughter of the city's potter, who is first to be married to the crooked old moneylender to whom her father is in debt, and then is carried off in true swashbuckling fashion to be the new bright star in the Emir's harem.

Nasreddin, who of course has fallen in love with her at sight (a fleeting first sight of flashing dark eyes out of the corner of a coquettish veil!), saves her from the attentions of the old usurer by tricking him cleverly—first selling him some worthless

goods and then paying him the potter's debt with his own money!—and then by a series of incredible and high-spirited adventures rescues her from the harem and makes the Emir condemn himself to death out of his own mouth. He is adored by the populace of Bokhara, largely because he makes them laugh—the laugh always being on the tyrants and pompous rich of the city.

There is real wit in the dialogue. Nasreddin finds the usurer struggling in a shallow tank, thinking he is about to drown. The onlookers say they will save him if he promises to give them money, but he remains in the middle of the tank screaming for help. Nasreddin takes out of his clothes a coin and, holding it out enticingly at the edge of the tank calls out: "Come, friend, here is money for you." The moneylender immediately loses his hysteria and hurries to the edge of the tank, holding out his hand for the coin. Nasreddin laughs and says: "If you want a rich man to come to you, never ask him for money—offer him some instead!"

So much for the real Asia—or rather the real Asia of the story-teller. Now for Asia as seen by Western eyes. Three editions of "The World in Action"—a comparatively new programme of the March of Time variety—concerns Asia. They are "Fortress Japan," "Asia Speaks" and "Global Air Routes." All have been made in Canada by the Canadian National Film Board under the direction of John Grierson, pioneer of English documentary films.

Although the commentaries of these films are perhaps too much suggestive of high-powered sales talk for British audiences, the material and construction of the films are of extreme interest. Compiled from news-reel and other shots, including some captured enemy material, the films will help to bring the war in Asia home to audiences here, who tend to be interested mainly in the European struggle.

"Fortress Japan" is based on the conception, clearly shown by diagrams, of Japan sending out tentacles—east, west, north, south—to grab territory and raw materials to build up an immense war economy. In this way she acquires the second largest empire in the world. She enslaves the conquered people, forcing them to produce and produce and produce in the shortest possible time raw materials, goods, food, to send back to the motherland.

But after the initial shock and retreat the Allies start to push them back. First come the attacks on the Pacific islands which protect the far-flung Japanese supply lines. Then come the large attacks on the Gilbert and Marshall Islands, springboards to Tokyo. Then the second "highway of attack"—the establishment of the American bomber stations on the Aleutians. Then the attack of the British from India and Burma and the struggles of the Chinese Republic to keep the invaders at bay.

Japan is now facing a new strategic situation. She is closing in on her inner fortress, which she rings with the most powerful fleet she can muster. And that inner fortress is not merely the islands of Japan themselves, but Manchuria and Southern China—the great industrial reserve of Japan—which she must keep at all costs.

"Asia Speaks" is a film essay on the propaganda cry of the Japanese, "Asia for the Asiatics." It is a less convincing film than "Fortress Japan," but has some interesting sequences. One is from a captured Japanese film and shows the new ingratiating attitude of the Celestial Herrenvolk towards their enslaved peoples—an attitude designed to keep them as satellites and friends should Japan lose the military battles to come.

Of these three films "Global Air Routes," though it does not deal primarily with Asia, is the most important. In the new age of the air, which will dawn after this war is over, the old flat map of the world will be discarded for the round map of the airman. In this map Asia is nearer to the United States than is the Argentine, and for some years now the development of flying has pushed habitation and civilization nearer and nearer the North Pole—from Canada and Russia.

As nine-tenths of the world's populations live in the northern half of the world, the new aerial trade routes of the world will go right across the polar regions, linking Teheran, Baghdad, Karachi with Great Britain and America. What results this will have in Asia remain to be seen, but the global map and pre-war flying experiments point to the shape of things to come—a busy air highway across the North Pole linking Asia with the New World in a few flying hours.

THE CHINA FRONT

BY CHING-CHUN WANG, PH.D., LL.D.

(Former Director-General of the Chinese Eastern Railway, author of
Japan's Continental Adventure, etc.)

THE Allies have been victorious everywhere except on the "China Front," where the Chinese forces have suffered some important reverses since early summer. It is, therefore, timely to examine the China Front and some of the causes of these reverses. In this world-wide conflict, China was the first nation to take up arms against aggression, although she was the least prepared to fight a modern war. China did not compromise because she was convinced of the righteousness of her cause and had confidence that the peace-loving nations will not let her down. For over seven years China has been fighting one of the greatest military Powers. Despite her terrible wounds and her hopeless situation, she has repeatedly refused Japan's tempting overtures for collaboration, which, during those critical years of 1940-42, would have dangerously affected the whole world situation. Besides inflicting serious damage on Japan's striking power, China has immobilized about 2,000,000 Japanese soldiers,* which Japan sorely needs for other fronts, thus "buying" time for the Allied counter-offensive.

But China has had to pay a terrible price. After a few months of hostilities, which began in July, 1937, the flower of her army was destroyed. Her capital was sacked and her Government had to flee from place to place. Her cities have been repeatedly bombed without having the means to defend themselves or to hit back. Most of her fertile provinces and industrial centres are lost. Almost all her railways and river communications are in enemy hands. For over four and a half years China had to face a ruthless enemy at incredible odds and alone.

Pearl Harbour brought to China her long-wished-for allies, but not relief. On the contrary, by the capture of Hong-Kong and Singapore the enemy intensified the blockade, and the fall of Burma cut China's life-line. Ever since those fateful days of 1941 China has been completely isolated, and supplies from abroad have been limited to those flown over the hazardous Himalayas. As free China is not self-sufficient even in the necessities of life, and industry in the area is negligible, China's difficulties in facing a formidable foe like Japan must be apparent. To the ravages of war, famine and flood have been added the horrors of hunger and starvation. For years the sufferings of her people and of her soldiers have been appalling and unparalleled.

After seven and a half awful years of war at such odds, China is very much like an amateur boxer who has fought Joe Louis not 15 but 150 rounds, for at the outbreak of hostilities the most sanguine hopes were that she should not collapse within six months, so as to give her friends sufficient time to come to her rescue. Therefore, we must be grateful to Providence that she is still on her feet, eager to fight on. But she is full of shocking wounds and feels many horrible pains. Like the amateur boxer, after such a long, cruel ordeal, China's very appearance must look frightful and her every movement may cause anxiety. But these very unpleasant symptoms are the results of her extraordinary efforts to play her part for the common cause, and must serve as a reminder of her urgent need for supplies. For may it not be recalled that under the inspiring leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, China had made more rapid progress during the years 1930-37 than in the previous one hundred years, and that China was enjoying an increasingly high degree of prosperity during those seven years despite Japan's interference. Moreover, through her terrible ordeals China has gained new strength and to-day she "is facing the invader," as observed

* Estimates of the Office of War Information in Washington put the number of the Japanese Army at over 4,000,000, of whom 2,000,000 are in China.—*Vide Evening Standard*, December 1, 1944.

General Patrick Hurley, "like a wounded tiger," determined to fight to the end. Therefore, is it not advantageous for her friends to lay less stress upon her discomfitures and do more to meet her urgent needs.

The Allied help to China, most highly appreciated though it is, unfortunately has been extremely limited, for up to the end of June this year less than 2 per cent. of lend-lease exports have trickled into China. The actual tonnage of Allied supplies afforded to the Chinese armies in East China would not be sufficient to keep a single British or American division in combat. The efforts of the American airmen who fly over the hazardous Himalayas to bring supplies to China are beyond all praise, and the tonnage delivered over the "Hump" have passed all expectations. But the unfortunate fact remains that the material help is far from being sufficient.

By their extraordinary valour and skill General Chennault's airmen have performed miracles. The Allies in general, and China in particular, are deeply indebted to these brave men. But here again the excellent quality is robbed of its proper reward by being too little, for reports show that the total Allied air strength in East China is so small that it would hardly be believed if it could be disclosed.

Moreover, most of the Allied supplies have been allocated to the Chinese forces fighting on the Salween Front, where several Chinese divisions have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Allies in the successful Burma campaign. The terrible shortage of supplies and the diversion of some 100,000 of her veterans to the Burma Front at the most critical period of the East China fighting, together with the redoubled efforts of the enemy in sending about twenty divisions from Manchuria to China, have been the immediate causes of China's recent reverses.

Of course, inflation and the general weakened condition of the country have also contributed to China's recent reverses, but those causes themselves are the result of the long blockade and the terrible lack of supplies. Once reasonable quantities of supplies reach China most of these causes of weakness could be removed. This is clearly shown by the fact that the mere announcement of the coming completion of the Ledo Road has already steadied prices to a considerable extent.

After seven and a half years of war and blockade the Chinese army is short of everything. As reported by many observers, some of the best Chinese troops are only armed with rifles and bayonets. It should not be difficult for us in this country to appreciate the tremendous odds of the Chinese troops, who with such simple arms have to face the well-equipped Japanese mechanized divisions. In fact, most battles in China have to be fought on the Arnhem model, where the Chinese soldier has to bear grimly the punishment by the enemy's superior weapons and wait for the chance to use his rifle and bayonet at close quarters.

Despite the miserable lack of equipment, the defenders of Changsha and Hengyang have inflicted heavy losses on the enemy by putting up a resistance comparable with the defence of any other place against similar odds during this war. With no heavy equipment to speak of both garrisons fought to the end. No quarter was given or accepted. There were no prisoners on either side. Over two-thirds of the garrisons were killed or seriously wounded. The remnants had to retreat because ammunition and food ran out. When the full story of the battles of Changsha and Hengyang becomes known, we feel certain that the sacrifices and heroism of the defenders of the two places will rank no less glorious than those of the brave men at Dunkirk or Arnhem or any other place in this war.

We hear little of the bloody battles in China or her appeals for supplies because the great victories and other exciting news nearer home often crowd out the China Front from the air and the Press. It may also be observed that it is only in China that the Japanese soldier has never been reported as being different from any other soldier, while there is no reason to believe that the Jap in China fights less fanatically than elsewhere. In taking Myitkyina after trekking hundreds of miles through the jungle of North Burma, the Sino-American divisions have proved beyond any doubt the fighting qualities of the Chinese soldier. Therefore all that is needed to save and improve the situation in the East is equipment.

The principal cause for anxiety is that there is not sufficient improvement of the supply situation. Despite the cruel lessons of Pearl Harbour, Malaya, New Guinea, East Indies and Burma, and the enormous difficulties experienced in reconquering

the bits of islands during the last three years by the use of some of the best naval, air and land forces led by some of the ablest generals and admirals, there still remains the mistaken idea of underestimating the importance of the China Front. As such mistaken notions of the Japanese menace in the beginning had brought on this terrible war, so it is feared that the continued mistaken notion of the Far East would unnecessarily prolong the war with the serious risk of losing the peace for the peace-loving nations. For, as the Chinese proverb says, "When the nights are long the dreams will be many." In other words, if the habit of "too little and too late" regarding the Far East be continued too long, unforeseen complications may yet arise.

But the problem is not too difficult. As President Roosevelt has well pointed out, it is the lack of a port of entry that is largely responsible for the deplorable supply situation. With the liquidation of the German navy and the addition of the Italian and French fleets, the Allied naval and land forces would seem to be sufficient to liberate Burma in short order. Even if the Japanese navy should venture to come out to the Indian Ocean—which is not likely—it would be at a great disadvantage while Admiral Nimitz is pressing on so hard from the East. Once Rangoon is recaptured, not one but several Burma Roads and a railway could be quickly built, and whole Free China would be given new life and new strength to do its part.

In a desperate war, as this is, no supply could be brought to any place without risk. If risk were the ruling consideration, neither the supplies to Russia nor those to this country could ever have reached their destinations in time to enable the two great Allies to contribute their glorious part. This global war has clearly shown that it is only by the generous and timely help of friends that each ally has been enabled to withstand the onslaughts of the enemy. If left alone no Allied nation in Asia or Europe could have survived. As Mr. Walter Lippmann has well observed, had Great Britain and Russia been neglected as badly as the Far East the war in Europe would have been over long ago.*

As the war draws to its closing stages and in order to ensure lasting peace, there is an ever-growing need among the Allies for mutual appreciation of each other's difficulties as well as a continued eagerness to rush help to wherever it is most urgently needed. It was by such timely help to Great Britain and Russia that the situation in the West has been saved since 1941. It is also by similar efforts that the situation in the East may be improved. Should there be failure in these efforts, then the policy of "winning the European war first" would go down in history as a huge joke.

Despite great losses, the Japanese navy is still powerful and is waiting to strike at the most advantageous moment. Nearby naval and air bases and intimate knowledge of local conditions are all in Japan's favour. When naval battles are fought under such conditions it is possible that bad luck or other unforeseen circumstances might bring about setbacks to the Allies. The safest and most effective way to liquidate the Japanese navy seems to be to have a sufficient air force operating, at the same time, from bases in China that are near enough for the purpose. But to maintain such land bases the Chinese troops need better and more equipment.

Moreover, even after her navy is sunk, Japan will still have about 4,000,000 well-equipped troops. Therefore, the combined naval and air forces of Great Britain and the United States, most powerful as they are, alone may not be sufficient to make Japan surrender. What happened in New Guinea, Truk, Wake, Guam, etc., must be sufficient to show that there must be sufficient land forces to bring about final victory. It must also be remembered that the Japanese Empire is about three times as large as the United Kingdom, and that for over ten years Japan has been making extensive war preparations in Manchuria and Jehol, an area about that of Germany, France and Italy combined. Since the beginning of 1943 Japan has also been fortifying strategic places in North China. All these facts clearly show that the cheapest way to defeat Japan is to take advantage of China's man-power by cutting through some adequate supply route soon. Further delay would be morally wrong and strategically harmful. While General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz are battling their way from the east, it seems high time that Burma should be liberated without

* *Vide Sunday Times*, September 10, 1944.

the least delay, so that supplies may really pour into China through the back door and that Japan and her navy may be attacked from east and west.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that the China Front means far more than the material fact of having prevented Japan from throwing its full strength, plus China's man-power, to overrun India and to invade Siberia during the critical years of 1940-42, for the China Front is built on the basis of the conflict of China's doctrine of an independent China working for world-wide co-operation against Japan's doctrine of a "Co-prosperity Asia" under a strong Japan, and "China's will to resist the designs of Japan," as *The Times* on November 3, 1944, observed, "has prevented the slogan 'Asia for the Asiatics' from sweeping unchecked across the Eastern world." To China it has been given, in the last seven critical years, to stand for co-operation between East and West in a world threatened by racial antagonism. May it not be pointed out that the only aims mentioned in the Chinese national anthem are to establish a democracy in China and to help bring about a commonwealth of nations in the world? Therefore, the results of China's efforts will either vindicate the Chinese doctrine of world co-operation in the Far East or the Japanese doctrine of Asia for the Asiatics.

MYSORE AND THE WAR

(SPECIALLY CONTRIBUTED)

UNDER the inspiration of the Maharaja and with the guidance of N. Madhava Rau, the Dewan of the State, Mysore has been contributing to the general war effort to the fullest limit of its resources. In February, 1940, shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, His late Highness the Maharaja made an appeal to his subjects to respond to any call made on them in the prosecution of the war and to help the cause of freedom by service or by money.

In addition to the gifts made from time to time by His Highness and his Government for purposes connected with the war, the people and the several industries of Mysore have played their part on a scale worthy of the State and of the Allied cause. The State has contributed so far Rs. 54.60 lakhs in aid of the war effort, of which the contributions from His Highness's Privy Purse and the Government alone amount to Rs. 44.25 lakhs.

The most important of these contributions are: Rs. 1,33,333 to the Lord Mayor's Fund for the relief of air-raid victims in London; Rs. 8,33,731 for the purchase of aircraft to form the Mysore Squadron of the Royal Air Force; Rs. 5,00,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund in June, 1941, for the welfare of the Indian troops; Rs. 6,50,000 in January, 1942, for purposes relating to the Naval Defence of India; Rs. 1,00,000 to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund for the gift of a fighter plane named "Mysore" for the Indian Air Force; Rs. 25,000 to Her Excellency the Marchioness of Linlithgow's Red Cross Fund; and Rs. 10,00,000 as a further contribution to His Excellency the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. The Mysore Squadron of the Royal Air Force, towards the formation of which the State has made substantial contributions from time to time, has done very well indeed, thanks to its gallant personnel.

Government have invested a sum of Rs. 8.65 crores in the Government of India War Bonds. The Bank of Mysore has invested a sum of Rs. 12,66,500 in the 3 per cent. 1949-52 Defence Bonds.

A new series of 3 per cent. 1951-61 securities of the nominal value of Rs. 2 crores has been issued as a feeder to the Government of India Fourth Defence Loan. The loan has been issued purely as an anti-inflationary measure.

A Small Savings Scheme has been sanctioned, in co-ordination with the Government of India, to popularize the Post Office Twelve Years' National Savings Certificates which provide to the poorer classes of people, in particular, a convenient and profitable means of investing small savings.

The services of the First Battalion of the Mysore Infantry were placed at the disposal of the Government of India at the outbreak of war. The offer was accepted, and the battalion was selected for service with His Majesty's forces overseas. Another battalion has also proceeded for active service. A complete battalion has been raised to take the place of the First Infantry Battalion, with a training company to keep it up to strength. In addition, the Third Battalion has been expanded from one company to a full I.S.P. battalion to provide for internal security duties, and a new unit called the Garrison Battalion, with headquarters and two companies, has also been raised. When the Defence Department expressed a desire to raise a transport company (51, Mysore Mechanical Transport Company) in the State, all facilities were afforded to them for the purpose and for the training of the men too. Generous concessions to the soldiers and their families have been accorded by the Government from time to time. The Mysore Soldiers' Board has been evincing a keen interest in the welfare of the families of the soldiers on active service, and has made special grants in suitable cases to alleviate distress. The State is also actively co-operating with the Defence Department in regard to the recruitment and selection of suitable candidates for emergency commissions in the Indian States' Forces.

An Act to provide for the constitution of the Civic Guards in the State has been passed. Enrolment is entirely on a voluntary basis and there are now over 2,600 Civic Guards, including group commanders, in the several districts of the State.

No account of Mysore's war effort can be complete without mention of the devoted work being done by the women of Mysore. The Women's Auxiliary Committee of the Mysore War Fund despatched in the past four years for the use of troops on active service over 150,000 articles, comprising hospital and surgical and first-aid materials, and amenities for soldiers.

Apart from the Forest Department and the Department of Industries and Commerce, which have both taken up the execution of a large number of orders for the Supply Department of the Government of India, there are as many as twenty-six industrial concerns in the State engaged directly in the manufacture of war supplies. Of these, nine are State-owned, nine State-aided and eight private. The total value of war orders placed with these concerns from the outbreak of war up to date amounts to over 11 crores of rupees.

Special facilities have been provided for the training of war technicians, for harnessing various industries to war production and, generally, for transforming the State to war-time economy. The contribution of the State in the form of mobilization of man-power has been no less striking.

His Highness the Maharaja performed the opening ceremony of the War Services Exhibition held in Bangalore in June, 1943. His Highness paid a tribute to the organizers of the exhibition for the great service which they had been rendering for the country's war effort. About 500,000 spectators visited the exhibition in the course of eight days to witness the war equipment and displays by military personnel.

His Excellency the Viceroy, during his visit to Mysore in August, 1943, visited the War Industries Exhibition arranged at the Exhibition Buildings. He was conducted round the exhibition by the Dewan and the Minister for Industries and Supplies, and was shown samples of war supplies made in the State. His Excellency was so impressed by the range of industries, textile, metallurgical and chemical, represented at the exhibition that he observed: "You do everything for yourselves in Mysore."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

STRANGERS IN INDIA. By Penderel Moon. (*Faber and Faber, Ltd.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by SIR MALCOLM DARLING.)

This is a remarkable first book. Official and Nationalist will both find plenty to cavil at, but anyone who appreciates good writing, sincerity and a fresh approach to a well-worn subject will enjoy it, and, if in India for the first time, will feel less of

a stranger for reading it. The "Strangers" are, of course, the British, and what they have done, or left undone, is explained and discussed by a number of characters, but mainly by three civilians: one of them, young and eager, who finally retires disillusioned; another called Lightfoot, older and wiser, and, as he says, "too tangled up" in the country to leave it; and the third, the author himself—really a case of three in one, for all three represent different aspects of the same mind. And a singularly sensitive and thoughtful mind it is.

The discussions turn on a number of India's major problems—for example, the poverty of the peasant, his reactions to our legal and political systems, the political embroglio, and the Englishman's rôle in the India of today—and consist of a series of rather one-sided conversations, varied by the more formal expositions in which the author reviews the past or comments on the present. It is an unusual technique, and the author has not entirely mastered its difficulties. Past and present get mixed up, and from time to time the reader is obliged to remind himself, and on one occasion is even reminded by the author (in a footnote), that the views expressed relate not to today but to some date in the past when conditions were different. Nor is it always clear how far some of the more disputable statements of opinion or fact made by one or other of the characters are endorsed by the author.

But these defects almost disappear in the life and style of the writing. Nothing, for instance, could be livelier or, indeed, more to the point than the description of the Moharrum celebrations at Natlum (why such an obvious disguise?). The two leading tazias, offended by an official order, refuse to take part in the final procession when it is due to move out of the city. No. 3 says it can only move *as* No. 3. No. 4 says it can only move *as* No. 4, and so on right down the line. The procession is at a standstill, the crowd grows excited, a riot threatens. The police alternately cajole and browbeat No. 3, but its leader, Pir Baksh, is obstinate. Suddenly a message comes from far down the rear that Nos. 11 and 12—the Painters and Carpenters—are ready to take the lead. They have been negotiating for "two tiny plots of land in the city and the bargain is not yet struck." They see their chance, winks are exchanged with authority, and down the line they come with tazias shoulder high. This is too much for No. 3, that 11 and 12 should get before them—"the thought of such humiliation appalled them." With tears in his eyes Pir Baksh begs the Deputy Commissioner to let them go first. "No, let him wait till last," exclaims the Police Inspector, "he has given us trouble enough." But the Deputy Commissioner, more merciful, says: "Let him wait a minute and follow on immediately behind these." But—and the rest of the story must be told in Mr. Moon's vigorous style: "Pir Baksh was waiting for no one. Leaping in the air with delight, he made a signal to his men, and at once the miserable, measly Lal Khan tazia came hurrying down the slope . . . scattering the crowd helter-skelter, knocking down the City Magistrate who tried to bar the way, barging past the Painters' and Carpenters' tazias till it got . . . clear of everyone, at the head of the procession. The crowd applauded . . . the City Magistrate picked himself up out of the dust, the mourners began beating their breasts. Everyone was happy." But happiness, alas, does not last long in India. Nos. 1 and 2, more offended than ever, determined on revenge, and a week later a communal riot broke out.

A chapter on the communal question follows, acute but biased. Lightfoot is right when he says, "For years the communal conflict has been in essence a struggle between different sections of the middle classes for posts"; but he is on much more doubtful ground when he adds that we are "inhibited" from promoting agreement "by our subconscious adherence to the divide and rule principle and by our dislike of Congress." My own experience, for what it is worth, certainly does not endorse the former. Even more questionable is Lightfoot's further statement: "We've promised India self-government, but we don't really want to relax our hold" (p. 111). That rings oddly in the light of the Cripps offer. True, it relates to some date before the offer was made, but not, it would seem, to before the grant of provincial autonomy, which was clearly a step in the direction of full self-government.

The whole book is tinged by a certain animus against British rule in India. "Everyone knows," says Lightfoot, "that to the people of India capitalists are better than the whips of foreigners" (p. 107). I must confess that I at least did not know

this, and I find it difficult to reconcile it with the author's very just observation that "ruthless exploitation of the weak by the strong is still the rule in India" (p. 194). There are other inconsistencies, inevitable perhaps in a book written with all the frankness and freshness of comparative youth—the author, we are told, is under forty—and so direct and personal in its approach. The approach is that of the district officer who knows and loves the village and who is jealous of all that may undermine its welfare. It is this that gives the book not only its special interest but also its importance, for it is the village that must condition India's future. There, indeed, as the admirable chapter on the peasant and democracy shows, there is room for grave apprehension. "I can confidently predict," says the shrewd Allah Dad, that "if we persist with these democratic charms of elections and votings we will only get an utter deterioration of the administration, mere ruins, I would call it, of what exists today" (p. 137).

In his final chapter Mr. Moon gives us his conclusions. These look a little thin after his trenchant exposure of our legal and political systems and the difficulties created by the war, and resolve themselves mainly into an indication of "possible sources of danger and possible means of salvation." But who could do better? His most interesting suggestion is that "in the backward obsolete States . . . there perhaps lies the secret of India's future and her best hope" (p. 196). His reasons for this, with much else in this brilliant and provocative book, I must leave the reader to discover for himself, and if he is wise he will do what I did and read it twice.

CHINA AND BRITAIN. By Sir John Pratt. (*Collins.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD.)

This attractively illustrated contribution to a now famous series is marked by the author's gift for bringing his deep knowledge of China within the grasp of the layman. He has humour with understanding and learning, with lightness of touch. The generous supply of coloured plates and black and white illustrations decorate the narrative as it tells the story of Sino-British relationships.

The seafaring traditions of the Chinese are appropriately recalled, and we are reminded that although Chinese vessels never sailed the Atlantic or the Mediterranean the sea-borne trade between the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and the China Sea in ancient times exceeded in volume the comparatively small traffic of the Mediterranean world. Travellers from Europe were always filled with amazement at the forests of masts and the miles of junks in Chinese ports. Those who have studied the construction of the Chinese junk, research to which Sir Frederick Maze's collection has made such valuable contribution, are well aware that the Chinese ship-builder had a technique which, handed down from father to son without formal record, comprised features of its own, and could give instruction to the more precise craftsmen of the West.

From navigators Sir John takes his reader to the botanists, who have placed Europe under a heavy debt to the Chinese, as both Kew Gardens and St. John's College, Oxford, will testify, and botany brings us to tea and to the name of Robert Fortune, whose travels from Kew Gardens to China produced a notable book. Then there is China of the Great Wall, the China of Pottery and the Dragon. But behind all this is the civilization which today can claim to be the oldest living civilization of the world, a civilization which has seen all its contemporaries of thousands of years ago forgotten in the dust of the deserts covering their remains.

Chinese philosophy reached its peak with Confucius some 500 years B.C., and his teachings still live in Chinese polity today, particularly in the vigorous survival of the family tradition in which, Sir John shows, religion, philosophy, social organization, political theory and practice, all have their root.

To the charge that the Chinese political system ignores the Rule of Law, Sir John points out that the Chinese answer is that in rejecting the Rule of Law for the nobler basis of the sense of moral obligation, they have proved the superiority of their civilization. The Chinese mind does not accept the Western view that law is the

instrument for giving effect to the wishes of the dominant group or groups in the community. Chinese political theory gives no consideration to rights—it considers only obligations.

All this is unfolded pleasantly and authoritatively in the 127 pages of Sir John Pratt's charming chaplet to crown Sino-British friendship, a friendship based on many similarities as well as certain contrasts in the national spirit of the two peoples. By understanding in such matters can friendship alone succeed in weathering the stormy seas on which the world today is tossing.

THEY MADE INVASION POSSIBLE. By Peggy Scott. (*Hutchinson.*)

(Reviewed by WINIFRED HOLMES.)

"Women can't do this; women can't do that!" How ridiculous such a statement sounds today! Peggy Scott, who has studied and chronicled nearly every aspect of women's work during the war, gives us in this latest book of hers a fascinating portrait gallery of women who are proving triumphantly every day that they *can* do practically everything a man can do. And do it well.

Yet they aren't doing it to try and take the work away from the men. As the author wisely says in her introduction: "Only women . . . know what it has cost them to do the double job of working for their country and their families. . . . Given a man's job, woman still has not his freedom to do it. It will be seen also that when the war is over the job will not be so much her concern as the home. The majority of girls are looking forward to running homes of their own, not to running a man's job for him."

But though the majority of women may still choose to run a home rather than do a full-time skilled job—a man's job—they will always have the satisfying knowledge that they can do these jobs. And perhaps they will have taught men something too. Take Louisa, the chimney-sweep of Walthamstow. She's always clean, according to Miss Scott's description—a thumb-nail sketch of a real personality. And that's almost unheard of for a sweep, masculine gender.

In a lively and human way the three Women's Services are described by using individuals, their jobs, their speech, their points of view as examples of the whole. Photographs illustrate the text admirably. But the most fascinating part of the book is the second half, out of whose pages spring the lady plumbers, the butchers, the postwomen, the railway fitters, the riveters and the bus "clippies" to talk about their work and their lives.

Future historians will find *They Made Invasion Possible* a valuable record and present-day readers a pleasure.

SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR MARVAZI ON CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA. Edited and translated by V. Minorsky. (James G. Forlong fund vol. xxii.) (Royal Asiatic Society.) 15s. net.

(Reviewed by A. S. TRITTON.)

It is absurd for one man to try to review this book; the job requires a team. The core of the volume consists of the chapters on geography from an Arabic book of beasts by a doctor with translation and commentary; the stone and the fruit might be a better metaphor. The subject matter ranges in space from Constantinople to the eastern frontiers of China, and in time through several centuries. This book is arranged on the same lines as the Professor's earlier one, *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, and is a kind of appendix to it. In addition to the main sections mentioned in the title, there are chapters on Ethiopia and the islands of the sea, which almost deserve the name of *Major Big-Talk's Stories*. Elsewhere the contents vary from details of geography through the manners and customs of the people to their religious beliefs and practices. The author chose those customs which were strange to his readers and in which

they might be expected to be interested. Thus, in China a foreigner may take a wife of the land, but if he leaves the country he cannot take her with him, though he may take the children. In some places there was a curfew at sunset, and anyone found outside his house after that hour had his head cut off. They had a system of old-age pensions. Women did not cover their hair. On the other hand, familiar habits are mentioned so as not to put the readers off by continuous novelties. Perhaps the most important thing in the book is the account of the migrations of the Turks across Asia and Europe. Professor Minorsky does his best to make the very dry bones of the brief Arabic statement live. To the student of Arabic literature, what catches the attention is the writers' habit of copying from their predecessors; the Professor tries to trace the lines of descent of the various stories and to fix the point at which and the source from which the information was first received. Thus Yahya the Barmaki was given a report on the religions of India; this is traced through three lines of descent ending respectively in the *Fihrist*, in *Birūnī*, and in the present work with a variant in Shahrastānī's *Religions and Sects*. In some passages the Professor has guessed at the meaning of the Arabic; he may have guessed right, but the dictionaries give him no support. The commentary might with advantage have been cut down, for some parts of it are a repetition of *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. In places the facts are so wrapped up in verbiage as to be hard to find; the Professor has changed his mind about the site of Tūsmat, but he cannot say straight out that his earlier proposal is wrong. There are far too many suppositions in the book. Ibn al-Wahhāb was questioned about his travels when he was an old man; "it is not impossible that immediately after his return from China, when his memory was fresher, he drew up a longer memorandum (for the caliph?)." This is called book-making. The proofs were read carelessly.

FAR EAST

CHINA IN BRITAIN. By Barbara Whittingham Jones. (*W. H. Allen.*) 9d. net.

This timely work contains the first historical account of the various Chinese activities in this country, and includes a comprehensive summary of the work of the Universities' China Committee in London.

FICTION

TWILIGHT IN DELHI. By Ahmed Ali. (*The Hogarth Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.
(Reviewed by LADY FOWLE.)

All true Indian cities are studies in contrast; great riches and great poverty, beauty and sordid horror, are seen side by side in their highways and bye-ways. The tiled and soaring loveliness of domes and minarets and the cracked native cement walls that crumble into filthy gutters, the scent of jasmine and the sharp stink of sewage, the savoury smell of roasting kabobs (those appetizing morsels which taste of woodsmoke and which, if tender and rightly cooked, make a never-to-be-forgotten meal at the end of a hard day's desert travelling), and the musty cloying drifts of half-dead marigold flowers and of burning dung fuel—these and many more blend and mingle and sum up the essence of life in the towns and villages of India.

To the Oriental no aspect of life is "unsuitable"; all are different sides of

the same gift from God, and, though some may be inconvenient or less pleasant than others, each has its appointed place, but to most Europeans the mixture of tawdry stuff with magnificent workmanship or the sudden forced negotiation of an open drain while admiring a building of great beauty and historical interest seem shocking and unnecessary.

In *Twilight in Delhi* the author writes of Mir Nihal's joy in the rhythm of the flight of his unbeatable pigeons and of his annoyance at his constipation with equal simplicity and directness. The pageantry of the 1911 Delhi Durbar is emphasized, but the difficulties of the small children who were kept waiting overlong for the procession are not forgotten, and so we are given a book which has the true stamp of the East—great interest in and tolerance of life as a whole. The English words themselves receive at times an Indian twist, Chiang Yee, the Chinese painter, can take a scene that is typical of London—part of Hyde Park or the lake in St. James's Park, and depict it with perfect accuracy, but through Chinese eyes, and Ahmed Ali can take English words and charge them with Indian meaning. The translations of ancient Persian and Urdu songs and poetry reflect far more of their original form than does the Rubaiyat, which, in translation, is more of Fitzgerald than of Omar.

There are descriptions of almost unbearably sultry hot-weather nights and days that make one smell the hot dust that permeates into every crack; there are descriptions of faithful patient married love and of the shy advances of first lovers and of Indian spring nights, and there are strange old tales of alchemists and of beggars. The story of the life of Mir Nihal, his family and its ramifications, their friends and the friends of their friends, brings opportunities for descriptions of weddings, births and deaths and all the ceremonies which accompany these in a good Muslim household where purdah is observed. The date palm in the courtyard of the house overlooks their deep sorrows and their practical joking, the philosophic discussions of the men and the bickering and chattering and friendly gossip of the women, and when, at the end of the story, the sorrowful, half-paralyzed old man lies helpless mourning for his favourite son: "On the bare top of the date palm sat a kite and shrilly cried for a while and flew away, leaving the trunk, ugly and dark, standing all alone against the sky."

This book is Delhi, but it is not the Delhi of the club and the polo ground or the Delhi of the Government or the Delhi that is New. It is the Delhi of those who accept all her aspects as a part of their life.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE INDIAN SOLDIER AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

BY BRIGADIER F. L. BRAYNE, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.C.

THROUGHOUT this paper I am assuming that Sir Firozkhan Noon's most important paper read to this Association last summer is within your recollection. At the end of the war about a million and a half Indian soldiers (in this term I include all ranks and all services) will have to be fitted back into the villages and towns of India. They came, many of them, from humble and very simple surroundings. Some of them even had to be given extra food after enlisting to bring them up to Army standards. In the Army they have been well fed, well clothed, well housed, taught all manner of skills and trades. Many have learnt to read and write, some have learnt English. They have learned to appreciate books, papers, radio, cinemas, dramas, indoor and outdoor games; they have travelled in many lands and rubbed shoulders with the soldiers of many countries. These splendid men will want to keep up some at least of the higher standards they have come to appreciate. But higher standards mean a higher income, and where is that to come from? Higher standards also mean a better environment than that which the sepoy left to join the Army. What has happened to their homes while they have been away? The village, and probably the town too, have stood still; they may even have gone back, owing to the pre-occupation of the civil Governments with war work. The village is still in the Middle Ages. It has none of the amenities we associate with village life—no papers, no radio, no reading-room, no organized games, no lighting, no sanitation, no "pub," no women's institute, no flower show, no Legion rally. Worst of all, the women, upon whom more than upon anyone else depends the standard of living, have been subjected to none of the modernizing influences which have so changed the soldier. The returning soldier will speak a different language to the old folks at home.

THE SPEARHEAD OF ADVANCE

There are three tasks, therefore : to prepare the soldier, his home folk and village, and his country for the day of demobilization. If the soldier cannot be settled happily into his home the cranks and agitators will get hold of him and there will be serious trouble. And the tragedy of it is that the best soldier—the man of spirit, leadership, initiative and drive—will make the worst citizen when he finds that the "better world" he was fighting for is mere moonshine. But this is a poor way of looking at it. Why waste this grand material? Why only get half value for all the time, money and effort spent in training the sepoy? Why not use him to win the peace as well as the war? Why not use him as the spearhead of a great advance in culture and civilization, as the pioneer of a great movement to raise the standard of living in the whole of India?

After all, it will cost as much to hold down a disgruntled soldiery as to uplift a countryside. It will cost no more to whet the whistle of the sepoy with the gift of the gab to teach our programme than to cope with the trouble his tongue could cause if he were thoroughly dissatisfied with life as he found it after the war.

Is it possible to make and carry out such plans as will enable the sepoy, when he goes home, to maintain standards comparable to those he has learnt to appreciate in the Army? Yes; most emphatically, yes. India is primarily an agricultural country, and if her countryside were fully developed it could have a standard of living that would provide markets for consumer goods beyond the dreams of the most optimistic industrialist. But, alas! India is terribly undeveloped. Far too little money, labour and brains have been put into her soil. She cries aloud for development. It is said that more than £100 has been put into every acre of England. Less than 100 annas has gone into most of the acres of India. Even the Punjab canal system, the biggest and best in the world, only cost about 30 rupees, or, say, 45s. per acre irrigated.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

The problem is fortunately far less complicated than the post-war reconstruction of England or the U.S.A. If they could express themselves, I think the average sepoy and villager would say that their four freedoms were:

- Freedom from hunger, want, debt and insecurity of crops and livelihood.
- Freedom from disease and suffering.
- Freedom from ignorance and boredom.
- Freedom from the exactions and tyranny of the petty official.

Let us start with the first. Erosion is turning India into a desert. Hundreds of millions of acres are losing fertility, pasture and arable alike. In a country of long droughts and sharp rain storms all unlevel land unprotected by vegetation is eroding. And practically all unirrigated land is unlevel even though to the eye it appears level, and all pastures are being stripped bare of trees and grass by persistent over-grazing.

The cure is simple. All pastures, hills and uncultivated land must be closed to grazing, all livestock must be stall-fed, and all grass cut and carried to them. All arable land must be levelled, terraced and embanked before ploughing (when this is impossible, then contour bunding). The results are miraculous and can be seen in many places. Grass multiplies many fold in quantity and quality, and trees for fuel and timber soon follow. The arable land soon gives double crops.

After the care of the soil, manure—the humble manure pit which is so far almost unused in India. India wastes or burns its manure. Proper cooking grates must be designed to make the most of the fuel, and the hay-box used to keep things hot, and thereby rescue the cow-dung for the soil.

Then come good seed and better methods of farming, consolidation of fragmented holdings, line-sowing, weeding, “dry-farming,” pest control, compost, new and better crops, pyrethrum, teasels, fruit and vegetables, bottling, canning, dehydration, poultry, bees, silk, lac, dairying, mohair goats, wool rabbits, the grading up of livestock, the controlling of epidemic diseases of livestock by quarantining newly acquired animals. It is all simple and easy once we get down to it.

Along with the improvement of the land and its produce comes the improvement of health and village life. Nutrition will improve with the improvement of farming, and once manure pits collect all the rubbish, away goes a lot more of the ill-health that now causes so much suffering. Add the proper disposal of all waste water from house, well, street, place of worship by leading it away to where it will grow vegetables, fruit and flowers, instead of producing black mud, insects and stink, and there will be protective foods for many millions of people. Latrines will remove hookworm and still more ill-health. Ventilation, vaccination and inoculation are all easy. Malaria will yield to mosquito nets (a good cottage industry) and organization.

ORGANIZED VILLAGE LIFE

Health is easy. So are the other necessities and amenities—radio, games, reading-rooms, women's institutes and domestic training, medical and maternity aid. The co-operative organization—and panchayats—will hold everyone together and produce still more wealth by organized marketing and credit, and the joint buying of seed, equipment and raw material, and by making everyone work together for their betterment.

Once the village is thus organized everyone will be profitably busy—too busy and too interested to quarrel—and away will go the biggest drain on India's wealth, faction and litigation. Social ceremonies, too, and the use of gold and silver for ornaments will be easily controlled (India exported a crore of rupees every week for forty years from 1896 to 1930 to buy silver and gold; her wealth would have been doubled if she had put this money into such things as wells, orchards and workshops).

INDUSTRIES, BIG AND SMALL

Once the purchasing power of the rural masses begins to rise a boom will start which will give a living to every landless man in providing consumer goods. Quite apart from what happens in the rest of the world, there will be an unending market for whatever Indian industry can produce—chaff-cutters, cane-crushers, oil-crushers, flour mills, ploughs, harrows, drills, better housing, cement and bricks and girders, paving and draining of streets, latrines, improved wells, hand-pumps, water-lifts, engines, dynamos, bicycles, radio sets, hurricane lamps, lorries, mosquito nets, scissors, needles, thread and wool, sewing machines and every other requirement and amenity of farm, craft, home and village. The demand will be unlimited. There are a hundred million homes in India. If every housewife wants a packet of needles and a pair of scissors once a year, if one house in twenty wants a sewing machine, if one home in three needs a bicycle, where will the boom end? The workshops are already there in the villages, not merely making chaff-cutters, cane-crushers, cutlery, furniture, knitting machines and pumps, engines, and everything else, but making the power-driven machines that work the metal to make these goods. These crafts and this tradition of craftsmanship must be preserved and improved and expanded. If the long distances goods have to travel in India from ports or from the big industrial centres do not give the town and village workshop enough protection to enable it to survive, then it must be helped in other ways, as this is the ideal means of absorbing the temporary or permanent surpluses of labour from the land. One of the best ways of giving the ex-soldier who takes to industry a good start after the war will be to obtain and instal the most modern machinery for crafts and small industries in his training centres, where he may learn to use them before he leaves the Army and perhaps make them himself when he gets home.

THE THREE TASKS

As I said before, we have the threefold task of preparing the country, the people and village, and the sepoy. For the first there is the large-scale planning by the Government of India and the Provincial and State Governments and by the industrialists which, as you know, is now going on. There is no time to speak of this now. We are confident that Government is planning to make the best use of its land, money and other resources for the development of India.

The preparation of the home folks and villages themselves is not receiving the attention it should. Large-scale planning must take time to mature, and there will be an awkward gap after the end of the war before it begins to benefit the common man. During this awkward gap the sepoy will return with ideas, new skills and experiences in his head and, we hope, some savings in his pocket. He will find nothing ready, his own people will not understand what he is talking about, and, especially his womenfolk, will present a blank wall of conservatism and apathy to all his ideas and enthusiasms. Before anything can be done about it the sepoy will be disillusioned and we shall have blunted the spearhead of our attack. No, this gap must be filled with a hot-gospel uplift programme of the many simple homely things of which I have spoken, which cost so little and mean so much in health, wealth, welfare and happiness. Although, of course, they require little or no capital or planning, they do require great vision and drive and leadership on the part of every leader, official and non-official. This plan must be prepared at once and laid on and expanded to the fullest extent that man-power will allow, from now onwards. It is already being taught to the serving sepoy and every civil servant of Government must learn, practise and preach it. The moment the fighting stops the best of the soldiers must be switched on to this work as village guides and organizers

of every grade to prepare the countryside for their comrades when general demobilization starts. This programme will pull people and Government together, sepoys and civil population, and will convince everyone that Government is not only in earnest about their welfare but can also deliver the goods. By simple uplift I mean such things as manure pits, good seed, stud bulls, new crops, fruit, vegetables, bees, poultry, ventilators, chimneys, hay boxes, paving and draining of village streets, better drinking wells, better ponds for cattle, better methods of farming, domestic training for women, lady doctors, nurses and trained midwives, co-operative women's institutes, flower gardens, consolidation of agricultural holdings, anti-erosion work, co-operative societies, panchayats, village games.

To sell this programme, both short-term and long-term, (1) a properly organized publicity campaign must be developed. (2) The help of the women must be secured. Civilization is a matter of homes, and homes are in charge of women, so that without the co-operation of the women our plans are bound to fail. This means a "better homes" movement, female education, domestic training, co-operative women's institutes, medical and maternity aid, and every other kind of welfare work for women. (3) Education must be made more practical and must include the teaching and, where possible, practising of this programme, and must instil ideals of service and the duties and the responsibilities of good citizenship. (4) The co-operative system must be expanded to the maximum as the ideal method of organizing and uplifting the vast masses of India. (5) A village savings system must be devised to take the place of the present waste and extravagance and hand to mouth economy, and to level out the ups and downs of monsoons, crops and prices.

CAN IT BE DONE?

If everyone, Government included, puts his land, his skill, his labour and his money to the best and most productive use possible the standard of living can undoubtedly be raised.

This programme is most certainly possible, but it will take an enormous effort. Combined operations, Government and its servants from the very top to the very bottom, all leaders, official and non-official, ministers and assembly members, all learning, practising and preaching the same gospel, no idlers, no non-co-operators, no waste, all pulling the same way; an Indian plan, provincial plans, district plans, village plans. A co-ordinated drive, full publicity followed by the law when sufficient people appreciate the value and necessity of the change proposed. India must pull herself together, as England did after Dunkirk.

This programme, combined with a living wage, proper conditions of service and practical training in this uplift business for all public servants, will go a long way to securing the fourth freedom we have postulated, as well as the goodwill and active co-operation of the whole army of petty officials upon whom both the good name and the efficiency and the success of Government so much depend.

Is this picture over-painted? Have I exaggerated the possibilities? No; emphatically no. I have understated them. I have seen all this in operation in various parts of India—nowhere all together and nowhere complete. But the jig-saw bits are there; if they are put together they will make a new and better India.

PREPARING THE SOLDIER

It is fully realized by Government that the only way to give the ex-service man the best possible deal after the war is by a general plan of development. To try and make him a privileged class would do him no good at all. In a scheme of general development, however, the ex-soldier has three chances: he can be employed by Government to plan or to execute or to teach and demonstrate the new life; or, along with other citizens, he can make the best of the Government plans; or, if he has no land, he can help to provide the goods and services which the rising standard of living will require. The soldier will have the added advantage of his military experience, his new skills, his trained intelligence, his discipline, his comradeship, his leadership and his savings. And, of course, there will be the Army Fund for post-war welfare, which is increasing by several crores of rupees every year.

The average sepoy's own idea at the moment is either to get a grant of land, become an orderly to some officer or other, or drive a lorry. Land is strictly limited. He will get most of whatever Government service there is, but that too is strictly limited, and if half the soldiers who hope to drive lorries do get them there will not be standing room on the roads, let alone passengers to fill them.

The serving soldier is being taught his rôle in the post-war world to the extent that time, money and man-power now allow. When the fighting stops it is hoped that training for peace will take the place of much of the training for war, and there will be unlimited time, money and man-power to teach him. He is being taught that his future depends upon his capacity for self-help. By his own labour, savings and skill, by co-operation with his fellows and his Government he will win the peace.

We probably cannot teach either farming or handicrafts in full, but we can teach the soldier that better things, whether farming or crafts or homes or health, are possible, desirable and practicable. We can teach the importance of self-help, hard work and savings. We can teach the sepoy the necessity to keep his eyes open and learn what he can and be ready to go far afield to learn. We can teach him that all the activities of his life will be the better for the application of his brains to them, that custom is no longer a safe guide. We can break down the inhibitions against all kinds of honest work, whether in wood, iron, leather, or in growing fruit, vegetables or anything else. We can send the soldier home a thoroughly handy man. We can teach the necessity for co-operation, for working with his fellows and with his Government.

All these things are of immense and vital interest to the sepoy. They are, therefore, an excellent subject to teach. If he is satisfied that his Government and his officers are doing their best for him he will obviously be a better soldier. This subject will help him to combat boredom if he finds himself in a backwater anywhere. These things are a good link between officer and man, between unit and recruiting area.

As for the actual detail of what is now being done to prepare the sepoy, development is so fast that after several months away from India I am out of date. But I do know that small farms and standing exhibitions have already been established at many training centres and are to be extended to more than sixty centres. The Provincial Governments are planning to train Army personnel as instructors—and some have already started—at their own centres in farming, animal husbandry, co-operation, consolidation of holdings, ante-erosion work and a general course of rural reconstruction. Other subjects will follow.

Many Army units keep dairy cattle, poultry and other livestock, and still more grow vegetables. The Army itself teaches hygiene and sanitation, and will adapt its teaching to the home conditions of the men. The sepoys' interest is being aroused by lectures, discussions, radio talks, cinema shows, gramophone records, books, pamphlets, visits to places and institutions of interest, and every other device of popular instruction. Training for Government service is also being planned, and the Labour Department of the Government of India is organizing industrial training both for big industry and for rural and cottage industries, and is establishing labour exchanges where the sepoy will be helped to find employment. And, of course, disabled and blinded men will be given what training they are fit for.

We are on a good wicket teaching this subject. Whatever Government rules India, the principles of health, farming and animal husbandry will remain the same. India's taxability will always be low compared with highly developed countries like England. We cannot, therefore, do better than teach self-help and co-operative help.

CO-OPERATION

One very important task remains, and that is to devise some way of holding the demobilized soldiers together and maintaining their comradeship and loyalty, and preventing them drifting apart and wasting not only their savings but all they learnt in the Army, becoming sheep without a shepherd and a debit instead of an asset to their country. Very little was done after the last war, but everything must be done after this war. District Soldiers' Boards have been organized and have a very important task to perform, but they are not enough to hold together the soldiers in

their scattered villages and towns. For that something more intimate, more personal, is required. An Indian Legion on the lines of the famous British Legion would probably be unsuitable and impracticable. What would be entirely suitable and practicable would be a network of registered co-operative societies to help to provide the many new needs and amenities of the new life we hope the sepoy will lead and demonstrate. Co-operative societies have been designed for every possible object, and it does not matter whether the society in any particular town or village is a poultry breeding, a medical aid, a thrift or a better-living society. All that matters is that the ex-soldier and as many of his friends as possible shall be bound together in a society registered under the Co-operative Act and supervised by the provincial co-operative staff—reinforced, of course, with trained ex-service personnel. In this way a big brotherhood of service and non-service men—and women too, we hope—will be formed, pledged to help each other in the great enterprise of bringing to birth a new and better India. In this way only can we make the fullest use of the ex-service man. I am very glad to see, therefore, that a great extension of the co-operative movement is one of the schemes now being considered for the benefit of the ex-soldier.

The only gaps left to be plugged seem to be (1) the planning of co-operative societies to hold the demobilized soldiers together, and (2) the establishment of a satisfactory savings system which can follow the sepoy to his home and continue there, with immunity from seizure by law courts and moneylenders. This is absolutely essential if the soldier is to get the best value out of his service and out of the great plans now being made for the development of India.

Except for the gaps—and they are very important exceptions—we may safely say that the future of the sepoy is being very well looked after, and it will be his own fault if he goes home in ignorance of the possibilities of making a far better living and living a far healthier and happier life than he did before he joined up.

VITAL POINTS NEGLECTED

So much for the plans to prepare the sepoy, his home folk, his village and his country. There are several very important points which it is worth repeating, as it is the neglect of them in the past that has made progress so slow and difficult hitherto. Even now they are not receiving the attention they must if our post-war planning is not to be a costly failure :

(1) The necessity for a short-term programme of simple uplift to bridge the gap until the big plans mature and to prepare the towns and villages and the home folk for the homecoming of those who, we hope, will be the pioneers of the new way of life. This programme must reach every home in the land and make life better for every man, woman and child.

(2) The even greater necessity of bringing the women in as partners in the great enterprise.

(3) Development policy must be built round the land and the people who live on it. This alone will raise the general standard of living in an agricultural country such as India and give industry the markets it needs for maximum expansion.

(4) Cottage and rural industries must be expanded and organized and not, as in other countries, be sacrificed to mass production. The Indian village is still full of craftsmanship, and, profiting by the experience of other countries, we must maintain and develop this craftsmanship. This will give the ex-service man with little or no land, particularly if he has saved a bit of money in the Army, the opportunity he seeks, while the new skills he brings with him will give new life to the village crafts, especially if we give him the extra training he needs before he is demobilized and help him with the most modern machines.

(5) A savings system for the villagers, and one also for serving soldiers, that can go home with them and will be safeguarded from attachment in any law court, and so become the foundation of social security in India.

(6) A proper publicity organization to support the post-war programme. Even good beer requires advertisement, still more so does the new and better way of life we hope to see in India after the war.

(7) The maximum development of the co-operative system.

(8) Above all, the "flat-out" drive I have already described. The uplifting of a

continent is no easy job, and everyone, official and non-official, must put their whole heart into it; only then can we win the peace.

CONCLUSION

The soldier is very responsive to what his officer teaches him, and therefore we have a great opportunity and a great responsibility for laying down standards for the India of the future.

If we send home a million and a half I.C.O.s, V.C.O.s, N.C.O.s and I.O.R.s with a blue print of a better India in their heads, with a certain amount of savings in their pockets, with a sense of discipline and comradeship and training and leadership, we may throw up constructive leaders who will become members of local bodies, assemblies and ministries and may solve all India's problems. At the end of the last war there were a score of I.C.O.s. One of them became Premier of the Punjab and created the Unionist Ministry which for the last seven and a half years has ruled the Punjab more in the manner of a Dominion than of a Province of India.

The sepoy is fighting superbly, better than he ever fought before. He has made India famous. While England and America were preparing, the sepoy helped to hold the pass and had a great share in the famous victories in Africa, which were the first gleam of hope for the Allied cause. He is a simple chap with a simple but profound faith in his officers and in his Government. The least return we can make to him for his gallantry and for the trust he has reposed in us is to do our utmost not to let him down after the war. It is our bounden duty to do everything we possibly can to ensure that he will have the best chance possible of making good in civil life when he returns home after helping the Allies to win the war.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Wednesday, January 10, 1945, Brigadier F. L. BRAYNE, C.S.I., C.I.E., M.C., read a paper on "The Indian Soldier and Post-War Development." Lord HAILEY, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E. presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that a letter had been received from Field-Marshal Lord Birdwood asking that his regret at his inability to be present might be conveyed to the lecturer, whose work he held in much admiration. Lord Hailey went on to pay his own tribute to "Mr." Brayne, as they still thought of him. He was known not only in the Punjab but throughout many parts of India as one of the leaders in the modern movement for rural uplift, which had left a great mark on Indian domestic history, especially in the Punjab. He had not been content merely to state principles or call attention to the importance of the subject, but he had perceived that the uplift of the peasant could be brought about only by the peasant's own efforts, both individually and in co-operation with others. He had worked with an enthusiasm equalled only by his self-sacrifice to achieve co-operation between them, using every influence he could as a district officer to bring about that result. Whatever the practical results of his work might be, he had certainly brought home to them all one lesson, that the peasant, the man who made the backbone of India, had a way of thinking, a way of life, and needs and requirements of his own, very different from those of urban people, and that he ought to be made the subject of special study by us.

But it was not on rural uplift that Brigadier Brayne was going to address that meeting. He was going to deal with the demobilized soldier, a subject closely akin, and one in which he had also taken great interest. In the House of Lords a few months ago the question of the demobilized soldier in Africa was debated, but in India the problem was of even greater range and importance, owing to the greater

numbers concerned and the difference in the standards of living of the Indian military class. But in both Africa and India the demobilized soldier might be a great asset to the community, for these men would go back to their homes with a wider outlook and experience and with freshly acquired skill. If, however, we did not avail ourselves of that asset, then the demobilized men might well become a liability, if only because of the disappointment and discontent of the men themselves, adding one more ferment to the many which seemed to be the unhappy lot of India today.

After Brigadier BRAYNE had read his paper,

Major-General Sir DASHWOOD STRETTELL said that he fully agreed with most of the views the Brigadier had expounded. The difficulty in India was the lack of public spirit. Up to the present there had been very little public spirit, and any drive had been too official. The ideas of a Deputy Commissioner were furthered during his tenure of office, but were dropped as soon as he went away. There was no continuity, and Brigadier Brayne had suffered a good deal in that way. The Indian commissioned officer and the other ranks would have a great opportunity in this matter of public spirit. They would come back and have an opportunity to impart to the rest of the community the knowledge and experience which they had themselves gained. It would be absolutely wrong to make them a privileged class as compared with their civilian friends and relations. They must be taught and assisted in every way possible and allowed to use their knowledge and experience for the good of all.

He was sure that Brigadier Brayne was quite correct in what he had said about the employment of women. He himself recalled that in India his own soldier driver was one of the smartest men he had ever known, but his wife was an incapable woman, and he was told that of all the servants' quarters this man's were the filthiest. If the women could be taught the value of domestic economy they would insist on improvements. A great drive should be made for the primary education of women, the principal subject in which should be domestic economy.

On the matter of a living wage, he thought that the Governments, both central and provincial, should set an example. The subordinate officials were grossly underpaid with no semblance of a living wage, and this system led only to bribery and corruption. He had calculated that, before the war, in a medium sized town of the Punjab Rs. 17 a month was a bare living wage for a man and his wife and three children, with a house in addition, but with no clothes or travelling expenses; but the Government used to pay Rs. 12 or Rs. 15 a month.

The report of the technical commission on fertilizers he thought to be most important. It was a vital necessity to increase the food output of India. Another matter which Brigadier Brayne had mentioned was the Army fund. This was not in the ordinary sense of the word a Government fund. It was originally intended at a certain period of the war to increase the pay of the soldier, and it was thought better to give the money in the form of additional deferred pay. On the advice of the Secretary of the Defence Department, Sir Charles Ogilvie, half was put to deferred pay and half to the military reconstruction fund; so that it was not a Government fund, it was the soldiers' money, and although it was looked after by the authorities it should not be regarded as other than belonging to the soldiers.

In conclusion he wished to put four questions to Brigadier Brayne: Had anything been done, beyond what he had stated, for the women and their education? Had anything actually been done in the way of plans for the Indian officers, a large number of whom had had their social status highly raised as a result of their army experience? Had anything been done for the Gurkhas? Had anything been done for the subjects of the Indian States who had enlisted in the Indian Army?

Sir MALCOLM DARLING said that he found himself in some difficulty in commenting on this paper, because it was almost a case of saying to everything, "Yes, I agree." He wished first to join in Brigadier Brayne's tribute to the Indian Army. A soldier who had served alongside the 4th Indian Division in North Africa, but who him-

self had never been to India, had said to him recently that if they had all fought as brilliantly as that division had fought the campaign in North Africa would have been shortened by several months. He himself was not competent to speak on that point, but he could speak with a little more knowledge of what the Indian soldier was like in times of peace. In 1931 he had had occasion to ride through a part of the Punjab and he had made it one of his special objects to see how the Indian soldier fitted into village life. As a cultivator, there did not seem to be very much difference between the ordinary peasant who had not been in the Army and the man who had, but the former was a little inclined to speak scornfully of the soldier's capacity for work: "We work night and day," said one of them, "but the soldier, he weeps at the work." But if a man had been an officer, his mind was much better trained; he had a great deal more self-respect, and tended naturally to take the lead.

If that was the case after the last war, when comparatively little had been done during the war in educating and preparing the Indian soldier for the problems of peace, how much more might be expected of him when the Government was doing so much for his education. It was the realization of his (the speaker's) hope that the Army would become in India, what it had been made in Russia, the peasants' university.

As to using the soldier as a craftsman, he was told very recently by one of our captains of industry who had been out in India that he had been much impressed by the Indian craftsman, and he was emphatic that there would be many opportunities—some of which had been indicated in the paper—in which that skill could be used in India's industrial development. It was very important to protect the peasant and the villager from the obvious evils of a rapid spread of the industrial system and of an ever-increasing urbanization.

He noted with pleasure the author's insistence upon saving. As a co-operator he was naturally the first to respond to the importance of that. No greater economic revolution could take place in the Indian village than for the peasant to learn to save, and not to borrow, before he spent. If he could make that small change in his habits a different economic life would be open to him.

He was also pleased to find Brigadier Brayne insisting on the importance of the co-operative society. There was one point on which he desired a little more information, and about which he himself could not help feeling doubtful. On one side they had the Indian soldier returning to the village in his hundreds of thousands, and behind him they hoped to find mobilized, if Brigadier Brayne's expectations were realized, Government officials from the highest to the lowest. On the other side they had the peasants themselves, over three hundred million of them. What of these millions who were to be made the subject of the "drive"—the word used by everyone in this connection? Too little had been said about the psychological problems involved. When he thought of the high hopes which he and others entertained of the co-operative system nearly thirty years ago, how they hoped to see the money-lender broken and a co-operative marketing system well established and much else done, and how only about 10 per cent. of their hopes had been realized, he could not help wondering about these new schemes. Brigadier Brayne had sketched out a "blue print," but how was it to be put into effect in the village? That was the great question which the paper left unanswered. In the light of his own experience he himself would be satisfied if, fifty years hence, 25 per cent. had been achieved. In this connection he would recall what Ruskin had said, how in dealing with so subtle a substance as human nature "what can be immediately accomplished is always questionable, and what can be finally accomplished, inconceivable."

Major TRILOK SINGH said that he had discovered that as long as he was in India he did not know anything about India at all. When he left India and travelled in the Middle East and came over to this country he learned quite a lot. The Indian soldier who had been overseas—he had had personal contact with the Indian contingent in France—had a big civilizing effect on returning to his home. Some of the questions these men had asked had been quite beyond his power to answer. If the soldier as a result of his experience had had a big deficiency made up, the civilian equally had the same want which should be fulfilled. From his own experience after

the Great War he could say that the returned Indian soldier had been very active in changing to a certain extent the life of the country. He himself was the son of a soldier in the last war, and the outlook and life of his father as the result of his Army experience had had a direct effect upon him.

Much had been done and much else devised since the present war started to prepare the soldier for his return. The soldier was quite alive to the dangers and upset of his post-war life, but the war had given him a certain capacity for organization and planning, which would be of service in the reconstruction of his country. There was not lacking public spirit in India, and if a proper lead was given the whole outlook of India might be changed.

Lieut.-Colonel G. R. STEVENS, I.A., said that it seemed to him that the key to the problem which was set forth in the paper was given in the single word "leadership." If life in the Indian villages was to become more decent and tolerable it was not a matter so much of large plans as of local leadership. In this connection he desired to leave one thought with the meeting. It came out of his experience of Indian troops in the field. When he first became Director of Public Relations in the Indian Army in the Middle East he felt that a mass observation survey would be an excellent means of discovering what should be done for the Indian Armies in the field. For the results of this survey he came to the conclusion that the Indian sepoy today, while still very responsive to leadership, yet had definite ideas of his own which could be trained to a common end. In the training of those ideas his leadership must be intimate, and the intimacy of his leadership depended in large part upon his officers. What was the position regarding his officers when the war was over? They would leave him and he would be without the leadership upon which he depended.

He drew attention in particular to the V.C.O.s, men with nine to fourteen years' service with the sepoys, men who were the backbone of the Indian Army. These were men who would provide leadership in the villages, and they should be trained for such leadership while they were in the Army. The first step would be to open the road for promotion of the V.C.O.s into the I.C.O. ranks, so that the V.C.O. would have the *cachet*, the authority, whereby, when he did go back to his village, he would naturally assume the leadership. There were certain handicaps from the military point of view in opening the road of promotion from the V.C.O. to the I.C.O., but when the advantages of such a system were considered in relation to the plans which Brigadier Brayne had opened out, it seemed to him that if the necessary leaders were to be found they would be found in the ranks of the V.C.O.s and the N.C.O.s of the Indian Army, and that some provision should be made in order that these men might be advanced and made available as leaders after the war.

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that they must admire the enthusiasm, drive and idealism which Brigadier Brayne brought to the problem of repatriating the Indian soldier after the war. It was a problem in which the British would have a great responsibility, but that responsibility would be quickly transferred to the Indian Government. It seemed to him that Brigadier Brayne in his zeal had forgotten some of the pledges which had been made. They were pledged beyond all recall to withdraw from India, to hand over power to Indian hands, and the programme which Brigadier Brayne outlined was one, not so much for themselves, except in the initial stages, as for the Indian Government which would presently rule in India. It would be a real tragedy if they did not avail themselves of the vast knowledge of the world and of men which the Indian soldier had acquired in such a way as to help India. Many of the plans which Brigadier Brayne had outlined would require many years to bring to fruition. It would be necessary to go slowly at the beginning. He did not know whether Brigadier Brayne had calculated the financial consequences of the programme he had put forward. India was undoubtedly going to be a richer country; it would be one of the rich countries of the world, but other people besides Brigadier Brayne had their eyes upon the wealth that was available. He was afraid that were they to introduce all the amenities into the 700,000 villages of India—because they were not only considering the Punjab but an area vastly greater—the

available funds would scarcely suffice for the beginning of Brigadier Brayne's programme. He had no desire to be a wet blanket. As he had said, it would be a serious matter if there were failures so to implement our promises to the Indian soldier as to enable him to live a better life, and to give that leadership to the people of India which had been so eloquently advocated that afternoon.

Sir T. GAVIN JONES said that Brigadier Brayne was an idealist, and they did right to thank God for the idealists. He very much agreed with him in his warning that if a lot of soldiers were allowed to go back to their village life after they had lived a better life in the Army there would be trouble. As an industrialist in India he felt that industry would not develop there unless the standard of living of the peasant were raised, for, after all, the peasants were their industrial markets. Brigadier Brayne had urged the establishment of a huge centre for the manufacture of artificial manures. One could not introduce chemical manures without humus. India was a poor country because her soil had not been properly looked after, and if nitrogen were spread indiscriminately over the land the soil would be exhausted and a great deal of harm would be done. These large ideas about the manufacture of artificial manures had to be very carefully considered.

Brigadier Brayne had spoken from the point of view of the Punjab, which was the most prosperous Province in India, with a well set up, well nourished lot of men. The Punjab was only a part of India. The bulk of India was over-populated, the soil was not producing what it ought to produce, and this he put down to the question of land tenure, a very prickly subject. They might be all right in the Punjab where they had peasant proprietors dealing directly with the Government. In the United Provinces they had a lot of landlords, not all of whom were everything that might be wished. In Bengal they had sometimes twenty tenants in between the cultivator and the superior landlord. How could agriculture be expected to flourish in such circumstances? The Royal Commission on Agriculture went to India and was frightened of the question of land tenure, but it did say something about the law of succession whereby when a landholder died, if he had four sons, his estate might be so cut up that there might be four landlords cultivating sixteen fields. The fragmentation of land was a great handicap to agriculture.

On the Post-War Reconstruction Committee on which he had served before he left India he had suggested that the way to look on India on a great scale was to have a co-ordinating board of the Government of India to help in agriculture. At the moment the Central Government was not responsible for agriculture at all, and would say that this was a Provincial matter. All these efforts were dissipated unless there was co-ordination. Therefore he would urge that a co-ordinating board be set up in Delhi whose task it would be to co-ordinate not only agriculture but forestry and everything else connected with the land. Not only that, it was only the Central Government that could afford the money. In his Province (U.P.) 40 per cent. of the land revenue went to the Government, and that expenditure was used up almost entirely in administration. The expenditure on agriculture was very small. It was money that was wanted.

He much appreciated Brigadier Brayne's paper, but he desired to have agriculture treated on a wider basis so that the whole of India could profit by it.

Brigadier BRAYNE, in reply to the questions asked by Sir Dashwood Strettell, said that the welfare centres already established in unit married lines were being expanded to something in the nature of Women's Institutes, where women were trained in "home-making" and the domestic arts and crafts, but shortage of money and of trained staff made progress slow. Hospitals and education for the families of Indian troops in cantonments was, he believed, still in the future. A new movement had been started, with a success varying according to the number of literate women available. This was the appointment of female social workers, called Sevadarnis, to help the soldier's wife and family in the villages. These were village women themselves; he thought about one thousand had been appointed in the Punjab and a similar number in the south, but they must be literate women because one of their jobs would be to read letters to soldiers' wives and write letters for them.

Proposals were being made for something to be done for the education of soldiers' daughters after the war. After the last war the Government forgot that the soldiers had daughters as well as sons! Every war memorial after this war must be something for the women—schools, domestic training centres, scholarships, doctors, maternity arrangements, etc.

It was also asked what had been done for the I.C.O.s. This was a big problem and was being studied by Government. Some of them would go into training schools for Government service, and all the Government service they were capable of would be given them, but he did not know what more had been decided. As for the Gurkhas, one suggestion was to spend their share of the Army Welfare Fund on a sanatorium, because Gurkha troops were more susceptible to tuberculosis than other Indian troops. It had also been suggested that there should be added to the sanatorium the provision of hostels and a training centre for Gurkha women.

Mysore, Bhopal, Baroda and other progressive States were making post-war plans, but he did not know the details; he had been away from India too long.

One of the things that had possibly held up the savings scheme for sepoys was the insistence that savings bank money should be immune from seizure by the money-lender or shopkeeper through the law courts. That would be the beginning of social security in India.

Sir Malcolm Darling was a little doubtful of progress being made on a wide scale. The trouble was that the Government had never yet put its whole heart into this business. There had never been proper publicity; the help of the women had never been obtained, and education had not been enlisted in the campaign.

He had been accused of idealism, but it was not idealism, it was just common sense trying to secure for these people a human existence.

As for going slow, he had found that unless one planned to go fast one did not go at all. If one planned to go slowly one just stood still. As for the cost of his programme he was not proposing to give away anything free to anybody, only to raise the economic standard of the people so that they could pay for things themselves. He wanted no doles or gifts. He wanted the people to work and to have instilled into them the desire for better things. The money would be there if they could get the drive, and have people and Government working together to raise standards. It had been calculated by a scientific agriculturist that if the people would do the simple things they were told the produce of India could be multiplied by three. By adding the increased efficiency due to the control of disease, the general rise in health following the ventilation of the houses and the cleaning up of the villages, and by adding the capital resources saved for productive expenditure by the elimination of litigation, extravagant social ceremonies and gold and silver ornaments, he would multiply India's productivity by four.

He was not frightened by the "pledges" of the British Government. He hoped that the leadership and training provided by the ex-service men would enable India to take the great opportunity offered to her.

Sir HARRY HAIG, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the author, recalled that in Brigadier Brayne's less martial days he had played a great part in rural development, and the rural development movement in the United Provinces, with which he himself had something to do, had been very largely founded on Brayne's ideas. It was true that little progress could be made owing to lack of resources. He could only scrape together a pitiful provision of a few lakhs, but he hoped that the movement, limited in scope as it was, was still going on, and in future he was sure that the views which Brigadier Brayne had put before them would prevail. They required a certain amount of money and a great deal of effort and interest. If the interest of the demobilized Indian soldier could be enlisted he was sure that a very big thing would be done for India and a very great danger averted.

In the name of those present he thanked Brigadier Brayne for his stimulating paper and Lord Hailey for presiding with his customary wisdom and distinction.

THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN INDIA TODAY

THE paper read to the Association on December 13, 1944, by Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Stevens on this subject was given in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* for January, 1945. The Right Hon. L. Hore-Belisha, M.P., presided and in opening the meeting said that it was always pleasanter to preside over lectures than to deliver them, and it was a great honour as well as a pleasure to him to preside over the present lecture. His mind went back to a subject which he could not forget. Anyone who entered the War Office in time of peace with the idea of reforming the British Army very quickly realized that the key to the problem was not in Aldershot, or London, or York, or Plymouth, or in any other military centre in this country, but in India. No improvement could take place in the condition of the United Kingdom soldier in peacetime, no change could be brought about in establishment, no revision of equipment could occur, without reference to Delhi. Owing to the system instituted by Mr. Cardwell, British and Indian units were interchangeable. There were two battalions of each ordinary English, Scots, or Welsh line regiments, one in this country and one in India. Consequently it was somewhat optimistic to suggest to the Secretary of State that he could revolutionize the conditions of the British soldier without regard to the views prevailing in India.

That was the first fact which would be quickly established. Anyone going into the War Office with enthusiasm and hope would soon be forced to realize that the pace of any transformation which he might desire to bring about would be regulated by policies formulated and finances available thousands of miles away. For that reason he had suggested that the Committee over which Lord Chatfield presided should go to India. It had made recommendations which were about to be put into operation when the war occurred. The military interdependence of Britain and India had become even more marked in the course of the present struggle.

General Auchinleck's command was the greatest command in the world—a fact which was often forgotten. He commanded the British Army in India, which, with the forces in Burma, according to the published figure, totalled 250,000 men. He commanded the Indian Army—now two millions strong—and also the Royal Indian Navy, the Royal Air Force in India, and the Indian Air Force. He was responsible for the training of all those forces in India, and that was a colossal responsibility which should be present to our minds. It was because of the extent of that responsibility and the appropriateness of attention being called to it that Mr. Amery had encouraged him to take the chair on the present occasion.

While Colonel Stevens was primarily concerned with the ordinary United Kingdom soldier in India, there was also a great Indian Army, of which a correspondent of Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State, had written: "I wonder how many people at home realize that this enormous force which we have raised from India has been built up by the pre-war regular care of Indian Army officers, which was 2,500 strong, and is now expanded to 40,000: 28,000 of these are officers from the United Kingdom. I feel that the nation owes a great deal to the small band of professional soldiers who have expanded this force to two million. They do not advertise themselves, but their achievement is inestimable." General Auchinleck's command had supplied all the requirements of Admiral Mountbatten's forces in Burma.

The paper which they were to hear was mainly concerned with the British Army. The soldiers in India were not having too easy a time, and their circumstances had recently been investigated by Lord Munster. As it was always unwise to anticipate the unknown, he would make no comments upon Lord Munster's Report, because he had not yet seen it, but that Report was awaited with great interest and anxiety.

They were fortunate in having Lieut.-Colonel Stevens to speak to them because he had seen more of the world, and of the British Empire, than most people, and seen it at close quarters. He had been in the Canadian Government service as Trade Commissioner to South Africa, Australia, and other lands. When the war came he

served in the Middle East, where he was made Public Relations Officer. These facts would show that they had the exceptional advantage of having a lecturer who not only knew what he was talking about, but who could put his subject-matter into proper perspective. Colonel Stevens had been to Burma with the Chindits, and had seen what he was talking about and loved what he had seen.

After the reading of the paper :

Colonel ROBERT ARMSTRONG said he thought the lecture had been most interesting and stimulating. The point of view put forward was novel, but none the less worthy of consideration. There was one comment by the lecturer where his own experience had been rather different. That was the suggestion that the education of the Army of today, recruited from the civil population, was of a higher standard than that of the pre-war regular Army. Colonel Armstrong had been privileged to command a unit of British pre-war regular soldiers and also a formation of soldiers of the Army of today, and, as he was responsible for their training, it was necessary for him to ascertain, with a certain degree of precision, their standards of education on a statistical basis. In the war-time Army he had found that there were always a certain percentage of men who could neither read nor write, and, indeed, their letters from their wives had to be read aloud to them and the answers dictated. In his pre-war regular Army unit there was not a single man who could not read or write, and many of the senior N.C.O.s could solve trigonometrical problems involving the use of four-figure logarithms. The reason for this was presumably that in civilian life the compulsory school-leaving age was fourteen, and in the regular Army thirty-four and upwards.

With regard to social contacts with Indians, he endorsed what the lecturer had said regarding their great desirability. If he might be forgiven for being personal, he recollected many very pleasant personal contacts with his friends in India.

On one occasion he stayed in the house of an Indian Raja where the guests, which included the Raja's Hindu, Muhammadan, and Christian Indian Ministers, with British officers and their families, played amusing, if somewhat childish, Christmas games. It should be noted, however, that all the members of the party spoke English. Another very happy recollection was a recruiting tour in the Punjab, where he stayed in the houses of yeoman farmer soldiers of his Battery. He well remembered sitting round the fire out under the stars and talking long into the night. But it should be noted that he did not meet any of the ladies of the house. They were there, as was shown by the clean and tidy houses and the well-kept children, but they remained completely secluded. And in dealing with the question of social relations in India it should be remembered that we were dealing with the India of 1944 and not the India of the future. Even with the spread of education it should be realized that a very large percentage of Indian women were still secluded, and the speaker could not see even educated women "walking out" with British soldiers. Probably their fathers and mothers would object, or, in some parts of India, if they were over the age of twelve, their husbands might demur!

There was, however, one point which he would like to stress, and, in the presence of the Chairman, who, as Secretary of State for War, had done so much for the welfare of the British soldier, he would offer no apology for making it. If the British soldier were to be an ambassador, it must be ensured that he was a happy and contented ambassador. We must realize that the welfare of the large number of young men we had sent overseas—the pick of our population—was a matter of very great importance indeed. For example, the British soldiers needed British women to run their canteens and give that feminine touch which meant so much to men away from their homes. All the young women the speaker met were keen to go into U.N.R.R.A. or to serve in Europe with the Red Cross, but he did feel that there was a place for many of them in the East.

There was also the question of pay. Let the British soldier be as well paid as the Australian or American soldier fighting alongside him. It would be said, of course, that this was a matter for the Treasury, but just as a country was said to get the Government it deserved, so a Government got the Treasury it meant to have.

In other words, if everyone was determined that the British soldier should be well paid the money would be forthcoming.

There was also the question of beer, which, however diluted its quality, meant a great deal to the British soldier. There were, of course, difficulties over brewing in India and the provision of bottles. Still, before the war there were available in India excellent imported brands of tinned or canned beer. Would it not be possible to instal canning plants and produce the beer and ship it? Again the shipping difficulty, but if we were really in earnest the shipping would be forthcoming.

Another suggestion : when the war with Germany was over a certain number of aircraft should be made available to bring the soldiers home on leave. The less the time spent in travelling, the greater the number of soldiers who could be sent home on leave without detriment to the fighting efficiency of the force as a whole.

These proposals might be considered visionary, but the speaker stressed that where the health and happiness of the British soldier was at stake we should take the risk of being considered visionary and be determined to have a really happy Army in India, which should be given the best of everything.

Mrs. MILFORD, supporting Colonel Armstrong, said she had been in Calcutta during three years of the war and had seen a good deal of what the British soldiers had had to put up with, and how patient they were. From personal experience she wished to give her wholehearted support to every word the lecturer had said.

During the early months of the war, when the forces went out to Bengal, she had been in a position to know the Bengali reaction; she knew they were dreading it because they anticipated rough soldiery. That was their attitude simply because they had had no contact with soldiery. After the Army had arrived the extraordinary transformation in public opinion was phenomenal; it could be called the conquest of Bengal. The behaviour and thoughtfulness of the men had charmed the people of Bengal.

She herself had been one of the lecturers to whom Colonel Stevens had referred. She had found a very great interest and intelligence among those to whom she spoke, and she had begun to feel that the men expressed themselves so well that they might like to meet some Indians. She had therefore started a club, which was such a genuine success that she had been astonished. Before long it had become an international club; the discussions had been vital and profitable because the problems of today were of tremendous interest to both sides. In many ways those discussions had challenged the rather loquacious Bengalis to come down to hard facts. Indian ladies showed themselves lively and kindly hostesses. The success of that club led those responsible to form similar clubs all over India. She wished to pay tribute to the official attitude with regard to these. Everyone had given their support, and Mrs. Casey, wife of the Governor of Bengal, had spoken on the air. In one of her broadcasts Mrs. Casey had said that in spite of the misery of war it did give the individual a greater opportunity to enlarge his knowledge of others. It was on human relationships in the end that the peace and progress of the world depended.

The BISHOP OF RANGOON said he had found the lecturer's approach to his subject extremely interesting, and he questioned whether there was any single problem which could not be solved through human relationships; when human relationships were right everything was right.

He would like to relate a story which illustrated that. One day in Calcutta he had found himself at a christening party in an Indian house. At that party there were various English and Indian people. He had soon realized that the people at that party were all very stiff, and he had wondered how to surmount that, when an unusual thought had occurred to him. He had decided to write a poem which was to be addressed to the baby! After the father of the baby had expressed his pleasure—somewhat formally—at the presence of his English guests, he himself had recited his own poem. That had had the effect of making the mother of the baby begin to talk, and gradually others followed suit, and in a short time the atmosphere became free and friendly. The interesting point was that the last speaker of all

was a British soldier, and he had said that he had come to the party with no great love of India, but that the last hour had been the happiest he had spent in that country.

Lieut.-Colonel H. HINGSTON wished to refer to two points upon which he disagreed with the lecturer. The first was that the lecturer had said that N.A.A.F.I. was not allowed to operate in India. In actual fact, N.A.A.F.I. had decided that it could not work in India.

The second point was one upon which he felt very strongly. The lecturer stated in his paper that during the last thirty years the British had lost the confidence and affection of the Indians to an appalling degree. He did not agree with that. That was a view which people obtained when they went to India for a short time; the reason for that was that they did not meet the vast bulk of the Indian population. They only met the educated Indians, and they only represented one-tenth of 1 per cent. Had the lecturer gone out into the villages of the Punjab he would have found a very different atmosphere, and he would have been received with affection because he was British. He might have found that confidence in the British had been shaken, but the reason for that was not the one implied in the paper. The real reason was that the British were going from India, and the ordinary Indian villagers could not understand that.

In 1942-43 the Indian Army was in low water; morale was not what it had been. The Indian Army had suffered in Malaya, in Hongkong, in Burma, and also in the Middle East during the January to March, 1943, campaigns, and also there was the fact that the Indians did not understand the war against Japan. All that, however, did not destroy the morale of the Indian Army, but what had really shaken the Indian sepoy was Sir Stafford Cripps' visit. The sepoys said: "We have got to fight this war and then give everything over to people who have always been considered below us." That was how the Indian Army saw it, and morale went down. Since then, however, morale had gone up, and it was now better than ever before—a fact which was due to one man, General Auchinleck. General Auchinleck was a really great man in India; he was in the same sort of position as Lord Roberts, and it was because of his personality, energy and drive, and his complete knowledge of how the Indian thought, that the morale of the Indian Army and the civilian population of India had risen to its present standard.

Captain BELLENGER, M.P., said that he wished to introduce a little explosive material into the discussion by reminding the meeting that there were 300,000 or 400,000 British troops in India. What was the situation among the British troops in India? He had reason to believe that they were feeling very sore at the lack of proper amenities. He would like some of those present to become really indignant, not only about the Indian population, but about their own population in India who were not at present getting a fair deal. This matter should be brought prominently—almost violently—before the British public. He urged everyone who wanted contented ambassadors to look into the conditions of those ambassadors, because they were undoubtedly disquieting.

Mr. A. H. BYRT enquired whether the responsibility for the troops in the South-East Asian Command did not lie with the War Office.

Lieut.-Colonel STEVENS, in reply to the observations of Colonel Armstrong, said that it seemed to him that the attitude of the professional soldier altered radically when he gained in rank. Up to the time the British soldier commanded a unit in India his attitude towards relationships in general was very much more liberal than it was when he achieved a position of authority.

With reference to what Colonel Hingston had said about Indian villages, he was afraid that Colonel Hingston was speaking very largely of a certain section of the Indian Army. It might surprise him to know that at least one-quarter, rising to one-third, of the recruits of the Indian Army came from South India, with a dispersion of recruitment all over India. There was probably a difference in the attitude of the villagers of Rajputana, which had supplied men to the Indian Army for generations, and that of villagers in other parts of India. He would emphasize that

he believed the relationships between Britons and Indians to rest, not with the villagers, but with one-tenth of 1 per cent. of the population who constituted the technical classes of India. If British relationship with India was to be better in the future it would have to come about through contact with that one-tenth.

With reference to Captain Bellenger's remarks, Colonel Stevens admitted that he had had to shift the emphasis of his subject somewhat in view of Lord Munster's visit to India and his impending Report. The British soldier's problems in India were well understood, and efforts were being made to solve them.

In reply to Mr. Byrt's question, the responsibility for the troops in the South-East Asian Command rested with His Majesty's Government and not with the Government of India.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman, said that he did not feel that his advancing years had diminished his capacity for maintaining sympathetic contact with Indians of every caste. He had achieved contact, not only with villagers, but he had had many personal contacts with representatives of the intelligentsia and with politicians, and he could assure the meeting that many of them were his warmest friends.

The lecturer had said nothing in his paper about boredom. He had found that boredom was the crux of the problem in India. The British soldier was bored and did not meet the right people, and he was also hard up for money; he complained of being cut off. It was difficult for the soldiers to make contacts, and it took two people to establish a friendship. Although he had agreed with many of the lecturer's points, he disagreed with him in some respects.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Captain S. T. BINSTAD, who had to leave before the close of the meeting, writes :

"I agree with the constructive suggestions in the lecture, particularly that we should take full advantage of the presence in India of the increased number of British soldiers, a fair percentage of whom are intellectually equipped to lead their comrades in a campaign to strengthen understanding and comradeship between the Indians and themselves. But Colonel Stevens has failed to give any credit to the work of British Tommies, and, in fact, to the British in general, in the past. No one who has lived in India for any length of time (and I speak with over twenty years' experience) can deny the fact that examples of British-Indian comradeship can be found, in pockets, all over India. For example, I would ask where you would find a more cheerful and satisfied community than in the Indian villages in and around British cantonments—the ghariwalla, the charwalla, the butcher, the baker, the tailor, the shopkeeper, the bearer, and the like. The majority of them have also absorbed the British sense of humour; and I contend all this has been brought about by their continual contact with the British service men. Moreover, the majority of our great soldiers, such as Wavell, Auchinleck, Jacob, and many others, could claim as personal friends thousands of Indians in all walks of life, both military and civil, and many of our civilian officials could do likewise.

"Then what about the good work done in certain Indian States? Take Hyderabad and Mysore. The British soldiers who have passed through the Bangalore Cantonment will, I feel sure, have reason to remember the encouragement and welcome extended to them by H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore and by His Highness's Government. They have promoted all kinds of schemes whereby the British service man can use his spare time to advantage. Entertainment of varying types, from the highly classical to that of the music hall, has been given in an effort which would be highly creditable even to the E.N.S.A. organization. Recent letters in the British Press from both private soldiers and officers recount experiences of, and express gratitude for, the hospitality and co-operation tendered them at Mysore and elsewhere by Indians. There was similar hospitality in the last war, and I only relate this to show that we are not starting altogether from zero."

BALUCHISTAN AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER IN WAR-TIME

BY SIR AUBREY METCALFE, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., M.V.O.

SOME years ago when on leave from India I met a Member of Parliament, who asked me how things were going in India. I replied that all was fairly quiet and peaceful except in Waziristan, where there was some trouble with the tribes. He asked me, "Where and what is Waziristan?" which rather surprised me, since I had expected that a member of the House of Commons would at least have heard of the only area in the Empire where active operations of a sort were almost continuously in progress. I fully realize that at the present time everybody's attention is concentrated upon the far more important events which are taking place in Europe and the Pacific, and that Waziristan, Baluchistan, and as someone expressed it "all the other Stans" attract very little public interest.

It would therefore be no matter for surprise if some of my audience say to themselves, "Where and what is Baluchistan?" In case there be some who have forgotten the answer, I venture to begin with a very brief description of the geographical situation of Baluchistan and of its general administrative and political system. It is a Province of India covering an area of 135,000 square miles and with a population of under 900,000 of all sorts. It lies on the western frontier of India, south of the North-West Frontier Province, and is bounded on the west by Afghanistan and Persia, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the east by the Provinces of Sind and the Punjab. In climate it is akin rather to Persia and Central Asia than to India, except for some areas adjoining Sind. Politically and constitutionally it presents a very curious conglomeration of forms. More than half of its whole area is included in Kalat State, and several of the most important areas in Baluchistan proper, which is directly under British administration, are leased in perpetuity from the Khan of Kalat, Quetta, the capital, being one and the Nasirabad sub-division, which is the principal food-producing area of the Province, another. Of the rest very small areas only rank as British India and then only by an accident of history, and by far the greater portion is either tribal or agency territory, which with one or two minor exceptions is loosely administered under a common tribal system.

It is only in cantonments, in large towns, of which there are very few, and on the railways that regular police function and the laws of British India are fully enforced. Elsewhere the Administration employs the tribal leaders, to whom allowances are paid, and tribal levies paid and in some cases armed by Government for the maintenance of law and order. The only armed, trained and permanently embodied forces at the disposal of the local Administration are the Zhob Militia, which functions mainly in the Zhob Agency, the Chagai Levy Corps on the Afghan and Persian frontier, and the Mekran Levy Corps, which serves wholly in the southern area of the Kalat State but is in no way under the control of the Khan.

PROBLEMS OF WAR-TIME

So much for Baluchistan in normal times, and I will now turn to the special problems which arose during the first four years of war and explain how they were dealt with. The main problems can be grouped under four heads: (a) internal law and order; (b) tribal unrest; (c) the danger of external aggression; (d) maintenance of adequate supplies of food and other essential commodities.

The first problem of internal law and order was at no time serious, partly on account of the very small population of the Province in comparison to its area and partly because the vast majority of the inhabitants are not interested in the political and communal disputes which disturb the peace of other parts of India. Ordinary crime showed at first a tendency to increase, mainly for economic reasons, but as the demand for labour increased to cope with military constructional needs and

more regular police were enlisted this tendency slackened. On the political side some temporary excitement was engendered by a visit early in 1940 paid to the Province by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who is sometimes known as the "North-West Frontier Gandhi." He attempted to found a Baluchistan branch of his pro-Congress organization of "Red Shirts," but nowhere in the Province did he achieve any substantial success, and his visit terminated in a physical attack made upon him and his followers in the Nasirabad sub-division, where the local tribal leaders objected to the propaganda which Abdul Ghaffar Khan was carrying on against them. In Quetta there was a small pro-Congress group led, curiously enough, by a radically minded Muslim of the country-gentleman class, but their influence was very small and their chief asset was a newspaper, which had to be suppressed for a short time owing to its anti-British and anti-war sentiments. When India was gravely disturbed after the arrest of Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee in 1942, Baluchistan remained completely quiet, though as a measure of precaution some half-dozen of the leading members of the pro-Congress organization in Quetta were either arrested and detained in jail or sent back to their homes in the Punjab.

TRIBAL CONTROL

The second problem of tribal unrest also presented few real difficulties. Shortly after the outbreak of war the Government of India suggested that loyal citizens of India should be organized into a force of civic guards, whose duties should be analogous to those performed by Civil Defence personnel and Home Guards in England. The idea was received with some public enthusiasm in Quetta, but even there it failed, in spite of official encouragement, to lead to any practical results. The proposal was inappropriate to rural areas, where the Administration already relied mainly on tribal responsibility for the maintenance of law and order. It was therefore agreed that for the duration of the war additional funds should be placed at the disposal of the local Administration for the entertainment of additional levies, who would protect communications and other vital points. The strength of the Zhob Militia and of the other two Levy Corps was also substantially increased and their equipment and training improved.

These measures proved almost entirely effective, and such tribal troubles as occurred were due not to war conditions but rather to an inherent and unavoidable defect in the system. As I have already explained, the system entails the payment of allowances and rewards for tribal service, which, whatever its merits, breeds discontent among those who do not get all that they regard as their deserts. There were two incidents during my four years in Baluchistan which illustrate this point. The first was the assassination of the Political Agent, Zhob, by a tribesman with an old grievance about his pay and position as a tribal levy. This tragedy led directly to a number of outrages committed in the Zhob Agency by the relatives of the assassin, who was himself arrested on the spot by a fellow-tribesman and later hanged after being tried and sentenced under the Indian Penal Code. The second incident was an abortive rising by a small tribe in the Loralai Agency, which was immediately quelled by the Zhob Militia before it had time to develop. This demonstration was due to the dissatisfaction of the tribal leader concerned with his allowance and the hope that he might by disaffection induce the Government to be more generous. It must not, however, be forgotten that the satisfactory behaviour of the tribesmen and the absence of trouble is to some extent due to the fact that His Majesty's Government has not been at war with any Muslim Power and that cordial relations have been maintained with Muslim neighbouring countries, particularly with Afghanistan.

MILITARY CONTRACTS

Before leaving the problem of tribal management I would refer to one disquieting development directly due to the war, whose effects are likely to assume greater importance in the future. It was considered necessary in 1940 to 1943 to insure against the danger of hostile invasion through Persia by embarking on a large programme of military construction, including airfields, roads and buildings. Both

contractors and labour were scarce and the urgency of the works precluded the exercise of parsimony. The result was that Baluchistan became a veritable "Tom Tiddler's ground" and many of the tribal leaders not unnaturally wished to take part in the scramble, especially if the works were in the areas for which they were tribally responsible. Those who secured contracts and were able to hire a competent and honest Hindu to manage the business for them made money but neglected their tribal duties. Others who were less fortunate made so little profit that they called it a loss and became discontented as well as useless as tribal leaders. An even more significant feature was the emergence of a new class of *nouveau riche* among the tribesmen, men with no tribal influence or standing but with sufficient business acumen to make large fortunes out of their profits on Government contracts. Their wealth has become a formidable challenge to the influence and prestige of the less affluent tribal Sardars and it has yet to be seen how they will use this wealth. But it is certain that the comparatively small amounts which the local Administration pay in tribal allowances are ceasing to be so attractive as they have been in the past.

The third problem which I undertook to deal with was that of possible enemy aggression against India directed through Baluchistan. For a time it seemed possible that the threat might become imminent, if German armies succeeded in forcing their way through the Caucasus and Persia. The problem was one for the military authorities to solve, but the co-operation of the civil authorities was required in such matters as Civil Air Raid Precautions, the security of lines of communication, and arrangements for adequate supplies for the civil population, or in the alternative the evacuation to India of all surplus inhabitants. To deal with these problems a joint Military and Civil Committee was set up which evolved a comprehensive scheme for dealing with foreseeable contingencies in an emergency. Practical measures for dealing with enemy air raids in all civil areas were worked out, and except for two special officers in charge the whole organization was manned by Indian non-officials who gave their services almost entirely on a voluntary basis. Intensive practice was carried out and enthusiasm remained at a high pitch in spite of the absence of any enemy air action, until the threat of invasion evaporated and most of the equipment was removed to meet a more imminent danger on the other side of India. The work which had been done was, however, by no means wasted, as you will see when I deal with the next problem.

SUPPLY PROBLEM

Baluchistan is emphatically a "deficit area" in the matter of food and many other necessary commodities. The sub-division of Nasirabad is the only area which grows substantially more food than is required by its own inhabitants. Quetta City in normal times received every day by rail about 400 tons of grain and other goods from the Punjab and Sind. After the outbreak of war the population of Quetta and the environments increased greatly owing to the influx of labourers and artisans from the Punjab and elsewhere, with the result that prices rose sharply and there was some public distress. A supply crisis occurred in 1942, when heavy floods in the Indus River breached all the railways in Sind and Quetta was entirely isolated by rail for several months. Emergency routes by boat, lorry and bullock-cart were promptly organized and worked well, but the shortage of supplies necessitated the introduction of rationing in Quetta and other large towns and of organized distribution in some rural areas. Thus the paper schemes which had been prepared to meet quite a different emergency proved of great value. There was no serious shortage of necessary commodities, prices remained reasonably low and there were no large fortunes made on the Black Market, since all the management remained under the strict control of Government officials.

COAL

One interesting development was in regard to fuel supplies, which in the cold of a Quetta winter is a matter of great importance. There has for many years been a primitive system of coal-mining in the vicinity of Quetta, in the Bolan Pass and in the Harnai Valley. It consisted of extraction on or near the surface with

very poor results and very uneconomical working. The Government of India deputed experts to examine the possibilities of development, and before I left Baluchistan a year ago improved methods introduced under the supervision of a British mining engineer had already begun to win sufficient local coal to supply the normal civil requirements of Quetta. Large capital expenditure was, however, needed on plant and communications before the local industry could be considered a sound commercial proposition. Moreover, grave political difficulties regarding the ownership of the mines and the royalty rights still remained unsolved, since many of the most productive areas are situated in Kalat State. With these difficulties out of the way and if labour can be found to work regularly in this climate of extremes of heat and cold, there is no reason why Baluchistan coal should not supply all provincial needs in competition with the coal imported from Bengal at inordinate cost in transport.

FUTURE CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

I have said nothing about the political future of Baluchistan in relation to India. As you know the Province stands at present wholly outside the scheme of constitutional reform with which most of British India has been endowed. It still enjoys—and I use that word in its normal sense—a legal system based on the tribal custom which existed before our Administration. The tribal representatives are still able to express their opinions and wishes through what is known as the Shahi Jirga, and bureaucratic interference with the ordinary man's way of life is reduced to the minimum. This legal and administrative system which was founded by Sir Robert Sandeman more than half a century ago has of recent years been the target of severe criticism mainly from two quarters, one external and the other internal. It has been called primitive with much justice, and barbarous with very little justification, and it will be worth while to examine for a few moments the two quarters from which the criticism has come. To take first the external quarter, Baluchistan has, ever since the era of constitutional reform opened in India, been looked at with covetous eyes by the Indian politician, particularly the Muslim leaders, because they see that the Province, if it can be attracted into the Indian political arena out of the reserved circle of the Governor-General's powers, where it has its present constitutional being, will become, owing to its predominantly Muslim population, an additional unit of Muslim voting strength at the centre of any independent India which may emerge from the process of constitution-making. Similarly, since Mr. Jinnah evolved the scheme of Pakistan, it was obvious that Baluchistan must become part of that new and independent State, and in 1943 Mr. Jinnah visited Quetta to whip up local enthusiasm for the Muslim League and for a reformed system of administration as a preliminary step to inclusion in Pakistan. Some enthusiasm was aroused for Pakistan, which was based rather on antagonism to Congress than on hostility to the existing methods of administration. Mr. Jinnah's own personal appeal as an effective champion of Muslim rights against "Hindu cunning and oppression" was also an important factor. The internal criticism of the tribal custom and of the old-fashioned system of administration comes almost entirely from a small but vocal political party known as the Anjuman-i-Watan. Their leader and moving spirit belongs to a rural and tribal family, but his following is largely composed of Hindus and Punjabi or Sindhi immigrants, who reside more or less permanently at Quetta, which is the centre of political activity in the Province. This association has strong pro-Congress leanings, which detracts from its popularity with most classes, and the leader owns a newspaper published at Quetta, which had for a period to be suppressed owing to its seditious tone.

I have stated these facts in order to support the view, which I hold, that there is no general local enthusiasm of a deep-rooted nature for any drastic change in the existing system of administration in Baluchistan. I do not question the fact that there is some local enthusiasm for the Muslim League and Pakistan, though even this is weakened by internal antagonisms and is not based on any informed appreciation of the practical implications of the scheme. Thus it is doubtful if the tribal supporters of Pakistan realize that their present law of tribal custom

may have to give way to another system, or that they will certainly lose the considerable allowances which they at present enjoy from the pockets of the Indian taxpayer. When these implications become clearer it seems probable that the demand for change may become much less insistent and that little will be left beyond the vague aspiration for greater autonomy and for representative institutions of a similar type to those which have been accorded to other Indian Provinces, even if they are not utilized at present. The practical difficulties of such a development in Baluchistan are very great, but the time at my disposal does not permit me to explain them.

THE PEACEFUL N.W.F.

Although this paper purported to include something about the North-West Frontier in war-time, you will have noticed that I have made hardly any allusions to that important area and its problems. For that I must apologize, but, were I to attempt to cover that as well at Baluchistan, I should have to embark on a lengthy voyage threatened at innumerable points with controversial rocks and even perhaps submarine attacks from some of my audience. Moreover, my own intimate and personal acquaintance with the affairs of the N.W.F.P. dates from before 1939, when I ceased to be Foreign Secretary, and I feel that it would be presumptuous to say more than that the N.W.F.P., including the tribal areas, has been remarkably peaceful and well-behaved during the five years of war. This is the more remarkable when we remember the strenuous efforts made by hostile agents in Afghanistan well supplied with money and weapons to create trouble on the Frontier through the Faqir of Ipi and his followers. For the failure of those efforts we have to thank on the one hand the determination of the Afghan Government to prevent their neutrality from being compromised, and on the other hand the patient and wise handling of many difficult situations by the Governor, Sir George Cunningham, who has been head of the Administration for the last seven years.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, on Thursday, January 25, 1945, with Sir CLAUDE GIDNEY, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., in the chair, to hear the foregoing address on "Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier in Wartime."

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, said that most of his service had been spent in the country about which he was to speak, and by reason of the happy alternation between executive and administrative posts which obtained on the North-West Frontier he had held most of the responsible appointments in that Province, until, after a long tenure as Foreign Secretary, he finally became A.G.G. in Baluchistan. He was therefore well qualified to talk on the subject he had chosen that afternoon, and, as he had only recently given up his appointment, he spoke not only from first-hand knowledge but from recent experience.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that a few years ago it would have seemed impossible that we should need to be reminded that we still possessed a North-West Frontier in India, and that a reminder was necessary served to point the contrast between the tale of events during this war and that of the last. Had history repeated itself we might have found ourselves battling in India on two fronts, and this would have imposed an intolerable strain upon the resources of our empire, which were strained

to the uttermost in 1942 and ill-prepared to meet the challenge of another first-class power.

As Sir Aubrey had pointed out, there were several contributory causes to this very satisfactory state of affairs. Chief among them was the fact that we were not involved in hostilities with any Muslim power; on the contrary, relations with neighbouring Muslim countries had been friendly; in particular, Afghanistan. But the goodwill and co-operation of the tribesmen themselves must not be forgotten. Readers of Wendell Wilkie's book *One World* would remember that he claimed that the Americans had built up for themselves a "reservoir of goodwill" in many parts of the world. Perhaps events had proved that we had not done too badly ourselves in that respect, and perhaps there was some good in that very much debated and hotly argued policy—the "forward policy."

The record of the two frontiers during the five years of war had been remarkable, and this was particularly the case in the North-West Frontier Province, because so recently as 1937-38 part of that frontier had been gravely disturbed by the activities of the Fakir of Ipi, and it took quite a large number of troops to control these disturbances. It could be said, therefore, that the "forward policy" had stood the test, and a tribute was due to the officers, from the Governor downwards, who had made it a success.

Sir Aubrey had with a proper regard for relevancy confined himself rather strictly to his subject, but perhaps he (the Chairman) might be permitted to be a little less relevant. Those who had served in these two Provinces were very interested in their future, and with the war drawing to a close it was natural to turn to possible post-war developments. Much must depend upon the answer to the question as to whether India would remain united or whether, as H.E. the Viceroy had phrased it, the political doctors would decide that a major surgical operation in the shape of Pakistan was necessary. There were many reasons why the unity which had been built up during the last 150 years should be preserved; we believed that the work done had been for the benefit of India and was worth preserving, but there was another and more cogent reason arising out of the war, which was that a unified India would have a very vital part to play in the post-war future of the Far East and would thereby rise to her full stature as one of the most important units of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Indeed, we needed India to play as strong a part as possible on this wide and difficult international stage because it was doubtful whether China, after seven or eight years' exhausting struggle, would be able to emerge at once into the post-war scene as a strong, united, and first-class power. But, if India was to be effective for this purpose, her unity must be a genuine one, and by that was meant a unity that had been agreed upon and accepted by the majority of Indians—not an artificial, patched up and uneasy unity, with a strong and discontented minority anxious to break it at the earliest opportunity. Too much of that kind of thing had been seen in Europe for anyone to wish to see it repeated in India. If such a unity was not to be attained, there might possibly be advantages in Pakistan, not only from the point of view of these two Provinces, but also from the wider point of view of the peace and stability of the Middle East.

As for Baluchistan, an A.G.G., in reply to a question as to what we did there, said, "Well, principally we keep the peace," and when one looked round on the scene today perhaps keeping the peace was no small achievement.

Sir Aubrey had pointed out that progress should not be too rapid. There was danger in too much Indian or Indo-British political wine being poured into old frontier bottles. Much had been done in the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province and the experiment had been successful—much more so than some had anticipated. Baluchistan and the tribal area of the North-West Frontier were, however, a different case; what he had in mind was the fear that, if these areas were to be brought into the new constitutional scheme, things might move too fast and a modern administration be set up, quite unsuited to them, with many of the concomitant and consequential evils of a modern administration. Two examples were the evil of debt and the lawyer-ridden judicial system. To a certain extent Baluchistan had been able to avoid one of those evils; with regard to the other he did not know to what extent it had been able to do so, but he was certain that during the hundred

years we had administered the North-West Frontier the agricultural debt had increased tremendously, and this was not a credit to our administration.

Those who had read Herbert Edwards' *Year on the Punjab Frontier* would remember how the tribesmen in those days had certain rough-and-ready means of debt-control, but these methods could not be countenanced nowadays, and other means would have to be found. Other means had indeed been tried, but they were not drastic enough, nor had they been worked wholeheartedly enough, and he hoped something could yet be done in the short time left.

Anyhow, if the administration was to be radically altered it was to be hoped that the tribesmen themselves would have some voice in deciding what form of administration was best suited to them. He remembered the late Sir Abdul Qaiyum saying that the tribesmen should be persuaded to look more towards Delhi and less backwards over their shoulder. He was speaking more particularly of the settled districts of the North-West Frontier Province, and the grant of constitutional reforms and perhaps, too, the activities of the "Frontier Gandhi"—Abdul Ghaffar Khan—had helped in that direction. He doubted, however, whether the tribesmen of the North-West Frontier Province tribal area were any more interested in the political and communal quarrels of India than were the tribesmen of Baluchistan, or wished to be drawn into them. He could see, therefore, no little difficulty in fitting them into the constitutional scheme, and, if a Pakistan Government had to come, it might be able to solve it by reason of its closer geographical proximity and therefore more knowledgeable and sympathetic understanding of tribal needs and aspirations. But with one foot in Calcutta and the other in the frontier Pakistan would be a sprawling form of government and care would have to be taken to see that too much weight was not put on one foot.

Sir NORMAN CATER said that Sir Aubrey had shown that in time of war from its geographical position Baluchistan was not unimportant and that it had its own problems. He himself served in Baluchistan during the last war, and it was interesting to note that the problems were very much the same as they were in this one. Perhaps the last war was a time of greater anxiety because we had against us the great Muslim power of Turkey, the attitude of Afghanistan was doubtful, and there were some active and efficient enemy agents at work in Persia who succeeded in stirring up a good deal of trouble. There were one or two risings, but apart from this Baluchistan remained perfectly quiet.

He would not claim that the administration of Baluchistan was perfect, but it had come through two wars with very little trouble and disturbance, so that there could not be very much wrong with it. With regard to political agitation his experience was very much the same as Sir Aubrey's; there was very little of it, and what there was was engineered and fomented from outside. He was glad to hear the name "Sandeman" mentioned at the end of Sir Aubrey's remarks because one was apt to forget the great men of the past, and it was Sir Robert Sandeman who was the founder and author of a system of administration which had lasted for some seventy or eighty years, and which had brought Baluchistan through two wars with a minimum of trouble and disturbance.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON said that the Afghan frontier had for a hundred years been a danger spot from the point of view of British military strategy. People in this country did not realize what they owed to administrators like Sir Aubrey Metcalfe and Sir George Cunningham for what they had done in maintaining peace on that turbulent borderland. The danger was all the greater during this war, because had the Germans caused trouble among the frontier tribes several Indian divisions would have been pinned down on the border, which could have been used to much greater effect elsewhere—e.g., in the Mediterranean area. In order to cause unrest the Germans sent agents to Afghanistan years before the war—engineers, technicians, diplomatic agents. The engineers helped the Afghans to set up hydro-electric installations to start factories, and so on—work which the British should have done. To make the scheme a success it was necessary for the Germans to ensure the co-operation of the Afghan Government, and in order to induce that Government to co-operate they

offered them the glittering prize of the lost provinces of Afghanistan when the Germans had won the war—Sind, the N.W. Frontier Province, and Baluchistan.

Their efforts failed, and for reasons which the lecturer and Chairman had given, the Afghans desired to maintain friendship with Britain. Their Prime Minister had stood loyally by the treaty; peace still reigned on the borderland. What about the future? Who would protect what was our one great imperial land frontier? Would an Indian Government, self-governing or independent, be able to undertake the obligation? He thought it was very doubtful in the early days of its career. If India were divided was it possible that Pakistan and Mr. Jinnah would be an efficient barrier between the militant Islam of the Afghan frontier and Hindu India? He doubted whether the Hindus would think so. It seemed, then, that the responsibility would fall again on British shoulders on such terms as might be concluded with whatever Government was set up in India, independent or otherwise. There might be a treaty similar to the treaty with Egypt. He thought the Afghans would welcome some such solution. Three years ago when he was in Kabul he got the impression that the Afghans regarded with some concern the possibility of an independent or semi-independent Government in Delhi, predominantly Hindu; they felt that such a Government would not be likely to give them much sympathy and moral or material support when they most needed it. The Afghans liked to feel that there was a strong military power behind them.

The problem of the Afghan borderland was economic; it would not be solved until Afghanistan was economically developed. The only means of ensuring such development would be an economic partnership between Afghanistan and Britain. The Afghans would welcome such a partnership. Britain had a civilizing mission of goodwill and peace on the Afghan frontier, and he hoped there would be an opportunity in the future of carrying out that mission.

SIR LANCELOT GRAHAM said that he had been a neighbour of Baluchistan and had enjoyed the hospitality of Sir Aubrey Metcalfe and his predecessor. Sind must offer a very tempting opportunity to the raiding propensities of the Baluchis, and it was a great tribute to the administration of Baluchistan that there was so little trouble in that direction.

He wished to ask why there was a Baluchi Regiment in which there were no Baluchis. In reply to questions he put at the headquarters of the regiment he was told that the Baluchi was a magnificent and brave fellow, but he did not like leaving his country and he found it difficult to absorb discipline. He was anxious to promote the war effort of the Province of Sind, and thought a battalion of Baluchis could be raised from amongst those living in Sind, but was told that the problem was quite insoluble. He took it quite to heart, and believed that the Baluchis would have liked to play a more prominent part in hostilities.

He would mention one or two small points, the first of which was the extraordinary complication of the political and constitutional arrangements in Baluchistan. What would happen under the new constitution if and when Baluchistan came in he did not know. He would not set up Sind as a model of good administration, but it might be the fate of Baluchistan to be amalgamated with Sind.

Sir Aubrey had carefully restricted himself to the subject of his lecture, but as the Chairman had set a precedent for going outside that subject, he would say of Baluchistan, whether in war or peace, or in times of stress such as earthquakes, some very remarkable things were done by one of the most remarkable men who ever went to Baluchistan—Sir Henry Holland. Apart from being a genius as an operator he had a most amazing capacity for making his victims positively enjoy the operation. Those who saw his work during the earthquake were amazed that a man so shattered could play such a magnificent part. He had also played a predominant part in the war effort on the civil side in Quetta and Baluchistan.

Sir Lancelot Graham concluded by saying that he wished to pay a warm tribute to the administrators of Baluchistan.

Col. Sir CUSACK WALTON asked if the buildings in Quetta had been reconstructed to withstand earthquake shocks.

Sir AUBREY METCALFE, in reply to the discussion, said that practically all military buildings were constructed of blocks of concrete welded together in steel framework, and they stood up extremely well to earthquakes. The only trouble was that some of the plaster inside the houses came down. Another and more interesting form of anti-earthquake construction, which was adopted mainly in civil buildings, was invented by Mr. Oddin Taylor, and this system had been adopted in England and was known as the "Quetta Bond." It had been used for air-raid shelters in England with success, and consisted of bricks bound together with steel lathes and concrete tension bands. There was a bad earthquake at Quetta in 1942, but no one was hurt, and in the earthquake-proof houses there was complete security.

The other points made in the discussion had made him realize how many gaps there were in what he had said and what a great number of other subjects he should have touched upon. The question of Pakistan and defence had been mentioned, but this problem was dismissed in a very airy fashion by all promoters of Pakistan because, they said, they would be on such good terms with all their Muslim neighbours that defence would not be necessary.

Sir Lancelot Graham had answered his own question with regard to the Baluchi Regiment, and, as Governor of Sind, had done something towards employing Baluchis by recruiting them to a special police force in Sind. Legal difficulties were as great as Sir Lancelot had indicated: some form of extradition between Sind and Baluchistan had been rendered necessary by decisions of the Sind High Court, but that difficulty had been surmounted by legislation.

Sol. Sir CUSACK WALTON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and Lecturer. The lecture had brought back happy memories of a country which was quite unique in many ways. The vote of thanks was accorded by applause and the meeting terminated.

IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA IN THE WAR YEARS

BY SIR EVELYN WRENCH, C.M.G.

(Lately America Relations Officer to the Government of India.)

THE object of my address to you this afternoon is to give some general impressions of India and its varied problems, derived during two and a half years spent in that country. The Indian problem has, I know, been described as "the greatest political problem of our time," and I realize that in accepting the invitation of the East India Association it might appear as if I considered myself able to speak with expert authority on the great political drama that is taking place in the Indian sub-continent. That is certainly not the case. A lifetime's sojourn in India would be little enough to qualify oneself to be so regarded. Ever since the Round Table Conferences, when I met most of the Indian delegates, a number of whom are personal friends, I have kept in touch with the changing Indian scene, and I took to India a deep interest in her peoples and her problems dating back many years.

My wife and I arrived in India in November, 1941, just a month before Pearl Harbour. My first six months were spent in studying Indian problems from Cape Comorin to Khyber, and meeting most of the leaders. We paid two visits to Mahatma Gandhi at his Ashram. I had talks with Mr. Jinnah in Bombay and Delhi and discussed India's problems and aspirations with Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Untouchables, Mr. Rajagopalachariar, Mr. Jayakar and very many others in British India and many of the Indian Princes. We were private individuals, beholden to no one, and paying our own expenses.

LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER

It was only half a year after our arrival, when we were about to return to Great Britain via South Africa, that Lord Linlithgow, the ex-Viceroy, invited me to become America Relations Officer, an offer which made a great appeal to me. I was attached to the External Affairs Department and worked under Sir Olaf Caroe. The job was specially created to deal with the countless problems arising as a result of American participation in the war and the presence of large numbers of Americans in India. Apart from two short periods of leave, we spent two years at Delhi, including two hot weathers in the Plains.

I endeavoured to approach Indian problems with a mind free of prejudice, and I liked to think that I had been one of the first British journalists to advocate the granting to India of Dominion Status before the Round Table Conferences. I had once been in India before for a visit for a few weeks, though as most of my time was spent in hospital, when we steamed up the Hooghly to Calcutta in November, 1941, it was as though I were receiving the great impact of India for the first time. It is an experience not vouchsafed to many, I imagine, to become a small cog in the machinery of the Government of India in their sixtieth year. India is said to cast her spell over the lives of most of those who seek to serve her; she certainly did so in my case, and I often get a sense of nostalgia for Old Delhi and the Indian scene. All my life I have believed that India, or the Indias, and Great Britain can achieve much for the advancement of civilization as partners in the British Commonwealth. My stay in India only confirmed me in that belief.

We have much to learn from India, for there is a real danger in the West of our becoming engulfed in "an all-embracing materialism." The peoples of India have a faculty for emphasizing spiritual values which we would do well to bear in mind. I constantly heard Indians deplore the fact that many of the present generation of Englishmen living in India seemed to have discarded their belief in Christianity. In Mr. Gandhi's room in the Ashram of Sevagram I noticed a picture of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. The sobriety of India with regard to alcohol impressed me deeply; during our stay I never saw a drunken Indian. I also firmly believe that India has much to learn from us.

How can I sum up the welter of impressions I received from the first day on which I walked up the stone steps of the great secretariat building, leading to the External Affairs Department in New Delhi, with very much the sensations of a new boy going to school, to two years later when it was time for me to say farewell to my colleagues, both Indian and British?

THE INDIAN SCENE

Incredible India is a land of contrasts, with almost every variety of scenery from the vast ranges of the Himalayas and the Hindu Kush to the teeming tropics of Travancore; from the inhospitable and barren fastnesses of the North-West Frontier to the parched deserts of Sind and Central India; from the wonderful architectural triumphs, created when the Mongol Emperors were at their zenith, to the wayside hovels of the Untouchables.

Two indelible impressions are of the beauty of the flowering trees in India and of the richness of the Indian bird life. No words can do justice to Indian gardens and flowering trees and shrubs before the scorching suns of April and May have had time to transform the soil into barren wastes of brown earth. It is impossible not to indulge in hyperbole when one recalls the beauty of the highways, lined with *Poinziana regia* or with *Jacaranda*, or of the *Bombax* tree ablaze in early spring with crimson blossoms, whither the birds come to suck the nectar from the hearts of the flowers.

The birds of India were an ever-constant joy. For the most part they seemed unafraid of human beings and to realize that mankind had no unfriendly designs on their freedom. I have spent hours watching them, from the vulture aloft in the bare branches of trees, the golden orioles and Paradise fly-catchers to the fairy-like hoopoes tapping the ground with their beaks in the old-world garden of the Residency at

Srinagar and elsewhere. In many parts of India I have been bewitched by the beauty of the flocks of emerald green parrots as they flew homewards in their thousands in the setting sun.

A couple of weeks after arriving in India we were invited by the Maharaj Rana of Dohlpur to stay with him and visit his game sanctuary, and there, in the heart of the jungle, the outside world seemed very remote. We found ourselves in an animal kingdom recalling boyish memories of the Jungle Books. We made friends with sambhar, deer, antelope, blue foxes and wild pig. It was hardly possible to hear ourselves speak in the midst of the chorus of ke-ows coming from the peacocks on all sides.

The memory of the roads of India will always be with me, from the Grand Trunk Road to the rural tracks, inches deep in dust in the dry weather. On every road and in every part of India there was an endless procession of sedate teams of lovely blue-grey and white Indian cattle, who bear so many of India's burdens. Those hard-working cattle typify for me the patience of the Indian masses.

LORD LINLITHGOW AND THE PEASANTRY

Perhaps the greatest impact made was of the unremitting toil of the Indian peasant. India is, above all things, an agricultural community, a land of small villages; there are 700,000 of them. India's greatest problem is how to improve the status of the peasants and ensure that in return for their ceaseless toil they receive a more adequate share of the good things of life. The coming of the war in 1939 prevented Lord Linlithgow from putting into effect some of the reforms for the betterment of Indian village life, so near his heart and based on his wide experience. Since my return to England I deeply regret to find an inadequate appreciation here of the great services the ex-Viceroy rendered both to India and the Empire in those very critical war years.

India's rural problems are very many, and if only as much energy could be applied to their solution as is directed by certain individuals towards stirring up hate of their opponents their solution would be much nearer. In no part of the world is the evil of soil erosion more prevalent. There is urgent need for raising the general subsistence level of the community; the population of India increases at the rate of five millions annually. It is essential not only to improve the methods of agriculture but to put a check on the bringing of vast numbers of human beings into the world doomed to a life of slavery. The great superfluity in the cattle population is another baffling problem. It is questionable whether it will ever be possible to establish a really satisfactory rural economy so long as cattle manure is used as fuel instead of as a fertilizer.

Before turning to the constitutional problem I should like to say a few words on the relations existing between the British and the Indian peoples. Firstly, I know it is popular very often to decry the I.C.S. official. As a matter of fact I have rarely been more impressed by any group of men than by the I.C.S. officials, whom I met in all parts of the country; for the most part the British-born officials have entirely espoused the welfare of India, and two of the most enthusiastic workers for the betterment of India that I have ever met were Englishmen, one of whom is a crusader for the cause of the uplift of rural India.

SOCIAL RELATIONS

There is one problem, however, which I think should be mentioned which is of comparatively recent growth and probably due to the fact that, owing to frequent leaves, the British resident in India, official or commercial, nowadays brings his family with him, and therefore tends to lead a self-contained existence. There are, of course, many Englishwomen, especially officials, doctors, missionaries and educationists, who have many India contacts and take a deep interest in Indian welfare, but in all parts of India I heard, both from Hindu and Muslim, a criticism that many British women consort almost exclusively with their own countrywomen, and there is but little social mingling between Indian and British women. There may have been mistakes on both sides, but it cannot be good for Indo-British relations to have these

groups of "foreigners" in India leading their own lives and playing no part in the problems of the community in which they find themselves.

THE CRIPPS MISSION

May I now turn to India's constitutional problem and make a few general observations? In the first place, as I often sought to explain to American inquirers, if India does not today possess Dominion Status it is not the fault of the British Government. At the time of the Round Table Conferences nine-tenths of the problems at issue had been settled, and there certainly would have been an agreement if it had not been for Mr. Gandhi's attitude. To come to more recent times, many of the Hindus whom I met agreed that a great mistake was made in October, 1939, when the Congress Ministries throughout India resigned, and the third occasion was when the Congress leaders deliberately turned their backs on the possibility of a settlement at the time of the Cripps Proposals. I was in Delhi during those dramatic days, and at one moment there was general belief that we were on the eve of a settlement. There are many politicians in India today who think that a great mistake was made by those of their leaders who were responsible for turning down the Cripps offer and thereby made inevitable its withdrawal. However, crying over spilt milk will not get us very far.

What ought we to do at the present time? The first thing to do is, I think, to realize the diversity of India—a fact which many of the Government's critics in Great Britain fail to realize. Disappointment is certain, in my opinion, to meet the efforts of all those who continue to treat India as a single unit. To establish a strong and central Government in India is almost like attempting to set up a central Government in Europe. There is quite as much diversity in India as in Europe. One of India's best-known men said to me: "The British and the Germans have more in common than the Hindus and the Muslims."

THE PYRAMID

For most of my life I have studied minority problems throughout the British Commonwealth. Certainly the experience of the Dominions in the British Commonwealth, and also, if we look back to the momentous days of the creation of the American Union, the original thirteen colonies, shows us that success would never have been achieved if an attempt had been made to build *the pyramid from the top and not from the bottom*. Strong and enduring federations are not built in a minute. It is necessary first to lay sound foundations. The experience of the English-speaking world surely teaches us that it would have been impossible to achieve a workable federation unless the units had already been practised in the arts of local self-government.

What I suggest, therefore is that for a period of, say, from five to ten years the problem of devising the future central confederation or federation of India should be left over. In the immediate future attention should be concentrated on getting local autonomy working throughout the entire Indian sub-continent. But before this consummation can be achieved the grievances of the minorities must be removed. The right of Hindu India to control its own destiny forthwith must be acknowledged, as must the right of the greater part of Muslim India to nationhood. A great Muslim free state in North-West India is inevitable, and can play a great part in bringing stability to Southern Asia. This is not the place for a detailed statement as to all the problems involved in Muslim India's claim to Pakistan. I remember on one occasion asking that very wise statesman, the late Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, how far he went with the Pakistan ideal; he replied, seventy-five per cent.

The fear complex is at the root of many of India's present problems, and I am convinced that the chief test of British statesmanship will be to show that it can remove the fear complex from the Muslims and assure them that Great Britain will welcome as a partner state, within the Commonwealth, those sections of India with a sixty-five per cent. population of Muslims.

I am anxious only to give my suggestions in the broadest outline; if we once

realize that each racial group has its rights, we must also accord the rights of an Ulster to a Sikhistan within a larger Muslim State.

Next comes the problem of the Untouchables, a "minority" of from fifty to sixty millions; their problem is more complicated because they are scattered far and wide and do not occupy any one clearly defined territory—their miserable settlements are to be found outside almost every village in central and south India. The British Government has a great responsibility to see that justice is done to them, and so has Hindu India, for the caste system is not a British importation, but an indigenous growth. A large sum of money should be set aside by all India to be devoted to the higher education of the Untouchables, and to provide for a great scheme of colonization for the Depressed classes on territory to be made available for this purpose and carried out under expert guidance.

THE INDIAN STATES

The claims of the Indian States must also be remembered. For many years they have been bound to the British Crown by treaties, and there can be no satisfactory settlement in India unless their claims are constantly borne in mind. The leading States should be granted Dominion Status, and the four or five hundred of the smaller States, without adequate resources, should be grouped together in several Dominions under the Crown, or added to the nearest Province with which respectively they have racial or linguistic affiliations. A committee representing the larger States, nominees of the Crown and delegates of British India, should advise on the gradual reduction of their number.

FOUR REGIONAL SPHERES

After the war for several years there will be a period of the redrawing of boundaries on a global scale. For that reason I have suggested that during this period all our efforts should be concentrated on getting local government as near to Dominion Status as possible to function in Hindu India, Muslim India, the Indian States and Sikh India. During this interregnum the reserved subjects of foreign affairs, defence, internal and external, and customs, should be undertaken by the Government of India in consultation with the British Government. During this period India would be safeguarded from external aggression by the Indian Armed Forces, those of Great Britain and of the Dominions, provided they are prepared to lend a hand. Enlightened statesmanship should be able to remove the Muslim fear complex, for once North-West India was a Muslim Dominion there would be no danger of Hindu India seeking to relegate it to a subordinate position. I venture to think once Hindu India and Muslim India are successfully governing themselves, apart from the three reserved subjects, that before the five- to ten-year period, which I have suggested, has elapsed, Hindu India and Muslim India, the Indian States, and the other Indian Provinces, would be able to hammer out an all-India federation at the Conference table.

The self-governing Provinces of British India, with a Hindu majority, would probably unite together to create Hindustan, which with a population of probably two hundred and fifty millions, would be the largest country in the world apart from China.

During the five- to ten-year interregnum every effort should be made to stimulate all-India co-operation, and an all-India advisory council should be established to consider all-India problems, such as transport and communications, health, hygiene, drought, and combined action in the case of plague, locusts and other matters of all-India concern.

India's present difficulties, so it seems to me, are largely due to an effort to regard India as a unit when no real unity, once the British Raj were removed, exists. I have heard on various occasions India's geographical unity urged, but on other continents contiguity has not implied unity. The South American continent is not a unit, despite its common faith, the Roman Catholic religion, and despite the fact that it speaks the Spanish language, with the exception of Portuguese Brazil. Political unity depends primarily on historic background and psychological conditions.

The proposals contained in the Cripps offer, by which I am quite sure the British

Government still stands, are proof that the people of Great Britain have no desire to impose membership in the British Commonwealth on the peoples of India against their will. They want the peoples of India to control their own destiny. But the British Government has a great responsibility, which is to be quite certain that when the moment comes for settling India's constitutional future the rights of every section of that vast country must be borne in mind.

I, for one, hope that a great and glorious future lies before the Indias; I also hope that the various Indias will remain in close association with each other and with the British Empire. If Indian unity is our goal, as it certainly should be, I am convinced that it will only be achieved by following some such plan as I have ventured to outline.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

THE HON. SECRETARY (Sir Frank Brown) announced that the Earl of Listowel, who was to have taken the Chair, was prevented from so doing owing to having charge of a Government measure in the House of Lords. In his place Sir Zafrulla Khan had kindly consented to preside.

SIR ZAFRULLA KHAN, in introducing Sir Evelyn Wrench, spoke of what he had done to promote goodwill and understanding. He was the founder both of the Overseas League and the English-Speaking Union, and a journalist of wide experience on a high and serious level. He went out to India during the war to see things for himself, and was asked to take on the job of American Relations Officer. The advent of the Americans in India during the war had created a many-sided problem, not only for the Government of India, but also for the British and for those Indians who had come into contact with them.

After the address by Sir EVELYN WRENCH,

THE CHAIRMAN said that the author had succeeded in transporting his audience from London to various parts of India by means of a succession of pictures which he had painted with a sure hand. He had touched upon matters both grave and gay. He himself was now holding a judicial position in India, and he was not at liberty to touch even upon comparatively innocuous problems, though he did not see why a judge of the Federal Court as constituted today, with its limited jurisdiction, should really fight shy of holding forth on general matters if he wished to do so.

Sir Evelyn had started with an expression of pride in what was known as the British Commonwealth of Nations. That feeling of pride he fully shared, though he would not have gone so far as to say to some people, "If you don't like it, then for God's sake get out of it." If the Indians began to study where they would get away *to*, rather than from whom they would get away, they might not be so enthusiastic about getting away at all.

He agreed that the key to some of the biggest Indian problems was through the village, and unless these 700,000 villages were made easily accessible and given a reasonable standard of public health, and more interest was introduced into the life of the peasant, whether by literacy or by a more extensive development of the radio, the tendency to leave the villages so far as the more enlightened people were concerned would continue.

On the subject of constitution-making—which was not quite politics, but dangerously near it—he agreed with Sir Evelyn Wrench that if it was at all possible to get by agreement among the Indian communities a centre of any sort at all it would have to be, at least to start with, a centre with strictly limited powers, and therefore, from some points of view, a weak centre. But he would confirm him in his impression

from his experience that even if the centre started in a weak position it tended with the passage of time to gather power unto itself. If people began to learn to work together and trust each other the centre gradually became stronger than the strict letter of the constitution would have made it. In order to get any kind of centre it was absolutely necessary to take away the complex of fear and distrust.

There was one aspect of working together which no doubt was sometimes lost sight of, that however limited the powers of the centre with regard to what it could do of its own volition, a centre must leave room for voluntary co-operation between the units, and if the various units worked together, then much could be accomplished, without compulsion, for which the constitution did not provide.

Sir TORICK AMEER ALI said that Sir Evelyn Wrench had spared them some of the graver repercussions of the war in India—namely, famine, the abnormal rise in prices, and the spread of disease as a result of famine. He had made a reference in his paper to the unremitting industry of the Indian peasant. He was glad of that reference because it might help to counteract an impression which would be conveyed by the British Army on its return to England (not a first but a last impression), that the Indian people are lazy. His own happiest holidays were spent on the Madras Coast, and he had never seen such a day's work put in by anybody as was accomplished by the Telegu fishermen of that Coast.

On another point he differed from Sir Evelyn, who had said that no Indian ever got drunk. That was not true. The Telegu fisherman himself was an example. When one first visited the east coast of India one heard an animated altercation between the women who were waiting and the men landing. The explanation was that the Telegu fisherman sold his fish to his wife. What she paid him was his "drink money"; she took the fish to market, perhaps fifteen miles away, and retained the whole price to spend on the household. It seemed a very good arrangement.

He also took the liberty of differing from Sir Evelyn Wrench on the question of social relations. He did not agree that this was a new problem. It was stressed in very clear and incisive language by a distant ancestor of his own in 1776, Gholam Hussein Khan of Patna, in a book he wrote at that time, and again in a letter written just a hundred years ago by a great Englishman, Colonel Sleeman, in which he said: "We need not fear political dangers. The country is so divided that there are always differences of opinion. What we must guard against most carefully are dangers of a social nature which may affect all classes and creeds." But for those dangers the political difficulties with which we were faced, in his humble opinion, might not have arisen.

He had been interested in what Sir Evelyn Wrench had said about contact between Indian and British women. Personally, the thought there was more of that than between the men of both nations was partly due to misconception in authoritative circles to the effect that the Indian female was less dangerous than the Indian male. Sir Evelyn Wrench, who appeared to have followed the agricultural reforms of Lord Linlithgow, should know that the Indian cow was much fiercer than the English cow and the Indian bull much tamer than the English bull.

On the subject of the Indian Civil Service, he endorsed what had been said as to conscientious and able officials. On the other hand, the Indian official, whether British or Indian, lived at a time and under conditions which stood in the way of first-class achievement. There was an atmosphere of impending collapse, a *fin de deux siècle* atmosphere. There was a state of affairs which always made it possible for a man who was not of the strongest character to shelve responsibility. In the highest circles of all, for example, the Government of India could always say it was the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of State could always say it was the Government of India. If one went to the Secretary in the local Government, it was always "my Minister"; if one went to the Minister, it was "my Secretary." Lastly, there was an available universal excuse for apathy. Indians (at any rate in political circles) were apt to say it was no use trying while the English were there. The Englishmen (when not of the first or second rank) were apt to say, "What is the good of trying with these Indians here?" The result was that our joint level of effort was not the highest. There was a further difficulty in their way. They were separated from the rest of

humanity by a wall of paper—the finest insulating material in the world. They were separated from reality by a certain want of humour.

Sir HENRY CRAIK desired first of all to thank Sir Evelyn Wrench for his most characteristically personal if slightly discursive address. He would like to tell the audience the story of Sir Evelyn Wrench's first approach to what he had called the formidable portals of the Secretariat at Delhi. Actually Sir Evelyn had to sit in what he would not describe as an office; it was merely a small part of the corridor walled off with a wooden partition, and here he existed in a temperature of anything up to 120 degrees in the shade, with no artificial cooling, and in winter with little or no heating. He had to deal with a difficult problem, the invasion of India by swarms of American journalists, most of them supremely ignorant and magnificently cocksure, and only too ready to tell them exactly how they ought to run the country. It was Sir Evelyn Wrench's work in the world to keep these journalists tactfully on the right lines. Sometimes he came to the speaker and suggested that a particular journalist be given facilities to visit some of the States. Occasionally such facilities were abused. He remembered one case where a journalist who had gone under his auspices to one of the most important States in India wrote an article in atrocious taste which would have given great offence to that State if it had ever appeared. Sir Evelyn brought the draft of the article to him and suggested that he might like to blue pencil it. After reading it, he said, "No, this is not a case for a blue pencil; nothing of this can go through," and Sir Evelyn had the task of communicating this decision to the author.

He did not want to follow Sir Evelyn in the more constructive parts of his paper, but he would suggest that there was a great deal to be said for the point of view that they ought to begin by building up from the Provinces. The general opinion about India was that the Act of 1935 had broken down altogether. That was not true at all. In some Provinces the provincial side of the Act was still working perfectly well. In his own Province, the Punjab, it had throughout been a great success. They had had a stable Government, with no changes for more than seven years. In certain respects it might be that the standard of administration was possibly not quite so efficient as it used to be. There might be a little more nepotism, a little lowering of standards in that and other respects. But, on the whole, the Government had worked without serious disturbance, order had been maintained, a great deal of most excellent administrative improvements had been made, much useful social and economic legislation had been passed, and, above all, there had been a tremendous quickening of political consciousness and interest in public affairs on the part of the ordinary people. That was an example of what a local government constituted under the present Act could achieve if the Act was properly worked. It was due to the fact that the all-India communal organizations which were the greatest obstacle to progress had little hold on the Province, and that the great political caucuses, often dominated by a single personality, did not count to any great extent. In the Punjab the Ministry had always been, and still was, a coalition of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh elements, which on the whole had worked very harmoniously.

The speaker would like to add a word on the future of the States. It was very easy to sneer at the States as the domain of despots who abused their privileges and were entirely autocratic. That was a cheap form of sneer, and certainly not generally justified. No doubt in some States the administration was far from perfect. In some of them the Ruler still occasionally abused his powers, though such abuse was generally followed by swift retribution. But it should never be forgotten that when British fortunes were at their very lowest, when Germany had overrun the Low Countries and France had collapsed, and Britain stood absolutely alone, the States came forward to our help with everything they had. They gave unstinted and generous assistance in men, money and, indeed, every kind of help. It was not perhaps fully realized in this country what sacrifices the States had made. Take Mysore. Mysore had become the headquarters of one of the greatest armies in India. He supposed that hundreds of square miles of that State had had to be given up to aerodromes, cantonments, bombing practice grounds, aeroplane factories, and the like, while thousands of private houses and State buildings had been taken for the purpose

of the war. But the State had agreed to all this with the utmost readiness, without a murmur, and for the most part without financial compensation.

Some of the smaller States were now generally admitted to be anachronisms, and probably the best solution for them and their subjects would be their absorption into their larger neighbours. But he earnestly hoped that the great States would be preserved, and that we should do our best to honour our obligations and our treaty undertakings to them.

Mr. HUGH MOLSON, M.P., said that listening to Sir Evelyn Wrench talking about his friendly relations with India, and knowing, as some of them did, the valuable liaison work which he carried through when the Americans first went into India, he felt it incumbent on him first to pay a tribute to Sir Evelyn for his tactful and devoted work. He wanted only to refer briefly from the political and constitutional point of view to the constructive proposals which he had put forward for dealing with the Indian problem as it faced them today. He only did so because he had noticed a general tendency to despair of the possibility of preserving the unity of India.

With great respect, he differed from Sir Evelyn Wrench in taking as analogous with the present position of India the origins of the United States of America or the Australian Commonwealth. In those cases statesmen started with a large number of scattered colonies which it was necessary to unify and bring together. In the case of India, whatever might be the criticisms of British rule during the last two centuries, at any rate the unity which Britain had given to India had been of inestimable benefit. When Sir Evelyn referred to Europe, he would compare the happy position of India which enjoyed this unity with the devastation which had taken place in Europe twice in one lifetime. Surely here in Europe the most idealistic and progressive minds were devoting themselves to devising some machinery to unify the many diverse European nations and also to bring the economic advantages which undoubtedly would result if they were all in one single economic union, protected by one customs barrier and enjoying the blessings of free trade. He regarded as a counsel of despair the idea of breaking India into three or four different political and economic units.

Sir Evelyn Wrench, like many of those who had written on the subject before, did not face up to any of the practical difficulties. How was it possible, for example, to talk about an intermediate period during which a Government of India would continue and would deal with customs in consultation with the British Government? A matter of that kind could not be dealt with in consultation with another Government. The Government of India must either be responsible to some electorate or other in India or to the Secretary of State and to Parliament in this country. How could there be one authority dealing with the customs while another was responsible for the whole economic policy and industrial development of India? How would it be possible to deal with problems like irrigation, and so on, when it might very well be that the political boundaries would cut right across a single irrigation scheme?

Therefore he would enter a mild protest. It might well be that in their desire to solve what were apparently at present the insoluble problems of India they would be driven as a last resort to acquiesce in the break-up of India and its reduction to the miserable state of affairs obtaining in South America or in Europe. But he would be very sorry indeed to regard as inevitable the final break-up of what he believed to have been the greatest and most indisputable contribution that this country had given to India, and the greatest hope which did exist for the future peace and prosperity of all the Indian peoples.

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that Mr. Hugh Molson had anticipated much of what he had intended to say. Planning, he felt, was in danger of becoming a national vice in India. Sir Evelyn Wrench had come forward with his own plan, to which he had listened with attention and with the measured admiration which it deserved. Unfortunately, he found Sir Evelyn most obscure where clearness was most desirable. Sir Evelyn had divided India into four parts, but he had not told them what was to be the Central Government controlling those four parts. He had given them no indication of how that Central Government was to come into existence. It could be created only by the goodwill of his four Indias, and the very existence of those Indias would

deny the possibility of such co-operation. For the Central Government to continue as at present was frankly impossible. It was weak enough as it was; it could not exist at all, or direct the affairs of India, if India were divided.

What Sir Evelyn Wrench had done in his building from the bottom was to leave his structure without a roof and exposed to every storm that blows. Nor did Sir Alfred understand his reference to "building the pyramid from the top" so far as it applied to what had been done in India as compared with what had been done in the greater colonies. They had built up gradually in India from the local government, through representative and responsible government, finally attaining to full provincial autonomy. Had the Act of 1935 been carried out—had the Indians been willing to carry it out—India today would be federated and have complete Dominion status. They had built so far, but the coping stone still remained to be placed on the building, and it could be placed there only by Indian hands.

Sir Evelyn seemed to him to scatter into fragments the jig-saw puzzle which was India just as they were hoping to fit the last pieces into place. He did not seem to grasp what Pakistan implied. Pakistan would require a Muslim Central Government of Muslim India which might be centred at Delhi. Sir Evelyn spoke of those areas of India in which there was a 65 per cent. majority of Muslims. There were such areas in Sind and the North-West Provinces, but not in the Punjab and not in Bengal, and if Sir Evelyn proposed to exclude the Punjab and Bengal from his Pakistan he did not envy him his next interview with Mr. Jinnah. Nor would he care to be the ambassador who conveyed to the Sikhs the proposal that they should become an "Ulster" in a Hindu India.

Again, Sir Evelyn proposed to take the "Untouchables" out of all their villages and assemble them into a vast colony of 50 million. Did he realize that, miserable as the conditions of these people might be, they were an integral part of Indian life? They could not be taken from the places in which they dwelt without destroying the structure of Hindu life. Where in India would be found room for his colony of 50 million without such a movement of population as history had never seen before? We had our responsibility to the depressed classes, but that responsibility must be discharged where they are. It was a responsibility to see that in any constitution to which we can assent they are given equal opportunities to those of other sections of the population.

His final comment on the plan they had heard that afternoon was—it will not work.

Sir Evelyn Wrench replied that the various suggestions he had made had been based on advice he received from friends in different parts of India. He did not know how many of those present had ever tried, in the space of thirty-five minutes, to settle the affairs of one-fifth of humanity. He had referred to the "Untouchables," but he had never suggested removing them and forming them into a compact whole. What he had said was that the Untouchables were an Indian responsibility, especially a Hindu responsibility. There should be a great sum of money set aside for higher education for the Untouchables, and a scheme of colonization under expert guidance to a place where land could be obtained.

Sir Alfred Watson said that the roof only remained to be put on. Well, it was not only in India that roofs remained to be put on. He had discussed with Mr. Gandhi the scheme which he had brought forward and he had found him by no means unsympathetic. Those who said that India was a unit, thanks to 200 years of British rule, were talking absolute nonsense. As for comparing India with Europe or South America, he had not proposed to compare continents, he was merely trying to make some practical suggestions. It was not a counsel of despair. Before unity was attained in India its present disunity must first be realized. If grievances were removed there would be a possibility of uniting India.

He did not want to go down to history as attacking the British community in India. And he did not yield even to Mr. Gandhi in his veneration for the Indian cow. He had never lost the thrill he had felt from watching that animal as he drove along the roads of India.

Concerning Mr. Molson's reference to irrigation problems, there were irrigation

problems as between the United States and Canada. Irrigation was already the responsibility of the Provinces, so that that criticism did not quite apply.

Lady WILLINGDON moved a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Sir Evelyn Wrench. She said how much she and her husband admired the Indians and found them wonderful. They were in India for sixteen years, she had been home for nine years, yet this Christmas she had had 462 cards from Indians alone. For the work of Sir Evelyn Wrench she, as Chairman of the Overseas League, had tremendous admiration.

The vote of thanks was unanimously accorded, and the CHAIRMAN, in responding, said that if Lord and Lady Willingdon found the Indians wonderful it was because they were wonderful themselves.

BRITAIN'S INDIAN MARKET—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE

BY SIR THOMAS AINSCOUGH, C.B.E.

(Late H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon)

AMID the manifold distractions of five years of war, conditions in the great consuming markets for British goods tend to become obscured. The approaching end of the struggle in Europe and the growing realization on all sides that this country must expand its export trade by more than 50 per cent. if it is to maintain its balance of payments and the pre-war standard of living, call for a close and immediate study of our great export outlets and provide the occasion for this paper. India for more than fifty years was our most important export market. During the decade preceding the outbreak of war, her takings of U.K. goods, owing to a variety of exceptional reasons, were exceeded by the Union of South Africa and the Commonwealth of Australia. Her potentialities as a field for rapid development in the future are, however, greater than ever before. I hope to show that, provided the immediate post-war situation is handled by His Majesty's Government and by U.K. industrialists and exporters with care, foresight and understanding, there is no reason why India should not regain her position as our most important market, thereby contributing to the economic welfare of both countries and strengthening the bonds of mutual interest which have always so closely united us despite political differences and misunderstandings.

Inasmuch as events and tendencies in the immediate past influence and canalize trends for the future, it will be convenient to consider the question under four main headings—namely:

- (1) The inter-war period covering 1918-1939, showing the situation at the beginning of the present war.
- (2) The war period to date, outlining the principal effects of the impact of war on the U.K. position in India.
- (3) The short-term post-war interregnum.
- (4) The long-term post-war period with some assessment of future prospects.

THE INTER-WAR PERIOD

The period between the two world wars, during which the U.K. share of India's imports fell from over 60 per cent. to below 30 per cent., was marked by four outstanding developments which affected the volume and, even more, the character of our exports to the market. These may be summarized as follows:

- (a) The almost complete elimination of the imports of U.K. cotton-piecegoods and steel and their replacement by Indian production.

(b) The domination of the bazaar trade in cheap consumers' goods by Japan *pari passu* with growing competition from Indian industries.

(c) The steady growth in the demand for capital goods and the equipment, stores, accessories and semi-manufactured materials needed by an expanding and diversified domestic industrial system; and

(d) The increasing sophistication of a growing section of Indian consumers as a result of a marked rise in the standard of living of the urban population and the adoption of Western comforts and quasi luxuries. This movement is clearly indicated by an enhanced offtake of quality goods and a growing demand for items such as motor vehicles, cycles, electrical appliances of all kinds, cinematograph films, telephone installations, wireless and broadcasting equipment, photographic and other instruments and accessories, refrigerating and air-conditioning equipment, drugs, toilet requisites and cosmetics, wines, spirits and other European beverages and the higher grades of provisions.

The first two developments were inevitable in view of the industrial resurgence of India under cover of a protective system and stimulated by economic nationalization. They have, none the less, fallen particularly heavily on British industry, and, over a considerable period of years, created considerable distress in Lancashire and certain other industrial districts in the United Kingdom. Our exports had been adjusted to this accepted serious dislocation, and a new position of equilibrium had been attained by the time the war started in 1939.

HIGHER STANDARDS

The last two developments, fortunately, operate strongly to our advantage. Our hope for the future lies in the further growth of Indian urban prosperity, based partly on a revival of scientific agriculture but largely on expanded Indian industries, closely allied with British capital and technical skill, founded on British standards and equipment, and bringing in their train that higher standard of living which inevitably results in an increased and diversified purchasing power. For some years prior to the war the United Kingdom no longer supplied the cheaper consumer goods in demand by the Indian masses. She did, however, provide the machinery, heavy chemicals, equipment and stores for Indian industry, which had been built up on British standards and practice. For decades our engineers and chemists had co-operated with Indian industrialists in the lay-out and design of their plants, thoroughly understood their special needs, and had developed a highly efficient sales, service and follow-up organization, staffed by men with long experience of the country. It is indeed fortunate for both sides that this close relationship should exist at the present time when India is on the eve of great industrial expansion and requires the best technical advice and machinery that the world can offer. Moreover, this development of our exports of capital goods runs parallel and in sympathy with Indian politico-economic aspirations, is therefore viewed with favour and not suspicion, and should help to allay many political animosities based on racial economic prejudice.

Also, scientific agriculture and the growth of Indian industries, by raising the purchasing power, will foster and sustain the demand for the higher-grade products of our light engineering, scientific and "quality" industries, and will provide a valuable outlet for those products, some of which I have enumerated. During the past decade the increasing exports of our lighter industries have tended partly to offset the decline in the staple items, such as cotton and steel. It is recognized in this country that we must depend more and more upon these high-grade products of scientific research. In India we find a rapidly increasing demand, of which we have hitherto enjoyed our full share. U.K. products are well known and find a ready sale. Our manufacturers are strongly represented by branches and operate a network of distributing organizations on the spot. They are well ahead with plans for expansion and the application of "high-powered" selling and distributing organizations to meet the post-war development.

To summarize the position at the outbreak of the war in 1939 I cannot do better than quote from a report written in 1938, in which I stated :

"The question arises as to how it will be possible to make good the decline and possible extinction of exports of such magnitude as cotton textiles, iron and steel,

railway equipment, rubber tyres, tobacco products, soap, etc., which have hitherto been the mainstays of our trade with India. A partial solution of the problem will be found in the rapid development of the country which is already resulting in a remarkable diversification of her economic requirements. The resilience shown by the imports of machinery, chemicals and motor vehicles is most marked. To these one might add the astonishing growth of recent demand for electrical appliances of all kinds, cinematograph films, wireless and broadcasting equipment, telephone installations, refrigerating and air-conditioning plants and the specialized equipment required by a rapidly growing industrial community. The response shown of late years by large sections of the Indian people to the provision of improved modern facilities has been remarkable. The recent extensions of the telephone network throughout the country have been taken up at once, and have provided an almost immediate return on the capital invested.

"The senior Indian business man in the towns today travels by car as well as by rail, has his correspondence typed, uses the telephone, not only for long-distance calls to Indian centres, but also to the United Kingdom and other countries. He does not hesitate to travel by air; he probably owns a wireless set, and almost invariably makes full use of electrical appliances such as modern lights, fans and domestic refrigerators. His family regularly attend the cinema, are interested in photography, and make full use of modern sewing-machines, drugs, cosmetics and toilet requisites. The demand for Western foodstuffs and beverages, which until recently were regarded as luxuries, is increasing rapidly. On all sides one sees, as in the United Kingdom, a changed outlook towards commodities formerly regarded as luxuries, but which are now considered to be necessities for the enjoyment of a full life. It is clear that we must rely more and more in future on the shipment to India of capital products, technical equipment and high-grade specialities, thus aiding her own development with our experience and technique."

In short, we must bring in the products of our scientific research and technical skill to redress the balance created by India's own manufacture of her simpler types of consumer goods.

WAR EFFECTS

Let us now turn to the impact of the war on India's economy. We shall find that the sharply-defined tendencies noted above, which should redound to our advantage, have acquired increased momentum as a result of war experience, and seem likely to determine the contribution of the United Kingdom to India's post-war import trade.

The establishment of a vast Indian munitions industry to serve our armies in the Middle East and the decision, at a later stage after Japan entered the war, to make India the main supply base for the South-East Asia Command, have created an unprecedented demand for plant, machinery, tools and equipment. Similarly, the exclusion of Continental supplies placed upon the U.K. and the U.S.A. the burden of providing the chemicals, drugs, dyes, metals and hardware hitherto drawn from Germany, Sweden, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland. As it was necessary, for war reasons, to maintain India's industrial output at a high level, few obstacles were placed against the imports of vital capital goods and, in contrast with our experience in other markets, U.K. shipments have been well maintained and, in certain cases such as dyestuffs, materially increased. Moreover, our unrivalled distributing organizations, although weakened to some extent by the conscription of European staffs, have been retained intact, and are in close contact with Indian millowners, discussing with them their post-war plans, and negotiating for the rehabilitation and expansion of their works. When one considers the great strain under which U.K. industrialists have been working during the war years, I have been astonished by the detailed and far-sighted planning for the future that is being undertaken and the well-considered schemes to meet India's special needs after the war. Great credit is also due to exporters of consumers' goods, who have been unable to maintain their supplies during the war years, for their foresight in continuing to insert attractive and skilfully framed advertisements in the Indian Press, usually regretting their temporary inability to maintain regular supplies of their products, but promising to replenish stocks and make shipments as soon as possible after the war.

Although the war has brought considerable hardship to the numerous class of clerks, minor officials and persons with fixed incomes, large sections of the population have been able to improve their standard of living. The masses of the agricultural population are probably considerably better off as they are obtaining bumper prices for their produce, and their wants are very few beyond the food (which they grow for themselves) and a few immediate necessities such as sugar and kerosene, the prices of which, being controlled, have not risen proportionately with manufactured goods. There is evidence to show that the agriculturist in the Punjab and elsewhere is eating more of his own produce and is reducing his indebtedness to the moneylender. The sections of the population which have profited most from the war, even allowing for the increased costs of living, are the proprietors of and shareholders in Indian industries, the numerous classes of merchants, middlemen and shopkeepers throughout the towns and villages and, above all, the great army of speculators and hoarders, who have exploited the foodstuff and commodity shortages. Profits have been phenomenal and, in many cases, the Government of India have not been able to take their share of the gains in the form of income-tax and excess profits duty nor to check the speculators who control the black markets in almost every commodity.

It may, in general, be stated that the sections of the community whose purchasing power has been increased as a result of the war are the upper, middle and artisan classes of the urban population. These are precisely the classes which provide the market for the high-grade and quasi luxury types of consumers' goods which are imported from the United Kingdom. The pent-up demand for such goods, after the war years of scarcity, may be expected to be on a large scale in the years immediately following the end of the war. The United Kingdom and the United States will, for a time, be almost the sole suppliers, and will share the market, at least for a period sufficient to enable stocks to be replenished.

It is in the realm of industrialization that the war has had the most striking effects. The demands, firstly, for munitions and military stores and also for larger ranges of consumer goods, due to acute shortage of imports, have given a remarkable fillip to Indian industry. The steel, engineering, metal-working and cotton textile industries have expanded their output and increased the range of their production to the fullest extent possible during the war period. While the development has mainly taken place among existing industries, ambitious schemes are on foot for the establishment of new industries of all kinds, both heavy and light.

BRITISH CO-OPERATION

Large amounts of capital have been accumulated for investment in these enterprises, and their Indian promoters now seek the co-operation of U.K. and U.S. manufacturers in providing the patents, designs, technical equipment and specialized plant needed for their establishment. This movement towards co-operation with British industrialists has made considerable progress during the past two years, largely through the efforts of Sir Ramaswami Mudaliar when he was in London as a member of the War Cabinet. It will be brought to a head during the impending visit of the party of prominent Indian industrialists who are being given special facilities to come to this country with the dual objects :

(1) To obtain assurances of supply of, and if possible to place orders for, large quantities of machinery, capital goods and equipment of all sorts urgently needed to repair the wastage of the war effort and to extend existing works; and

(2) To secure the co-operation of United Kingdom (and later U.S.A.) manufacturers in the establishment and development of new industries in India and in the industrialization of India generally.

There is abundant evidence that the leading U.K. manufacturers with experience of the Indian market fully recognize the natural and reasonable aspirations of Indians to make India a great industrial power and that constructive co-operation to that end is desirable. They will be prepared to examine sympathetically any practical and feasible proposals for co-operation, and there is no doubt that our Indian visitors will be cordially received. The way has, in fact, already been prepared by several private negotiations which have been proceeding for some time. The advantages of retain-

ing India's political and economic goodwill are self-evident, and although we should hesitate long before lightly transferring our trained ability, technical competence and marketing organization, which are our greatest assets, it is in our own interest as well as to the advantage of India that we should contribute on the most equitable basis we can achieve to her industrial development with all its promise of an increasing market for our specialties and fine products.

INDIA A CREDITOR COUNTRY

The outstanding fundamental change in India's economic position as a result of the war is that she has completed the transition from a debtor to a creditor country. In the short space of five years she has extinguished her public sterling indebtedness to the United Kingdom and has accumulated balances in London at the credit of the sterling securities reserve account of the Reserve Bank of India which are likely to exceed the figure of 1,000 million pounds sterling at the close of the war. This is not the occasion to discuss at length this vital question of sterling balances and the steps which are likely to be taken for their liquidation. It is clear that their effect on the course of India's imports from the United Kingdom will be profound. In his Budget speech in 1943 the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, stated :

"There will still remain a substantial surplus in London above the amount which is likely to be required as a reserve against our currency note circulation. The Government of India are therefore considering the proposal that something in the nature of a Reconstruction Fund should be constituted to provide for the financing of a programme of post-war reconstruction, including the rehabilitation and re-equipment of industry. It is clear that in the post-war period India will have heavy demands for imported machinery and plant to equip her greatly expanded industrial system, to re-equip her railways and to enable Provincial and State Governments to carry out schemes of electrification, irrigation and the like, which have had to remain in abeyance during the war. It may be taken for granted that it will be found necessary even after the end of the war to proceed on some orderly programme for the purchase of these capital goods from the producing countries. The first essential would probably be a careful and comprehensive survey of India's requirements and the establishment of some order of priority upon which a programme could be drawn up. In so far as this programme depended on the ability of producing countries to release certain types of goods for export, it would clearly involve international co-operation and in particular the assistance and co-operation of His Majesty's Government. The existence of such a reconstruction fund, coupled with a concerted programme of requirements, would place India in a favourable position to endeavour to secure the early fulfilment of her post-war needs, and so enable her to go ahead with post-war reconstruction with the minimum of delay."

RECONSTRUCTION PLANS

Since this statement was made great progress has been achieved by the Reconstruction Department of the Government of India in preparing a programme of essential national requirements over a considerable period of years. Early in 1944 the "Plan of Economic Development for India," issued by eight prominent Indian industrialists and known as the "Bombay Plan," was published privately. While this document is in the form of an ideal target for ultimate achievement rather than a blue print, it met with considerable success in focusing attention on the problem. Shortly after its publication one of its signatories, Sir Ardeshir Dalal of the Tata Company, was appointed by the Government of India to be the Member for Reconstruction and Planning. The first results of the work of this department have recently been published in the first and second reconstruction reports of the Government of India, which are now available in London. Therein are outlined long-term plans for the rehabilitation and extension of the country's agriculture, power supply, railways, roads, essential public works, health requirements, etc., together with an outline of the policy which is likely to be followed and the financial measures which will be necessary. These reports should be studied by every British manufacturer with interests in India as they are a useful guide to the progressive needs of the

future and provide evidence of the new spirit which is inspiring the Government of India.

It is clear that the demand for capital goods and plant on Government account alone would be sufficient to keep many industries in this country active for years to come. Over and above this programme, account must be taken of the heavy demands from existing private industries in India to rehabilitate and renew their plants, which have been worn out during the war years. To these must be added the numerous plans for new industries, for which capital is already available, and to which I have already referred. The need for providing the interest and amortization of Britain's debt to India, which can only be repaid in the form of goods or services, will be a powerful factor in canalizing all these demands for capital goods to U.K. sources of supply. From the standpoint of the individual manufacturer, it is immaterial from what source payment is made against his shipments. From the national point of view, however, it would appear preferable that our shipments of capital goods to India should be paid for by imports from India of urgently needed foodstuffs and raw materials rather than that their contribution to the settlement of our international balance of account should be neutralized by setting them off against blocked balances in London. It is to be hoped that the sterling balances will only be used to finance shipments over and above those needed to pay for essential imports of Indian products.

THE INTERIM PERIOD

We will now consider the probable conditions in the Indian market during the short-term interregnum of three, four or five years after the close of the war with Japan. During this period India will present an almost insatiable demand for all types of goods, both capital items and consumers' requirements, in order to replenish stocks of both, which have completely run down during the war period. It seems likely that the United Kingdom and the U.S.A. will be the only countries in a position to meet this demand. The former, by virtue of (1) her close contacts with each section of the trade; (2) her long-established, well-advertised and proven types of goods; (3) her unrivalled distributing, sales and service organization on the spot, covering every trade and in every part of India; and (4) the intimate acquaintance of her manufacturers and merchants with the precise requirements of the country, will be in a position to secure by far the greater share of the trade. During this abnormal period, when there will be a sellers' market, and the problems will be those of availability of the goods, possibility of shipment and controls in the countries of origin rather than those of price and quality, it is likely that our exporters may be able to reopen many branches of trade, for example in cotton textiles, which had been lost to them for years. They should be cautious in interpreting any ephemeral success of this kind as an indication of a permanent revival.

U.S.A. COMPETITION

A great deal of concern has been shown in this country on the subject of American competition. While it is true that U.S. shipments, under Lend-lease terms, of steel, machinery and industrial plant, harbour and dock equipment, locomotives, agricultural machinery, chemicals, dyestuffs, etc., have been considerable during the past three years when U.S. goods have been used, for the first time, in many branches of activity which had hitherto been supplied exclusively by the United Kingdom, it is open to doubt whether American manufacturers will be able, or indeed will wish, to retain this trade when the war is over. India's experience of American export policy, based on the events of 1918-21 at the close of the last war, is that the more lucrative domestic market takes first place in the attentions of U.S. firms, which are often prepared to abandon Eastern markets to their fate if home demands can absorb their production.

It is possible that this state of affairs may recur. In the first place, the change-over to peace-time production will be a longer and more difficult process now that American industry has been so largely absorbed in the war effort. Secondly, the American market will have been denuded of stock to an extent never before experienced. Thirdly, the demands on U.S. industry from U.N.R.R.A. to rehabilitate

the countries of Europe, Russia, China and the Far East will be on an unprecedented scale. Lastly, the United States is more likely to direct her exports, after the above demands have been met, to her favourite markets of South America and China than to attack a complex and specialized market such as India, where she will have to meet firmly established U.K. competition. That American exporters will considerably increase their share of the Indian trade—particularly in transport items such as railway material, motor vehicles, aircraft, roadmaking and contractors' plant—is certain, but exaggerated fears of American rivalry should be restrained, bearing in mind the wide disparity between the price levels of this country and the U.S.A.

We shall probably find that the Commonwealth Government and Australian merchants will endeavour to regain the business in India which they enjoyed, at our expense, during the early period of the war scarcity. The conception of the Eastern Group Conference to make the British Empire in the East more self-sufficient and interdependent is a well-founded one which is likely to endure. It seems reasonable to suppose that, provided shipping tonnage can be made available, Australian steel and metal manufactures will contribute to the rehabilitation, for example, of Malaya and the Netherlands Indies.

A GREAT OPPORTUNITY

In the short-term period, therefore, we may assume that the United Kingdom will have virtually a free hand in supplying the Indian market. Whether she will be able to take full advantage of this position will depend upon three main factors:

(a) The rapidity and smoothness of demobilization and the change-over to peacetime production.

(b) The degree of priority accorded to shipments to India in an export trade, which, it seems clear, will have to be controlled if we are to meet the unprecedented demands from all over the world. It would appear that, while His Majesty's Government may be forced to allocate a definite proportion of an industry's (or firm's) production to export, they are likely to leave the industry (or firm) free to determine the markets to which this allocation should be shipped, relying on the fact that, broadly, the interests of any industry or firm in this regard coincide with those of the State.

(c) The extent to which our manufacturers and export merchants are prepared to execute orders from India in face of possibly more lucrative business from elsewhere. In view of their long and profitable association with India, and in view of their elaborate and expensive local organizations, built up after years of expense and effort, it is not anticipated that there need be much anxiety on this account.

THE LONG-TERM OUTLOOK

Finally, let us consider briefly our prospects during the long-term period after India's stocks of consumer goods have been replenished, her industries and public works rehabilitated and the more pressing schemes for national reconstruction embarked upon. We, obviously, shall not be able to retain permanently such a large percentage of India's imports as we are likely to enjoy in the immediate post-war interregnum. There will be a considerable time lag before the prosperity created by India's rapid industrialization is fully reflected by a corresponding increase in the demand for the higher grades of consumer goods.

Meanwhile, the increasing volume and range of Indian production will tend to restrict the market for imported articles. Not only does India now produce almost the whole of her staple requirements of the simpler forms of consumers' goods, but she is extending her activities to many classes of capital goods, such as the manufacture of locomotives and general railway equipment; steam and oil engines; electric motors and switchgear; cables; steel tubes and hoops; simple machine tools; agricultural implements and textile machinery; the sheet rolling of copper, yellow metal and aluminium; tinplates; heavy chemicals; pharmaceuticals and surgical instruments and a host of minor products. Moreover, imbued by strong sentiments of economic nationalism, she is determined to undertake more ambitious forms of manufacture such as motor vehicles, internal combustion engines, rayon, aircraft and shipbuild-

ing. While this striking programme will create an unprecedented demand for machinery and plant, equipment and stores, intermediates and semi-manufactured products, much of this demand will be non-recurring and, meanwhile, the products of the new industries will progressively restrict the import trade in them.

When one studies the reconstruction reports of the Government of India and appreciates the vast quantities of capital goods which will be required, year by year for decades to come, to complete these great schemes for railway and road improvement and extension, public works, irrigation, dock and harbour and electric power projects, public health and agricultural development and uplift, one realizes that we are entering upon a new era presenting prospects which cannot be measured by any pre-war yardstick or experience. I am confident, however, that established United Kingdom suppliers are likely to secure the bulk of these contracts in view, firstly, of their having nursed most of the projects for years; secondly, of their privileged position as contractors who are in the closest touch with Government engineers and purchasing officers, and have supplied most of the existing plant which has been tested and proven by decades of good service, and, thirdly, of the fact that British standards and practice prevail throughout India.

SOME SUGGESTIONS

If I might take this opportunity of making a constructive contribution, I would ask U.K. manufacturers, when dealing with the practical problems of their representation in India, to consider the following specific recommendations :

- (1) The advisability, in certain cases, with Indian co-operation, of local manufacture as an adjunct to exports.
- (2) The need for the elimination of wasteful competition between manufacturers in the same industry and the desirability of co-operation *vis-à-vis* foreign competition.
- (3) The greater utilization of existing manufacturers' branches in India for the representation of makers of complementary goods.
- (4) The greater utilization of the extensive up-country organization of certain firms for the distribution of goods in common use throughout India.
- (5) The pressing need for the retention of the Export Groups and, in many cases, the appointment by them of their own organization in India either in the form of an intelligence outpost to ensure that the Group secures its fair share of the market or, in a few instances, in the form of a practical sales and service organization which would be in a position to offer a complete range of products in demand by any particular Indian industry or section of consumers.

A HOPEFUL PROSPECT

It would appear that our long-term future position in the Indian market will largely depend upon the manner in which we handle the most difficult interim period at the close of the war. Provided that His Majesty's Government carry out their demobilization plans and relax their controls smoothly and with vision, provided that British industry does its utmost to give India its fair share of supplies at a fair price and within reasonable delivery dates, and provided that our manufacturers handle their individual Indian problems of representation, service and sales with understanding and foresight, then I see no reason why our great traditional position in the market should not be retained. India is on the threshold of a rebirth in her economic life, at the close of which she will probably take her place as one of the foremost countries in the world, with a national economy well balanced between agriculture and industry. Her trading relations with the Empire have become even more closely interwoven during recent years, and this country alone absorbs one-third of her total exports of produce. Bearing this in mind and giving full weight to our unique experience of Indian trade and the peculiar needs of the country, our vested interests in the market, our unrivalled business contacts and reputation—to which must now be added the advantages from our debtor position—it is surely not too much to hope that India may once again become our greatest export market.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, February 27, 1945, at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, when Sir THOMAS AINSCOUGH, C.B.E. (late H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon), read a paper entitled "Britain's Indian Market—Past, Present and Future."

The late Rt. Hon. HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, M.P., presided. He said that the lecturer had been one of his colleagues since he had occupied the office of Secretary of Overseas Trade as Senior Trade Commissioner in India. Sir Thomas served in that capacity for no less than twenty-seven years with the greatest possible advantage to this country and to India. He had admirable preparation for the post because he thoroughly understood trade and commerce from having been engaged in it. He also had the advantage of being intimately acquainted with China, with whose trade and commerce India was bound to be associated in the long run.

It was clear that it would be greatly to the advantage of both that the trade of India and the United Kingdom should be active after the war. There were bound to be great demands for consumer goods which must be filled very largely by United Kingdom industries. The whole world would be in need of goods, but in India the United Kingdom would find a market which would not only be to her advantage but to the advantage of the purchaser. It was too often forgotten that those who bought received an equal advantage with those who sold, and if the United Kingdom could help to supply India's needs she would not only be serving herself but would be assisting in the recuperation and renewal of Indian industry. On all these subjects Sir Thomas was a leading authority, and his paper would speak of the results of his experience.

Sir THOMAS AINSCOUGH prefaced the reading of the paper by expressing his gratitude to Mr. Harcourt Johnstone for finding time to preside. He felt it an honour and privilege to lecture to the East India Association as it provided the best platform in London for the consideration of Indian affairs.

The CHAIRMAN said that he had enjoyed the address very much. It had given him, for the first time, a complete picture of Anglo-Indian trade and commerce. The paper could not fail to be of the utmost value, and he hoped it would receive wide publicity.

There was one point on which he would like to be enlightened. Sir Thomas spoke of the part which United Kingdom industry could play in helping to build up Indian industry. It was too often taken for granted by the statesmen of the Dominions that it was part of the United Kingdom's policy to attempt to prevent the growth of Dominion industry which competed with United Kingdom industry. He could not deny that too warmly. The policy of H.M. Government was to advise the industrialists of the United Kingdom to take every opportunity to co-operate within the Empire in selling their old-acquired skill and knowledge to industrialists all over the Empire. Although at first sight it might appear to be the short-term disadvantage of British industry, in the long run it was greatly to its advantage. The more advanced a nation became the better customer it became. He could not say too strongly that it was no part of H.M. Government's policy to check the industrialization of India. On the contrary, there should be the closest co-operation between the United Kingdom and India in making as modern as possible the equipment of India.

Sir GEOFFREY CLARKE (late President, London Chamber of Commerce) said that he was not sure that things would work out quite on the lines suggested by Sir Thomas Ainscough, because those who dealt with India knew what big competitors the Americans were and how they were staking their claim very keenly at the present moment while the British were not in a position to do very much.

As the speaker had said, there was an enormous market available in India, and it was a market which the Indians themselves would like to exploit. The Bombay plan was a very ambitious plan for the industrialization of India, but there were grave

dangers in intensive industrialization of an agricultural country. There was the danger of mass unemployment at certain periods, and it might be better if efforts were directed first to a general improvement in agricultural methods. Agriculture was India's most important industry and one to which Indians should devote their greatest energy, because if there was an improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry industry would follow automatically. An increase in wages all over the country of one anna per day would mean an increase of purchasing power of £750 millions per annum. That increase would not be obtained among a few hundred thousand industrialists but among the hundreds of millions of agriculturalists. If the standard of living of agricultural labourers could be raised appreciably the whole industrial position would be improved and India would be a much greater market than was imagined at the moment. This was one of the things upon which stress should be laid.

He agreed that there should be co-operation. He had preached co-operation for many years. The old idea of the ordinary Indian was that England was exploiting him; that was the last thing she wanted to do. What British industrialists wanted to do was to co-operate in the Indian market in order to develop their industry on proper lines. If it was done haphazardly industries would be created which were uneconomical, and then a strangulation of international trade would follow. If industry was developed on the right lines India would get the industries and produce the goods which were most suitable and most profitable.

He would be very sorry to see India proceeding to try to become entirely self-sufficient. This feeling had been brought on by the war, and was bound to have undesirable results, but if the two countries worked together on co-operative lines the speaker felt that there was a great hope for the future prosperity of Great Britain and India, and for them both to contribute to the general prosperity of the world.

Mr. N. C. MEHTA (late I.C.S., member of Indian delegation to the Commonwealth Relations Conference) said that Sir Thomas Ainscough had given an objective summary of the position. Sir Geoffrey Clarke had referred to an old superstition of economics which had now been exploded—namely, the antithesis between agriculture and industry. To suggest that agriculture was opposed to industry was nonsense. If part of India was starving, it was because agriculture had not been mechanized to the extent it should have been. There was agriculture of the highest order in the Presidency of Bombay, where 10,000 to 15,000 acres of land were properly worked with modern equipment. Everyone who had had anything to do with the running of modern industry knew that it was far easier to put up a complicated industry and run it than to produce farm products and increase their output in competition with other countries.

The land in India had been used for centuries, and in order to bring it up to the level of modern countries and to bring under the plough hundreds of thousands of acres which were lying fallow, it would be necessary to follow the methods of Soviet Russia. Every kind of farm machinery would be needed before India could be made self-sufficient in the matter of food. The Government of India was thinking of putting up factories for the production of artificial fertilizers, but they would have to produce tractors, agricultural implements and increase livestock by artificial insemination. India was already short of draught cattle, and if she was to pull her weight even in agriculture she would have to take to modern methods.

The problem really was that the economy of India had to be balanced and the old antithesis between agriculture and industry completely eliminated. The Bombay Plan was not ambitious enough. If the standards of 400 millions of people could be raised to a small extent it would have a great effect on the markets of countries like the United Kingdom. The reputation of the United Kingdom in the Indian markets had stood high for generations, and the only point on which he would differ from Sir Thomas was when he said that the future market for capital goods from this country would be largely non-recurring. That postulated the assumption that the standard of living in India would be static, but it was obvious that with greater prosperity it must go up and the markets for capital goods must expand.

For instance, the sugar industry of India had been built up during the last ten

years, and after five years of war the demand for sugar had increased by 50 per cent.; the cement industry must be duplicated without any further delay because the road mileage, storage pits and the number of houses to be built was stupendous. And so it went on from one industry to another. Sir Thomas had mentioned consumption goods, and these were found to be in great demand. In a nutshell, the picture of India was that it had emerged rapidly from the primary and secondary stage of industrialization; but that did not mean that it had not entered the stage of producing services and consumption goods. India was a mixture of the modern and the mediæval, and it would be some time before the balance was restored, but in the process of readjustment there was enormous scope for the co-operation of the two countries in the matter of technical personnel as well as in the matter of building up industry on the lines suggested by Sir Thomas. One had to cease to think of India as merely a market for exploitation either by the United Kingdom or any other country. The industrial and economic welfare of India was vitally important to this country not only because she would soon be an equal partner in the British Commonwealth, but for her own security. Certain industries such as shipbuilding would have to be put up in India, even though they might affect certain sectional interests, and the moment that was done the whole outlook would be changed.

The whole of Sir Thomas's argument, as well as the Bombay Plan, was based on the assumption of India's independence, and that assumption must never be forgotten, else it would be to the peril of both countries.

Asia was fortunate in that her three largest countries were single economic units—India, China and Russia—and did not suffer from economic barriers in the matter of trade over vast areas of territory. Sir Thomas referred to the fact that India had become a creditor nation. He had rightly and wisely suggested that that balance should be utilized to stimulate India's industries and to cement the existing economic and industrial relations between the two countries. It was not only the manner of liquidating liabilities which was important, but also the time within which those liabilities were discharged, and he hoped that in the near future some sort of procedure would be evolved so that whatever was due to India might be liquidated in such a fashion as to safeguard the economic interests of all countries concerned and to strengthen the industrial fabric of India, which had suffered very gravely during the last five years.

Mr. A. E. J. GAWLER (India Department, Imperial Chemical Industries) said that the last speaker referred to the fact that if and when Indian industry became established the goods which were produced would be in direct competition with the goods produced by this country. Those who were concerned with trade with India had not any illusions on that score. The industrialization of India would be on a big scale and would take a long time, certainly twenty years, and in considering its results the long-term aspect of British trade with India should be studied.

What British exporters asked themselves in those circumstances was whether by supplying capital goods and technique to India they were injuring themselves and eliminating their own exports. In other words, was the history of the piece-goods trade to be repeated? The speaker saw no reason why this should be so. Trade tended to increase as countries increased their industrialization, but two conditions were necessary. First of all, Indian industry must be developed on sound technical and economic lines, and secondly British exporters must be prepared for changes in the nature and quality of the goods they would have to supply. British industry could help in India's development, and the quality of British capital goods was first-class, while a great many firms followed up with technical service, which enabled the plant to be kept and run in the best possible circumstances. He was afraid that India might be tempted to listen to other voices who were prepared to offer the tools without the knowledge and experience to enable them to be turned to the best account. One felt respect for and deferred to the understandable national pride which insisted on the principle that Indians should be in control of Indian industry, but there were other elements which were essential to success, and among them were the fruits of experience and knowledge which Britain was able to provide.

He would stress this aspect of the matter because it seemed to him that that was

where a possible danger of conflict and disturbance of trade might arise. He would not go into the other aspect of the matter—namely, the conditioning by British exporters of their goods and services to the changing requirements of the market—because the great majority of them were probably wide awake enough to do so and to profit advice such as had been given to them by Sir T. Ainscough.

Mr. K. M. PANIKKAR (Prime Minister of Bikaner) said that the main problem of British trade in India was not so much the question as to whether any sectional industry in England would continue to thrive by the growth of Indian industry, but whether trade as a whole would find a market in India. The cotton industry might not find a market in India, but if the structure of British industry and trade could adjust itself to Indian conditions there was no reason why British trade should not only keep its position, but increase. It was obvious that an industrialized country bought much more from another industrialized country than an unindustrialized country, and any suspicion which this country might have that the increasing industrialization of India might lead to a loss of trade with India was unfounded.

The main problem in India was how to relieve the pressure on the land which its enormous population brought to bear upon it. India had a growth of 5 million people every year, which meant an increasing pressure on the land, and on any basis of calculation it would be found that this enormous population turning to agriculture could not be maintained by agriculture, and that unless a greater proportion of people living on the land at present could be transferred into industry there was no hope for a better life in India. One of the main difficulties which Calcutta and Bengal had to face during the famine was the large number of people dependent, but not actively working, on land who could not be employed in the villages, and wandered into the cities in search of employment and food. It was not the agriculturalist who was a burden on the land, but the dependants, and the transference of populations to other industries would make them economically more fruitful.

It was obvious that the Bombay Plan envisaged the development of industry as well as agriculture. The Report of the Central Planning Committee had shown what importance was attached to the development of agriculture because without a strong agriculture in India there would not be the expanding market on which to build up their industry as well as their higher standards of life. It seemed to be obvious that the great problem of industrial planning which both the Government and people of India had embarked upon called for a development of the relationship between this country and India on a different basis from that which we have been accustomed to so far—that of co-operation and mutual assistance.

There must be development of transport, railways, waterworks schemes, and other engineering schemes in which Great Britain was directly interested not merely as people providing capital goods. It must be remembered that capital goods once provided called for replacements and repairs, and the structure of industry was so arranged that the person providing capital goods continued to have a hold on industry. The fear of exporting capital goods to India seemed to be greatly exaggerated and based on sectional interests.

Mr. A. K. MUKERJI (Secretary, Indian Federation of Labour, Delegate to the World Trade Union Conference) said that he represented a viewpoint somewhat different from that represented by the other speakers from his country, but he wholeheartedly agreed with Sir Thomas that India offered vast opportunities for the growth and development of British export trade. Sir Thomas estimated and assessed the situation that the development in the industrial sphere would take place under the full control of industrialists as such; secondly, he estimated and assessed the situation on the basis of an increased purchasing power of certain sections of the population; but the fact, other than those presented in some Government and other publications, proved that the standard of living of the artisans and vast sections of different groups of the middle class had not risen to the extent suggested by the Government of India or even that suggested by Sir Thomas.

Much had been said about balanced economy. He found himself very much in agreement with Sir Geoffrey Clarke. Balanced economy was a fact which had to be

achieved in India's economic life, but a solution to the advantage of India could not be had except on the basis of the organic contact of the last 300 years between India and Great Britain. Industrialization was supposed to be a panacea for the solution of the Indian problem, but it could not be until it was followed by a requisite increment in the purchasing power of the people.

The problem before the United Kingdom exporters had to be visualized from a slightly different angle, and it would not be out of place to mention that only two and a half years ago the London Chamber of Commerce Committee suggested that in order that the problems of any country after the war might be solved properly production had to be adjusted not to exchange but to use, not merely to demand but to human demand, and that demand must be made effective. These remarks did not need interpretation; they were probably understood by those not connected with commerce and industry.

For a very simple reason the Bombay planners had three or four fundamental principles: they wanted a form of economy which would rest on cheap labour and cheap raw material. That way the purchasing power of the people could not be increased. He would disabuse his hearers' minds about the vision of the Bombay planners, or the plans now being evolved by the Government of India under the inspiration of one of the principal authors of the Bombay Plan. The defect was that they did not visualize anything more than an accelerated development of heavy industries with State aid and protection. In regard to agriculture, they aimed at what was called a modernizing and mechanization of agriculture. Agriculture was the basic and most important industry of India, but the introduction of scientific methods would not solve the problem. There had been many commissions sitting on agriculture, and their recommendations had not been implemented because while the development of agriculture quarrelled with the development of industry no development would ensue. There must be a rationalization and a reorganization of Indian agrarian economy.

The examination of these questions should proceed not on the basis of Indian industrialists as such, the basis should be co-operation with India. There had risen, and was arising, a vast distinction between Indian industrialists and the Indian people who could offer a vast potential market, much stronger and more important than the industrialists.

Sir THOMAS AINSKOUGH, in reply, wished to make it clear that he was in whole-hearted agreement with those speakers who had touched upon the need for scientific development of agriculture. Seventy per cent. of the population depended directly or indirectly upon agriculture, and it was, therefore, fundamental. The reason he had not referred to it more specifically was that the contact of the British exporter with Indian agriculture was indirect. This country would benefit not so much directly by selling to the agriculturalists as indirectly by trading with the urban population. The increasing prosperity of the agriculturalists must inevitably result in the corresponding prosperity of the Indian townsman. At the present time it was only the Indian urban population which was in a position to afford the consumer goods which this country could supply. It was encouraging to note that the Government of India's reconstruction plans had the improvement of agriculture in the forefront of their programme.

He agreed with Mr. Panikkar that they had to paint on a large canvas as far as India was concerned. The interests of individual industries must not unduly influence the outlook. The ultimate solution was to keep abreast of developments both in the markets themselves, developments in Indian demand, and in research in this country. The future lay in our capitalization of brains, of inherited skill and aptitude for fine production, and he hoped that he had succeeded in securing agreement that conditions in India seemed to be favourable for a realization of the end in view.

Sir HUBERT CARR, in expressing thanks to the lecturer and the chairman, said that the lecturer had succeeded in stimulating thought and inquiry. The members greatly appreciated the chairman's courtesy in coming to preside over this important discussion.

AN ORIENTAL CULTURAL CENTRE (IN LONDON)

BY FRED H. ANDREWS, O.B.E.

MAY I preface this paper by saying how greatly I appreciate the presence of Sir Neill Malcolm in the Chair? His active interest in matters related to Oriental culture is well known. I was therefore much uplifted when I heard that he had consented to preside.

The subject of my paper is not new. It has been for generations a recurrent theme of enquiries, discussions and deputations. The case for an adequate museum with proper facilities for study of Oriental ethnography has been repeatedly presented and urged with great eloquence by many eminent authorities who have long since realized the desirability of affording for the culture of India and contiguous lands those conditions for expert research and popular enlightenment which our position in relation to those regions unquestionably requires.

At the present time there is an important committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Zetland, giving practical consideration to the whole matter, and, although the exact lines of their deliberations are unknown to me, it is probable that many of the points in this paper coincide with those being considered by that committee. Nevertheless, I am here merely expressing my own views, after many years in India and Kashmir and half a century in close association with various aspects of Oriental ethnography as expressed by the arts of the painter, the sculptor, potter, architect and all the smaller domestic crafts.

It is a queer paradox that Britain, having greater interest and wider contact with the East than has any other country, seems perhaps the most indifferent to the desirability, on all grounds, of demonstrating the great achievements of those people, the influence of their culture upon ours and the extent of our indebtedness to them. Yet for Western people there has always been a certain attraction towards the mysterious East—vaguely regarded as the lands of spices, of fabulous jewels, vast wealth, gorgeous pageants, glittering temples and strange gods. Romantic poems, stories and plays, sometimes based upon reputed records of historical facts, have been written, freely embellished with picturesque fantasy as compensation for imperfect knowledge. Travellers' tales have been the basis of many of these. There have been the adventurous who have sought the East for purposes of conquest or trade, or the desire for first-hand knowledge of the mysteries. One naturally thinks of Alexander and of those greatest of commercial travellers—the Polo family and especially of Marco of that house, who in his memoirs has given scholars so much material for speculation and learned disquisition. In later times, our own traders, administrators and scholars; or mere globe-trotters who return confident that they know more about India after a few brief weeks of strenuous sight-seeing than do those who have spent the best years of a lifetime there.

Resulting from these many contacts there have reached this country numberless examples of Oriental craftsmanship in various forms, and objects of artistic, historical, literary and scientific character, some deposited in official keeping and many treasured for a time more or less as souvenirs in private families, often ultimately to be discarded by a younger generation to whom they have no sort of appeal.

There have been, however, for many years, among those who have lived in India, scholarly persons who have prosecuted research along various lines—linguistics, numismatics, history and every aspect of archæology—and through their labours great strides have been made in recovering most of India's past history. The appearance of early coins, sometimes with shopkeepers in the bazaars or found by despoilers of ancient buildings or by diggers in the fields, has helped notably towards the knowledge of dynasties whose existence in some cases was otherwise unknown. There was lively activity and enthusiasm among scholars over Indian numismatics more than a hundred years ago, and about 1833 the East India Company financed a scheme for the systematic search for coins and their transfer to the company's museum. The discovery that ancient coins were often found in early Buddhist stupas

led to interest in the stupas themselves—their purpose, architectural features and sculptural enrichments—and this interest was extended to shrines, temples and all ancient buildings as well as to the sculptures adorning them. Fragments of sculpture were carried off—sometimes attractive heads only, lopped from their bodies, thereby often losing means for their identification, and found their way to private houses or to museums, where they were exhibited usually without indication of their provenance or of their place and significance on the ancient buildings from which they had been taken. And they have mostly continued to be so exhibited to the present time: just disconnected fragments. Many curators having such fragments in their care deplore this condition of things, but are helpless in the absence of data by which it could be remedied. The sometimes well-meaning but deplorable vandalism of those days presented opportunities to enterprising native treasure-seekers, who found ready customers for their finds among the amateur collectors. Clever forgers produced quite passable reproductions of rare coins, and at least one ingenious individual caused considerable excitement among palæographers by faking rubbings from spurious rock inscriptions in “unknown characters,” and even brought fragments of stone on which strange characters had been chiselled by himself. Thanks to the advice of a few trained archaeologists, modern legislation has put an end, as far as possible, to such unauthorized casual collecting of specimens.

As interest in the early history of Eastern culture grew, societies for systematic investigation and study of the many aspects of the subject were founded, of which, among the earliest was the Asiatic Society of Bengal (now Royal), founded by Sir William Jones in 1783. It has published a *Journal* since 1832. The Royal Asiatic Society was founded in 1823 with Henry Thomas Colebrooke as first Director, and has published a regular *Journal* from 1834. In 1910 the India Society (now the Royal India Society) was founded, and records its proceedings in *Indian Art and Letters*, and with the generous financial help of several Indian Princes has published many valuable books on Indian culture. The Royal Society of Arts formed an India Section in 1869, extended later to include Burma, and has continued to provide valuable lectures covering a wide range of subjects connected with India and Burma. These and other societies owe their inception and existence to private enterprise, and the realization by the Founders and Members of the importance of the Orient in the scheme of world-wide culture nourished and developed by the mutual streams of influence flowing between East and West. In 1783 Colebrooke said: “The Hindu is the most ancient nation of which we have valuable remains, and has been surpassed by none in refinement and civilization.”

I have referred to the objects accumulated at the museum of the East India Company. The vicissitudes attending these collections are probably known to most of those present here; but for the information of those who may not know the story I may be allowed to relate, briefly, the bare facts. The collections were originally exhibited at the house of the Company in Leadenhall Street, but although given house-room they were probably regarded as rather embarrassing, although doubtless welcome guests, entertained out of regard for their friends the donors, who were mainly connected with the Company in one way or another. This was at about the end of the eighteenth century. When the administration of Indian affairs was taken over by the Crown, the collection was removed to Fife House, Whitehall, and later, upon the completion of the India Office, to the top floor of the new building. Complaints of inaccessibility led to the removal, in 1874, of all but the Library to certain galleries at South Kensington as a temporary measure. About this time Lord Salisbury's efforts to induce the Treasury to contribute towards the cost of a special building having failed, the collection was divided between the South Kensington Museum, the British Museum, the Bethnal Green Museum, Kew and the Royal School of Mines. This almost incredible perpetration sufficiently indicates the utter misapprehension at that time of the interrelation of all the activities of a community in the expression of its general culture. But having embarked upon this enterprise of dissipation, the desire for further dispersion was indicated. The already dismembered portion quartered at South Kensington was to be dissected and divided among the general exhibits in the museum in accordance with the system of grouping by material; that is to say, all the objects of one material were to be submerged in an

existing collection of things of the same material from all parts of the world, and so could no longer function as links in the chain of cultural development of the land to which they belonged. This scheme, however, raised such strong protest from scholars and others that it was reluctantly withdrawn—but is, I suspect, still nursed and kept alive in certain quarters, for use should vigilance be relaxed.

Among those who strongly protested against dismemberment and dissolution and who took a leading part in actively opposing it was Lord Curzon. As the spokesman of a deputation to Mr. Runciman (afterwards Lord Runciman), President of the Board of Education, on May 6, 1909, he spoke very strongly and to the point; not only opposing the breaking up of the collection at South Kensington, but urging the desirability of more and better exposition of Oriental culture. He said: "Ought there not to be some place where the traveller and also the stay-at-home can form an idea of the character and mode of life and thought and of the artistic productions of India which will give him, not only the knowledge he may need at the moment, but some idea of the great capabilities of that country?" And further: "Is it not a natural thing that the Indian . . . when he comes to England should expect to find here some evidence of interest in his country and of the importance that is attached by Englishmen to things Indian? It is of the highest importance alike for this country and for India that our people as a whole, whether specially artistic or not, should have before their eyes a striking evidence of the greatness, the importance and the inexhaustible interest of India." He goes on: "Might we not have a museum which, instead of being a jumble, an anachronism and a reproach, would be a living and growing thing, an organic factor in the scheme of development of our Empire? Such a museum would have great capacities for expansion by legacies, gifts from Indian Potentates and others. Such a scheme would be received with immense satisfaction in every part of India itself."

On the same occasion Sir Richard Temple (the second Baronet), for many years Editor of *The Indian Antiquary*, said: "We ought, in London, to show . . . that we have an intellectual interest in it [the Indian Empire] . . . We do not think it right that the Indian student who comes to Europe should find that he cannot get a proper museum to study in at the headquarters of his own Empire, and that if he wants to study the ethnology of his own country he can find a much better museum in Berlin and at the Louvre in Paris. Neither Germany nor France has a direct interest in India, but our own interest is overwhelming." In these remarks by two fine scholars, great travellers and experienced administrators, we get the first public expressions of a wider and fuller vision of, and the need for, a centre for the proper exposition of Oriental culture with suitable conditions for popular enlightenment and scholarly study, and room for the chronological arrangement of exhibits with provision for inevitable expansion as the collections grow in volume and importance. As Professor Boyd Dawkins said at the deputation already referred to, "the large collections scattered about in country houses which have been collected in old days by makers of India are of enormous extent and value, and would, I believe, gravitate into such a building."

This was said thirty-five years ago. Since then there has been immense increase in material discovered, largely due to the systematic research carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India, research which extends over an ever-widening field, and now includes, besides India and Ceylon, Burma, Chinese Turkestan, Gedrosia, all the territory of the Indus basin and contiguous thereto, and much more. By the reconstitution of the Archaeological Survey through the efforts of Lord Curzon, and its brilliant administration by Sir John Marshall, the appointment of expert coadjutors and the systematic training of Indian students in scientific methods of research instituted under Sir John Marshall's direction, the advances made have been very remarkable. The extent of territory indicated and now subject to the active investigations of the Archaeological Survey is, apart from other considerations, sufficient to amply justify the provision of a great museum in this, the centre of the Empire. But the geographical dimensions, extensive though they be, are small in comparison with their artistic, historical and archaeological content. And, mindful of the fact that Britain has been in administrative charge for many generations of more or less of these great tracts, with their hundreds of millions of people, their numberless lan-

guages and dialects, their varied culture and their past and present influence on the rest of the world, our obligation to worthily recognize all this in the form now again advanced is surely incontestable and, indeed, imperative to our own self-respect. While other countries publish by snappy articles in small popular periodicals the activities of their nationals in India, conveying by implication that we British are doing worse than nothing, we by culpable complacency allow the fiction to pass as fact. It is, unfortunately, true, as a distinguished Indian scientist intimated recently, that "there is as little general attention paid to India in this country as to the planet Mars."

One of the effects of the present war has been to bring together in this country thousands of men and women from the Dominions and from the countries of our Allies. It is characteristic of many of these latter candid friends that they believe they have better knowledge about us and our activities than we ourselves have, and one hears the fantastic ideas entertained by the majority about India, of its people and our administration of that land. Our own people, being almost equally ignorant, thanks to deficient education, are not only incapable of rebutting calumny, but often enough are inclined to accept the distorted views so positively aired. The want of knowledge concerning progress made in education, sanitation, health, industry, irrigation, and in numberless other directions is deplorable, and the ignorance of the complexities of race, language, caste, religion and social customs is not only profound, but by its extent affords scope for speculative assumptions unjust alike to Indians and British. Another effect of the war has been to take thousands of our intelligent and educated men and women to the East, many of whom would have their interest in those lands awakened, and in many cases would desire to supplement and extend that interest by available means on their return home.

In the near future, with the extension of rapid travel, distance will no longer divide East and West. Short visits will be practicable and will be encouraged; and our Oriental Centre might be made an attractive and appropriate focal point for visitors, providing rooms for private consultations, for small committee meetings and such other facilities as the general idea may suggest. It should be a rendezvous for Orientals and Westerners, where friendly intercourse in congenial surroundings would promote knowledge and understanding of each other.

I think, or at least I hope, that we have advanced beyond the conception of a museum as just an official curiosity shop or departmental store. In planning the modern museum now proposed, old defects complicating the work of Keepers of the various departments must be avoided. While being attractive, it must at the same time be educative by telling a connected story. By modern methods of construction extensive floor space can be provided, uninterrupted by massive piers and cross-walls, leaving the disposition of partitions to be arranged to suit each scheme of display—partitions substantial but capable of being removed or readjusted as occasion should require.

The ordering of the collections should be mainly chronological, with all objects of each period brought into proper relation with one another. In the case of easily portable articles this would be simple, although in respect of sculptures and mural paintings there is a certain complication. These are, unfortunately, mostly very fragmentary and in themselves not usually explanatory. For their proper understanding there should be, when possible, plaster casts of complementary portions and small built-up models to make their significance clear. Accurate models made to scale, not too small, of the types of stupa, temple, mosque, mausoleum, etc., of each period and locality would be most instructive and popularly attractive, and would contribute greatly to the enlightenment of people as to the importance of achievement of Oriental builders and other artists.

To provide means for further study for those who have been East, and to dispel some of the obscurity and ignorance to which I have already referred, I propose that it should be an important part of the museum's functions to issue through its Publications Department a comprehensive series of inexpensive pamphlets dealing concisely and authoritatively not only with Oriental archaeology, art and crafts, but with progress in all directions as a result of British administration, the efforts of Chiefs of States, and the work of enlightened members of all communities in developing

the potentialities and promoting the welfare of their land and its people. There would be in addition more elaborate volumes on art and archæology, which should be issued periodically. All the pamphlets and larger works might be written or compiled by the museum in collaboration with the several Oriental Societies, thus combining the services of the most competent persons. I would further have brief explanatory leaflets available, free on request, in all galleries, to help the casual visitor to understand the exhibits. A good deal of this is, I know, already being done by some of our museums, but it could and should be considerably extended in the case of the Oriental museum. There has been brought to my notice recently an admirable little brochure, issued by a certain Institute in a continental State, giving advice to those proceeding to a Dependency of that State, embodying some of the matter I have mentioned, and, in addition, indicating the value of observation, the kind of objects to which observation should be directed, and the systematic recording of impressions to render them helpful in the study of art, archæology, history and general culture of the people. The advantages of such a pamphlet to those destined for service in the East is too obvious to need emphasis. Equipped with such advice, adjustment to new conditions on actual contact would be facilitated and unconscious indiscretions avoided. It is the kind of work that could be most successfully compiled by the museum in collaboration with our Oriental societies.

The existence of an Oriental museum in London, worthy of this country and of India and related territories, would attract to itself increased accessions from many quarters. The large and scattered collections in present galleries might with advantage be assembled here, often to the much-needed relief of those galleries. Private collections would find appropriate sanctuary and expert interpretation, and by bequest would escape the misfortune and ignominy of careless dispersal. The Archæological Survey of India would be encouraged to contribute from its abundance of past and current acquisitions. Scholars, students and laymen of all countries would be attracted by the comprehensiveness and scientific disposition of exhibits, efficient library and general amenities for study. Lecturers would find ideal conditions for deliveries, a library of lantern slides from which to select illustrations, and a photographic department ready to provide special slides when needed.

It would be premature to discuss details now. This would be for the executive body after sanction of the general scheme. Doubtless the educative value of the cinema would be considered, with its potentialities for making known the Indian and Burmese epics, drama, dancing, music, in addition to stories of travel and adventure, village life, architecture, industries and the exhaustless wealth of historical and other matter at present an unopened book to the great majority of people of this country. Periodical exhibitions could be arranged, and there would be a permanent picture gallery in which prints and drawings would form an important part in the historical arrangement. Very considerable contributions to this section would undoubtedly come from private collections.

The museum, then, as I conceive it, should not be just an *ajab ghar*; it should, as I have indicated, cover a wider field of popular instruction than has, perhaps, hitherto been considered quite compatible with traditional dignity and self-respect. It should be attractive, stimulating and, above all, enlightening, and should include every aspect of Oriental culture. The Governing Body or Directorate, in its constitution, should be representative of all the States and territories and such various interests relating thereto as should come within the purview of its charter.

The wider purpose of this paper, as indicated by its title, is to advocate the establishing of an Oriental Cultural Centre, and this could be done by assembling in one locality the several learned societies concerned with Eastern studies, where, in the museum, besides the concrete examples of Oriental Culture, there would be committee rooms, halls and lecture theatre available on the spot. The societies and the School of Oriental and African Studies are in being, and, of course, have their own administrations; I have therefore dwelt more particularly upon the importance of the formation of a museum, for which so many strong appeals have been made by eminent scholars and statesmen during the last half-century. Experience has taught many of us that in this country the period of incubation required to bring to life a project of acknowledged importance is considerable, and perhaps for a scheme of

was implemented at 1945 prices it might well cost Rs. 15,000 crores or Rs. 20,000 crores, instead of the Rs. 10,000 crores on which it is based. Of the Rs. 10,000 crores, rather more than one-third is to come from "created money"—a frankly inflationary conception, which comes rather oddly from a body of men some of whom have been highly critical of the inflationary trends of the Government of India's war finance. But that is not the fundamental objection to this part of the scheme. The real question is whether, after Japan has been beaten, India will be able to stand further currency inflation no matter how expertly or by whom applied. A "national" and every other kind of Government will be subject to precisely the same kind of monetary influences, and in the event of anything going awry it would have been interesting to know how the Bombay planners would proceed. Would they create more money, or would they cut down the Plan? The question is neither asked nor answered in their own exposition of the subject, but it is highly relevant in view of the fact that the Plan is designed to cover fifteen post-war years, a period in which much might happen that none of us can now foresee or foretell. This is but one of several criticisms that might be made about the Plan's financial implications, and the authors would probably now agree that it was a mistake to treat finance as subordinate to other aspects of their scheme. But when these and every other criticism of the Bombay Plan has been made and weighed we have, as the leader of the European Party, Sir Henry Richardson, declared in the Central Legislative Assembly the other day, to concede that the great merit of the Plan was that it set the fashion and the pace for planning. It focused public attention on pressing post-war needs, and it served as a rallying point for progressive opinion of all kinds. To that extent it had done nothing but good. Sir Henry was intervening in a debate on a Muslim League resolution instructing Government to have nothing to do with the Bombay Plan, which was stigmatized as having been prepared by "the capitalists of India." In the result the Assembly decided to set up a committee of its own members to examine all the plans for industrial, agricultural and social development now before the country, and to report to the House in due course. In so doing the Legislature was a true reflex of a somewhat bewildered public opinion in the country, but as plans for India's future are many and varied, the fifteen M.L.A.s who are to compose the committee of the Assembly are likely to take a long time over their task. What is now wanted, above everything else, is examination at a high technical and expert level. And that is where the new Department of Planning and Development comes into the picture.

The Department is still in the process of finding its real place in the scheme of things. Its functions are almost wholly planning and co-ordination, and it is executive over only a very small field. But ultimately, when reconstruction gets into its stride, it will possess, and probably exercise, wide powers of approval or veto. To the extent that it can initiate and prohibit, it will play a vital rôle in shaping economic policy from now onwards. It is already the focal point of research and discussion in the country, and other Departments, which commenced thinking post-war a year or eighteen months or two years ago, have already begun to off-load further consideration of some of their development schemes and problems on to the new organization. Inside Government itself it works in the closest touch with the older Reconstruction Committee of His Excellency the Viceroy's Executive Council, whilst outside it maintains contact with the various non-official Policy Committees which Government have created to advise them on post-war problems, as well as with the Provincial Governments and the galaxy of consultative committees which they, in their turn, have created. The Reconstruction Committee of Council have recently issued a "Second Report on Reconstruction Planning," and as might be expected it brings to the subject of planning a measure of authority and realism that is absent from the hypotheses in which many well-intentioned private essays abound. This report is designed to provide guidance to the Departments at the Centre, as well as to the Provinces, on the lines on which they should proceed, no less than to invite the expression of public opinion and to enlist public support. It proceeds on the assumption that whatever form of government India may enjoy in the future, planning cannot, and should not, wait on the settlement of constitutional niceties.

One of the fundamental principles of the Plan propounded in this Second Report

of the Reconstruction Committee of Council is *regionalization*, which ignores ultimate political affinities in favour of benefiting different parts of the country in as equal a measure as is compatible with the physical features and natural resources of each part. For the moment, therefore, the most important master plan eschews the inhibitions of Hindustan or Pakistan, and in parenthesis it may be hoped that a completely non-party programme of development may do something to demonstrate the essential economic unity of a country that shows no signs of healing its political fissures. It is also laid down as a basic principle that the requisite leadership in industrial, agricultural and social planning must devolve upon Government itself, though some will beg leave to doubt whether this amounts to "a demand from practically all classes of the population for more active intervention and more effective use of existing powers." As yet the full picture of the future is not clearly discernible in every detail, but the report declares that the broad intention is to have a long-term all-India plan drawn up on general lines, with a more detailed phased plan for the first five years. While the long-term plan might be based generally on a period of fifteen years it will be necessary for different subjects to cover different periods. The Central Advisory Board's Plan for education, for instance, is a forty-year plan; the Plan for the development of roads and road transport, ten years; that tentatively proposed for agriculture aims at doubling the income from agriculture within a period of fifteen years at a cost of Rs. 1,000 crores. In the case of industries it has not yet been possible to formulate even a preliminary plan, in the absence of information which has been repeatedly called for from industrialists. A note on finance points out that the finances necessary for the development of industries during the first five years are expected to be adequate for expansion to the largest extent that is feasible, the limiting factors being the availability of the necessary technical personnel and capital equipment, as well as the willingness of the people to submit to the necessary controls and taxation. If all factors are favourable, the conclusion is that the pace of development of industries should far exceed that of agriculture.

Both short- and long-term planning work towards the same objectives—viz., to raise the standard of living of the people as a whole, to ensure employment for all and to achieve a more equitable distribution of the wealth that is produced. The Reconstruction Committee of Council believe that the measures they recommend will achieve all these, and they emphasize that both short and long-range plans should be so regulated as to keep in line with one another. Plans of a short-term nature, which may properly be termed reconstruction, include the following: The re-settlement and re-employment of defence service personnel, and of labour displaced from war industry, military works, etc.; the orderly disposal of surplus military stores and equipment, land and buildings; the conversion of industry from war to peace and the removal or adjustment of controls to suit peace conditions. As it is the basis of industrial and agricultural development, the report gives priority amongst the longer term or development plans to the question of electric power. Other long-range targets are the development of industry for the manufacture of both capital and consumer goods and the encouragement of small-scale and cottage industries; road communications and transport services; improvement of agriculture and education and health services and the promotion generally of better social conditions. As much of India's essential backwardness is to be found in her seven hundred thousand villages, the report does well to emphasize that the most serious obstacle to advancement is the absence of any real leadership and self-help in the villages themselves. It observes "many of the measures essential to rural development are quite simple and require comparatively little money, but great enthusiasm, effort and co-operation." How this may be obtained is the subject of a number of detailed suggestions. The question is posed whether it is desirable to spread efforts at rural development and reform all over a Province, or whether it may not be preferable to concentrate picked staff in certain areas, and the report quotes the imaginative methods adopted by the Tennessee Valley Authority in the U.S.A. and the "shock troops" tactics in the U.S.S.R. Obviously the technique employed will differ from one Province to another, and what may be found good for the Punjab will, in all probability, be quite unsuitable for Orissa.

The most important factor in Indian life today, if only because it is constantly

operative, is the steady increase in population. The 400 million of Indians in India are increasing at the rate of 11 to 15 per cent. every ten years, and though it is possible that the birthrate may eventually decline, the report considers that this is likely to be offset by an improvement in the survival rate owing to the better nutrition, education in hygiene, medical and public health measures which are envisaged as part of Government's long-term planning. It is unlikely that even now, under the influence of war, there are more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ million Indians employed in organized industry. This figure does not, of course, include those who are working in village industries, small businesses or undertakings employing casual and unskilled labour. But everything points to increasing pressure on the land, despite the fact that the present agricultural population in most parts of the country is too great for the available land. There is thus an urgent demand for new land, or the irrigation of existing land, though the report notes that most of the productive irrigation schemes have now been carried out. For post-war irrigation schemes, for which there is still some room, it is considered that a lower return will have to suffice, and that there is scope for the better utilization of sub-soil water by means of tube wells and pumps. To deal with these matters and the questions of drainage, reclamation, erosion, etc., the creation of Land Development bodies is advocated, for the problem of preventing millions of acres continuing to go out of cultivation is regarded as being beyond the scope of existing Agricultural, Forestry and Irrigation Services. For all forms of long-term development and planning, whether industrial or agricultural, it is recognized that neither present administrative methods, which have developed over long periods of years, nor the general purpose officer of government may be wholly suitable. It looks as though the specialist, who for too long has had to play a subordinate rôle in the Indian administration, is at last going to come into his own. The above is a very brief and inadequate summary of Government's contemplated attack upon the problems of the countryside. What of urban conditions?

Urban progress is very largely bound up with industrial development, and I fear that it is in respect of the latter that the report will attract most criticism. For industry itself the declared objective is intensive development, and as the development of industries is at present a Provincial subject, legislation on a Central basis for post-war planning is foreshadowed. Admitting that the general trend of modern thought is in favour of greater control by the State over industries, so that the profit motive is harnessed to social needs, the Reconstruction Committee of Council lays it down that, "generally speaking, except where national interests require it, industries are at present best left to competitive, capitalist enterprise, the State exercising such control as to see that they are operated for the public benefit after providing a reasonable return on savings and enterprise. Where industries are left in private hands Government control should interfere as little as possible with the actual management so as to provide free scope to efficiency. There should always, however, be sufficient control over all industries to ensure that labour is not exploited and receives fair wages and decent conditions of living." This is an important clarification of basic policy, and will not please everybody, particularly certain enthusiastic planners in the Provinces. The report admits the prevailing shortage of qualified Indians to fill technical and managerial posts, and pleads for a greater realization of the advantages of a career in industry.

The theme is familiar; but this recognition of an overall shortage of qualified Indian personnel, together with the later admission that it may be necessary to obtain a quota for training Indians at British universities, in view of the very large influx of students the latter expect after the war, are difficult to reconcile with the somewhat oblique fashion in which the necessity of extraneous technical assistance is admitted, and the terms upon which it may be accepted. This important part of the report reads as follows :

"Where Government decides to enlist the assistance of firms from overseas to develop industries of a highly technical kind, or those which depend on patents, the following principles may be observed :

In such cases the participation of outside interests may, if possible, be confined to the provision of technical assistance and of machinery and experts, the

firm being remunerated for services rendered and by royalties on patents. In cases where participation in capital is required, care should be taken to see that the capital is issued in India, that the majority of the capital, as well as the directorate, is Indian, and final control over policy rests in Indian hands. In cases where it is necessary to entrust the management of such industries to outside firms, provision should be made for the training of Indians in all the technical processes and the ultimate transfer of control to Indian management.

It is necessary here to utter a warning against embarking on projects involving complicated processes without the assurance of really expert and reliable technical assistance or of entering into arrangements for the participation of foreign firms of doubtful integrity. In these matters the advice and assistance of Government agencies may be of especial value to industrialists."

It has more than once been declared by the Secretary of State for India, and other responsible and highly placed spokesmen, that neither the Government nor the people of Britain desire to stand in the way of the fullest possible development of which Indian industry is capable. The terms upon which India now declares herself prepared to accept outside assistance are not likely to encourage the hope that extraneous aid will be readily forthcoming unless these are modified from one individual case to another. For it is precisely in those industries of a highly technical kind and dependent upon patents, to use the formula employed in the report, that British, American and other entrepreneurs are in a position to demand more generous treatment than is now envisaged. In the ultimate resort the industrialization of India can only be accomplished by Indians themselves; but industry is becoming increasingly international in character and organization (both as to capital and technique), and it is certain that prohibitions which have no other basis than pure nationalism will retard the very progress which the most ardent nationalist desires to achieve.

The report reiterates the elementary but not universally accepted principle that capital, even though in private hands, is a national asset and must be used to the best public advantage; whilst it recognizes that there are certain limiting factors in the situation, of which finance is not the least. For this reason, when both the revenue and capital resources of the Centre are likely to be unequal to the demands upon them, it will be essential that such financial grants as are made go to such parties, or administrators, as are judged capable of utilizing them to good advantage. To the writer it seems unlikely that Provincial administrations will have any money to spare for the promotion of post-war projects, and the responsibility for financial disbursement and control will therefore fall almost wholly upon the Government of India. We may expect the Finance Member, Sir Jeremy Raisman, to have something to say on this subject when he introduces his 1945-46 Budget in the Central Assembly in February. Meanwhile, a further limiting factor is the danger of permitting projects that are obviously post-war in character to compete for labour, materials and other commodities which are already in short supply. This would merely result in further aggravation of an already ugly inflationary situation; and it seems to me almost certain that the custodians of India's finances would strongly resist any premature attempt to launch a planning and development programme on the country until some of the more acute current shortages are relieved.

On the subject of India's overseas trade during a régime of planning the report leaves a good deal unsaid, and this is one of the least satisfactory parts of a document which is otherwise mostly full of sound common sense. Trade, commerce and industry are inextricably bound up with one another, and a deliberate policy of industrialization implies a certain measure of control over the other two. The report admits that if industrialization is to be one of the major items of economic policy a steep increase in India's import trade is inevitable in the post-war era. One could wish that this fact was more generally appreciated, particularly in those quarters which have already begun to agitate for a vigorous protectionist régime immediately hostilities cease. Though India's ability to pay for imports has been greatly strengthened by the growing accumulation of sterling balances and the repatriation of external debt, it is emphasized that the financing of foreign purchases will still entail the maintenance of the export trade at the highest possible level; that international trade

is not unilateral, and no country can lay down a commercial policy in isolation from others. The authors of the report consider that though the final determination of a post-war trade and commercial policy for India must wait on certain decisions by the United Nations, an endeavour should be made to decide provisionally what policy is best suited to Indian conditions and interests. To this end they declare that as far as possible the export of raw materials should be replaced by the export of semi-finished or fully manufactured goods. Increased attention should also be paid to the development of Eastern markets, and standards of quality should be strictly enforced. These are excellent general principles, but there would appear to be little chance of their implementation unless it be through the medium of larger export units for which the report pleads. Government promises its encouragement for these latter bodies, but who is to take the initiative in their formation? The fact is that, over a large range of exports, India's export trade is already pretty well organized.

The subject of import policy is dealt with in half a dozen lines which stress the desirability of avoiding undue dependence on particular import markets, a sentiment which seems of somewhat dubious value in view of the hard facts of international trade. When we come to that section of the report which deals with import duties it is admitted that the revenue tariff represents a policy which has stood the test of time, and it is stated that protective duties will continue to serve the best interests of the country. The view that the Tariff Board should be resuscitated, and on a permanent basis, is an indication that in the future India will have more, and not less, tariff protection. Trade treaties, it is declared, should be judged in the light of "progressive policy, actuated by an anxiety to enter into trade agreements whenever there appears a prospect of commercial advantage being gained for India." This is unexceptionable as a formula. So is the desire to participate in a multilateral convention, "provided our vital interests are safeguarded." But one doubts whether the pursuit of a number of bilateral agreements can be comfortably fitted into a multilateral convention, or whether either is possible until India has really decided what constitutes her vital interests. The fact is that, like many other countries, India's intentions in this respect must remain somewhat hazy and nebulous until the main outlines of post-war trade have revealed themselves a good deal more clearly.

Lack of space precludes me from writing more on the subject of the Government of India's own plans as embodied in this Second Report of the Reconstruction Committee of Council. I have done less than justice to a document of absorbing interest, but by the time these lines appear in print its full text may be available to readers in the United Kingdom. One of its outstanding qualities is that it brings the whole subject down to earth. In contrast to much of the high-falutin stuff that has previously passed for planning, the reader feels a sense of relief after a study of this report, for, choosing the middle way of realism, it avoids alike the excesses of the uninstructed super-optimist planner on the one hand, and the dyed-in-the-wool individualist on the other. Most of the targets which it sets forth would appear to be realizable—given the will to achieve them. Fifteen years of planned effort of the kind the report contemplates would make a wonderful difference to the face of India. Though many of India's fundamental problems would remain, the standards of life would have risen, the purchasing power of the people would have increased, and employment been brought within the reach of all those who could prove their title to it.

BANQUET IN HONOUR OF H.E. THE VICEROY AND VISCOUNTESS WAVELL

H.E.H. THE NIZAM'S SPEECH ON THE INDIAN WAR EFFORT

At the banquet in honour of H.E. the Viceroy and Viscountess Wavell during their visit to Hydérabad H.E.H. the Nizam gave a review of the State's contribution to the war effort, which included the following passages :

In the defence of liberty the Allied Nations have become involved in one of the most terrible wars in history. I thank God that after some vicissitudes of fortune in the early days of war victory has again crowned the allied arms, and the enemy hordes both in the East and in the West are being hurled back in defeat and confusion, thus liberating a large part of Europe and also saving India from the threat of invasion. The General who first stopped the destructive tide of German onslaught on African soil was no one else than our honoured guest of this evening, Lord Wavell. It is gratifying to know that the strong shield with which Britain and her allies have protected India from the horrors of war is in no small measure made up of the gallant sons of India herself, who have acquitted themselves so nobly and courageously in the different theatres of war.

I can speak with pride of the expansion of my army, which has been almost doubled since the outbreak of the war and the modernization of all units. There are now eight units serving under the Crown, of which several have been in action against the enemy; all except three of these units are serving outside India and another is shortly to go overseas. Of the units serving in the Dominions the most important are the three training centres for artillery, mechanized cavalry and infantry. All three are organized and equipped on the same up-to-date lines as the similar training centres of the Indian Army. Nor have we omitted to take thought for the resettlement of these soldiers in civil life after the war. Rs. 10 lakhs have been provided in the current budget for this purpose, and further sums will be made available in subsequent years as the Resettlement Committee extend their plans.

My private contributions to the war amounted to £60,000 for equipping Fighter Air Squadron and Rs. 7 lakhs for the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund. Direct and indirect war expenditure and contributions by my Government amount to Rs. 6 crores 31 lakhs. My Government did not accept the Grant-in-Aid offered by the Government of India to my State to meet the increased expenditure on my troops serving in various theatres of war outside Hyderabad, as I felt, as a "Faithful Ally," that my dominions should meet the whole of this additional expenditure. My Government also donated nearly Rs. 52½ lakhs to the British Air Ministry and the British Admiralty for the Hyderabad R.A.F. squadrons and for the purchase of a corvette named *Hyderabad* and presented the Basset trawler H.M.I.S. *Berar* to the Royal Indian Navy.

The Industrial resources of the State were mobilized and, as a result of our representation at the Eastern Group Conference—so wisely convened through the foresight of your predecessor—new industries and workshops were created to supply some of those essential requirements which were so desperately needed. All these resources were freely placed at the disposal of the Supply and Army Departments for war purposes. The technical, educational and other institutions of my dominions were also used unreservedly for war service, and a large number of technicians have been trained. A number of young men have also been trained for Civil War Reserve Corps.

The State Railway has played a prominent part in handling heavy military traffic, and the road services have effectively met the transport of food grains to rail heads, and are now carrying as many as 18 million passengers a year. The air services organization was thrown over to the maintenance of aircraft for the training of pilots in the early days of the war. An important aerodrome was also constructed. The railway workshops have manufactured over a million intricate armament parts, whilst a special contribution at our expense has been the training of some 5,500 driver mechanics for the Indian Army and 2,000 ground engineers and mechanics. In addition, for about eighteen months 150 vehicles and instructors were provided every day for the training of Army drivers. Ready assistance was given in the dark days of 1941-42 to Army divisions passing through by the manufacture of essentials and the supply of technical trainees, so that we may claim that Hyderabad had given of its best in material and men.

My Public Works Department constructed several aerodromes and other military buildings in different parts of the dominions for the Indian Defence Services, costing more than a crore of rupees, and the Public Works Department workshops executed war work of the total value of about Rs. 14 lakhs.

Despite the war the last few years have been years of prosperity and the annual income of the State has risen from 9 to nearly 17 crores of rupees. This has enabled large sums of money to be allotted for nation-building activities, such as expansion of higher, technical and general education, an aboriginal education scheme, improvement in public health and medical facilities and for large sums to be kept in reserve for post-war requirements. A Central Industrial Research Laboratory and a College of Agriculture are being set up. In the Osmania University, Departments of Technical Chemistry, Geography and Commerce have been opened, and provision has been made for opening a Department of Mining Engineering and for providing new buildings for the Women's College. Under a five-year plan, free primary education is being provided in every village with 1,000 and more inhabitants. We, like the rest of India, have had our economic difficulties. The most serious of these has been the food question. My Government, in spite of its own grave shortage of rice caused by the cessation of imports from abroad, and despite acute scarcity in the Karnatak districts and poor harvests generally, has co-operated with the rest of India in this vital matter as fully as we could, considering our own difficulties. Hyderabad City and suburbs have been rationed since last May, Warangal City since September, and several other towns have since been or will shortly be rationed. We have by a compulsory grain levy system and wide-scale Government grain purchases advanced far towards complete Government control of wholesale grain dealings. By legislation and propaganda we have in this year's kharif harvest reduced the cotton area by 60 per cent. The total expenditure on the Grow-More-Food Campaign up to the end of the current year is estimated at Rs. 117 lakhs. My Government is taking every possible step to increase production of food and to ensure its proper distribution. Unless unseasonable conditions defeat our expectations, we hope to be able to continue to help other less fortunate parts of India.

My Government some time ago set up a Post-War Planning Committee and Secretariat which have made considerable progress in planning future economic, industrial, agricultural, public health and general development. Hyderabad looks forward to an era of all-round progress. While we intend to co-operate in measures for the ordered and planned economic development of India, I believe that I can confidently rely on Your Excellency's Government in the same spirit to give Hyderabad all help necessary for the successful execution of her plans.

While the attention of my Government has been focused mainly on the war effort, they have meanwhile been steadily at work on the implementing of the scheme of constitutional reforms which I announced in 1939. The keynote of these reforms is my intention to make provision for the more effective association of the different interests in my dominions in my Government. Accordingly, District Conferences have already been inaugurated; Statutory Advisory Committees have been set up, consisting of an equal number of officials and non-officials, to advise my Government on agricultural development, education, finance, industrial development, public health, religious affairs, and labour. I have also given my assent to certain constitutional laws or "Ains," designed to establish throughout my dominions a network of local bodies, great and small, with non-official majorities. In pursuance of these Ains my Government has already brought into being District Boards for fifteen districts, some Jagir Boards and large numbers of Municipal Committees and Town Committees and several Village Panchayats. The laws and rules for proposed reformed legislature are under active preparation. All these measures will, I trust, do much to fulfil my desire that the closer association thus effected between my Government, my officers and my people will bring out still more the real identity of interests which exists between them.

PLANNING IN THE INDIAN STATES

(WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BARODA)

BY M. H. SHAH, M.A.

PLANNING has commanded the attention of all Governments—of British Indian Provinces as well as of major Indian States. We are looking ahead to times when the present gruesome hostilities will have stopped and the nations will be free to take up the activities of increasing the happiness and welfare of human beings. It is necessary to plan in advance for this, if we are not to find ourselves aimlessly drifting when those times come.

PLANNING IN INDIA

The planning problem in India is a little peculiar as compared to the other countries which have to plan for the rejuvenation of their shattered national life and property. India, so far, has not been a victim of any such wide destruction. However, India has been proverbially poor, and anything that would raise the national income and the standard of life has been eagerly sought after. Therefore planning in India will be much concerned with increasing the national income and providing for its better distribution.

THE INDIAN STATE

Problems of planning in Indian States are not very different from those in the British Indian Provinces. In fact, they are in some cases simpler. Mysore with its network of industries has not much to plan in that direction. Baroda with its long-established comprehensive educational structure and other social services has little scope for expansion in that direction. However, if we put aside the case of a few big States, out of the total of about six hundred Indian States, planning is bound to be beyond the reach of the majority of them. It is surprising that this point has not received the serious consideration of those who are concerned. Unless some zonal system is evolved or the Merger Scheme is accelerated, there seems to be no hope for planning in these small States. Further, it is very necessary to co-ordinate planning activities in Indian States with those in the Provinces and at the Centre. The States, if they isolate their plans, can hardly achieve any substantial results or launch any big schemes successfully. Interwoven as the Provinces and the States are, it is necessary that the plans should also be interlinked.

Finally, one very important problem of planning in Indian States is the problem of finance. It appears that the British Indian Provinces are to meet their planning finance in two ways: from subventions given by the Central Government and from taxes to be levied. The States are at a disadvantage in both these respects. According to Sir Ardeshir Dalal, there are constitutional difficulties which obviously make it impossible for an Indian State to be treated on the same footing as a British Indian Province in the matter of subventions for planning. Whatever these difficulties, the case for subventions to States is as solid as—if not more than—that of the Provinces. And there are precedents to invoke. The Indian Council of Agricultural Research has sponsored a number of schemes in that way in the States. It is certainly not difficult to link together contributory States and Provinces on joint boards of administration on a basis of equal or pro rata contribution, and thus avoid debarring the States from getting financial help from Central Government for post-war planning.

PLANNING IN BARODA

Indian States, at least some of them, were not slow in taking up planning activities. Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, and others have made substantial progress in this respect.

Before reviewing planning activities in Baroda one salient fact may be stated. Baroda begins planning with an initial advantage which the rest of India has not. In certain respects the State has steadfastly pursued a progressive policy, with the result

that there is little scope for much further extension in these directions. For instance, many of the items of educational reform proposed in the Sargent Report have already borne fruit in Baroda. In respect to railways, the State has the most extensive network for its size, as compared to the rest of India. With this initial advantage Baroda must be able to offer a lead to other parts of the country in respect of post-war reconstruction. Another salient fact is that Baroda, like the rest of India, is a country of villages necessitating proper emphasis on the development of rural areas in post-war plans. It is gratifying to note that Baroda has realized this. "No scheme of development will make any substantial progress unless it takes into account the development of rural areas," observed H.H. the Maharaja in his order establishing a post-war reconstruction ministry.

Coming to actual post-war plans of Baroda, we find that a ten-year plan of economic reconstruction was envisaged in the Government order which appointed a first committee for the purpose in 1943. After the committee had worked for about a year a separate ministry of post-war reconstruction was appointed in October, 1944. The important items tackled by the ministry are agriculture, trade and industry, communications, education and other social services.

Agriculture has been rightly given the pride of place in Baroda. During the last decade Baroda has expanded its agricultural department, and is at present spending about Rs. 10 lakhs per annum on it. The preliminary plan envisages an expenditure of about Rs. 1½ crores for intensifying the activities of the water supply, agricultural education, livestock improvement and taking to the home of the agriculturists the results of agricultural research through village propaganda. Several big irrigational projects costing about Rs. 3 crores are already on hand. The number of Rural Reconstruction Centres, which at present stands at three, is to be increased to thirty-five within the next five years.

Baroda's industrial advance in recent years is quite well known. The two important large industries of the State are the textile and the chemical industries. The findings of the committee reveal that there is still scope for expansion in this direction. The main difficulty in the way of industrial expansion is the availability of sufficient power resources. There are no suitable rivers or falls that can be harnessed for this purpose. Efforts are being made to utilize grid and turbine systems for increasing the power supply.

ORGANIZATION

The planning organization in Baroda is entrusted to a senior member of the Executive Council of the State. To assist him, a central post-war reconstruction board has been established. The members of this board are drawn from officials and non-officials. The member in charge of post-war reconstruction prepares plans and works out details in consultation with the board. To scrutinize all these schemes and plans from the All-India viewpoint, a special Board of Industrial Advice is created, with Sir Homi Mehta as the chairman. The board at present consists of six members, who are eminent industrialists of Western India.

DIFFICULTIES

Baroda, with initial advantages in social services, has a few disadvantages too, causing a number of minor and major difficulties to post-war plans. Firstly, its territories are closely interlinked with those of British India. "The great difficulty in our planning," stated Rajratna Mukerjee, the Member for Post-War Reconstruction, "is that the nature of our territory is such that all our biggest schemes have to take into account the needs and reactions of our neighbours. Our planning, therefore, will in a great measure depend on the measure of co-operation we are able to enlist from our neighbours." Baroda's solution in this respect seems to be twofold: firstly, all its post-war reconstruction committees are working on lines very similar to those of the Bombay Province, and, secondly, as stated above, a Board of Industrial Advice with leading industrialists has been constituted for examining the post-war schemes from the broader All-India viewpoint.

FINANCE

In view of the initial advantages, Baroda cannot draw up a very ambitious programme like the rest of the country. The first five-year plan of reconstruction prepared by the post-war reconstruction ministry is estimated to require an expenditure of Rs. 10 crores only. Apart from the subventions that may be given to Indian States by the Central Government, Baroda's proposed methods of meeting the post-war reconstruction finance are : (1) Available annual savings of the State are transferred to the post-war reconstruction fund, which was opened in 1942-43 with a nest-egg of Rs. 30 lakhs and which has now reached a total of Rs. 1.14 crores; (2) excess profits fund, which has been built up from amounts received under the excess profits ordinance promulgated in the year 1942. The amounts received under this measure are not taken to the State treasury, but are collected in a separate fund which is to be utilized for industrial expansion of the State after the war; (3) the State also contemplates an appeal to private philanthropy for the bulk of the capital cost for higher education in medicine, agriculture, technology, engineering, etc.

These are the main features of Baroda's post-war schemes. They are less ambitious; they do not need much finance, and they are to pass a test of the All-India viewpoint. Moreover, it seems that the State is not going to raise post-war reconstruction finance by any fresh taxation.

THOUGHTS ON A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA

BY ANWAR IQBAL QURESHI

I. A GENERAL SURVEY

ONE of the main factors accounting for the comparative economic backwardness of countries like India in the past was the lack of peace and political security. Thanks to *Pax Britannica* the country has now achieved a remarkable degree of political and social security, with the result that the spirit of savings and investment has been continuously growing in the country, and during the last twenty years or so Indian industry with Indian capital has developed tremendously.

We may first expose the fallacy that industrialization in the East is likely adversely to affect the Western countries. This is far from the truth. As a matter of fact it will ultimately benefit these countries, because an increase in the standard of living in the East will open practically unlimited opportunities to supply goods to these growing markets. Let us take one concrete example. It is said that the development of the cotton industry is likely to seriously affect the interest of Lancashire. The *per capita* consumption of cloth in India at present is only 16 yards, which practically is the lowest in the world.

The aim of post-war planning in India is to double our standard of living. Accordingly, if we assume that the consumption of cloth in this country increases from 16 yards to 32 yards per head, and in the ordinary course of things India is to provide the entire cloth requirements of the country, if no increase in the standard of living is assumed, and Lancashire is asked only to provide the surplus cloth required, India can absorb the entire production of Lancashire, and still she will not be able to meet all her requirements. This shows the extent of the markets waiting to be captured and the great assistance that should be extended to us by other countries in their own interest.

It is with this fact in mind that schemes for post-war development are being prepared in Hyderabad.

POST-WAR PLANNING IN HYDERABAD

The Department to plan the post-war economy of Hyderabad was started in April, 1943, with one of the ablest civil servants of the State as its Secretary.

With the rest of India, Hyderabad, as a self-governing State, has the onerous task of adapting itself to post-war economic conditions and of developing its agriculture and industries in order to enable its people to increase their purchasing power and to provide for themselves a decent standard of living in the post-war period. The cessation of hostilities will create problems no less serious than those brought about by the war, and it is the duty of every Government to visualize and make every possible preparation to meet them. The problems that Hyderabad has to tackle are as diverse as those elsewhere in India and of the same magnitude, but in some respects their solution is probably not so easy, because the State, compared with many British Indian Provinces, has much leeway to make in the field of industrial and agricultural development, and has to surmount difficulties in gearing its quasi-feudal economy to post-war needs. The planning of peace-time economy in Hyderabad comprises a variety of problems of vital interest to the State, and, in fact, involves an all-sided development and mobilization of its entire resources. For the development of agriculture, which is the mainstay of its people, big irrigation schemes have to be evolved and improved methods of agriculture, marketing and collective and co-operative farming have to be introduced. The hydro-electric industry has to be developed to provide cheap power in abundance, not only for the expansion of industries but also for the electrification of villages and rural industries. With the availability of raw materials, Hyderabad can aspire to develop textile, oil and ceramic industries, at least to the extent of self-sufficiency. With the electrification of villages, there is a vast scope for the development of small-scale and cottage industries, which will result in increasing the income of the villagers. It is also necessary to develop industries for the manufacture of fertilizers to increase the yield of agricultural lands and for the manufacture of machine-tools to cater for our industrial and agricultural requirements. Blue prints of plant and machinery required for starting new industries and replacing worn-out machinery should be prepared beforehand, so that orders may be placed for obtaining them sufficiently in advance. Scientific research should be given an impetus and concentrated on our own raw materials. There should be a general stocktaking of the minerals found in this State for their industrial utilization. Communication should be expanded throughout the country for the transport of raw materials and finished products. The personnel required for agricultural and industrial development should be trained. Arrangements should be made for the settlement of demobilized personnel in industries and agriculture after necessary training. Then there are the problems of illiteracy and ill-health, which should be tackled, both in rural and urban areas, as evidently it will not be possible to implement any scheme of economic advancement without educating the masses and making them physically fit for the task before them. Lastly, there is the problem of raising funds for implementing the post-war schemes. If Hyderabad is to adapt itself to the changing needs of the time, and if plans are to be worked out and implemented for raising the State's income and the standard of life of its people, money should be found for this purpose.

Various States, Provinces and the Government of India have set up Post-War Planning Departments, but with very minor exceptions so far their planning has not achieved any tangible shape, nor has any provision been made for funds to achieve those aims and objects. In this respect great contribution to the budgetary technique was made by Hyderabad. In presenting its Budget for the year 1943-44 the Finance Member made a provision for the creation of Post-War Development Reserve, which was to consist of about Rs. 3 crores. This was necessary at this stage because, due to the falling of the revenue, it would not be so easy to raise funds after the war. I think an apology is hardly needed to give a somewhat rather lengthy quotation from the Budget note to show how Hyderabad has realized the implications of post-war economic development and the courage and determination of the authorities of the State to fully provide for the economic development of the country. The Hon. Mr. Ghulam Mohammed, Finance Member, mentioning the functions of this reserve, remarked :

“ This reserve should be earmarked for meeting expenditure on nation-building activities like Education, Public Health, Medical Relief, and Rural and Industrial Development. While the increase in revenue, due to war conditions,

may not last when peace dawns and the artificial conditions created by war melt away, the need for expenditure on nation-building activities and the pressure for development of social services is bound to increase. Plans are being worked now by several departments for post-war development. The Education Department has indeed already gone ahead, and is ready to proceed with certain schemes even during the continuance of hostilities. No better use of the money accumulating in the reserve due to war conditions could be found than to consolidate it and divert it when needed to nation-building activities, so that the strain on our Budget in the post-war period is reduced at a time when revenues may not show their present elasticity and demand for expansion would be real and pressing.

"This war has not left the old and orthodox concepts of finance unaffected, and the old citadel of technical and rigid finance, with its meticulous controls and strict examination of productive and nation-building schemes from a somewhat narrow point of view of their immediate ability to meet interest and depreciation charges, is yielding fast to the more advanced and rational basis of judging development schemes from the point of view of their direct and indirect benefits to the people in the country. Schemes which may not be immediately remunerative in the sense of producing enough revenue to meet interest and depreciation charges may, however, confer benefits on the citizens far outweighing in their economic and social aspects the deficiencies in meeting the necessary financial charges. The intention is that this fund should take the first shock of such losses till such time as the schemes could be considered even from the orthodox point of view as self-supporting. This change in the outlook of finance should assist in the initiation and execution of development works and beneficial schemes conceived on a long-range policy based on imagination, foresight and ultimate good of the citizen. The sanctity attached to balanced Budgets has broken down under the stress of war, which has demonstrated that expenditure on beneficial activities like education, rural and industrial development and public health bring in an indirect return in raising the general efficiency of the individuals and therefore their earning capacity, which in its wake should bring in increased revenue to the State in one form or the other. Such increased revenue is not, according to the orthodox methods of finance, an indication of the remunerative character of schemes. The schemes which do not fulfil the orthodox conditions but are, after taking the indirect benefits to the citizen into account, considered desirable should find support for this fund.

"While the intention is that during the period of the war so far as possible expenditure from this fund should be limited to the interest earned, the grants from the corpus of the fund should become available where necessary even before the cessation of hostilities."

The Bombay Industrialist Plan has attracted a good deal of attention for its boldness and for showing the magnitude of the problem. This plan was published in January, 1944. Hyderabad can claim rightful pride in the matter because a month before the publication of the Bombay plan the head of the Economics Department, Osmania University, delivering his presidential address before the sixth Hyderabad Economic Conference, showed that Hyderabad would require a sum of Rs. 210 crores to double its income in five years. Explaining the implications of doubling the national income of Hyderabad during the next five years, he remarked :

"If, for simplicity, we take the present population of Hyderabad State at 1.75 crores and the *per capita* income at Rs. 60 we get a total national income of 105 crores per annum. Now let us see what will be the magnitude of the capital required to double our national income, say, in the course of five years. Figures are available for about twelve countries, showing that the ratio between national capital and real income is 2.7. But the ratio varies from industry to industry and the capital invested. In industries where the capital investment is very high, the ratio is also high. For a State like Hyderabad, where the capital investment is not likely to be high, we can assume the ratio of national capital and real

income as two. On this assumption we find that in order to double our income we require something like Rs. 210 crores for the whole period of five years or Rs. 42 crores per year. If the income is to be again doubled during the second cycle of five years—viz., from Rs. 105 to 210 crores—we shall require a capital of Rs. 420 crores or a yearly sum of Rs. 84 crores.

“Although the war has exposed the bogey of finance and has demonstrated that where there is a will there is a way, we must not run away with the idea that we can now build castles in the air. Production in any form of society is limited by man-power, land, raw materials and machinery. There is no doubt that there is abundance of man-power in this country, but land in relation to pressure of population is strictly limited. The raw materials are not very abundant, and machinery is entirely lacking in the country as a whole, and for a very considerable period of time machinery will have to be imported from other countries. But our capacity to import is limited by export or to borrow. The lack of machinery and trained labour was very much felt, and seriously retarded the rate of Russian progress during the early years of their gigantic experiment.

“The problem before Hyderabad is to spend Rs. 42 crores each year in order to increase its national income at the rate of 20 per cent. per annum. The fundamental question to be asked is, can this sum be raised? It will not be an easy matter to provide a sum of Rs. 210 crores in the course of five years. The national economy will have to be thoroughly overhauled to meet the requirements of the situation. Much of our unproductive expenditure will have to be very drastically curtailed. The savings will require thorough mobilization. Ornaments and jewellery will have to disappear and many more things will have to be done.”

THE PROGRESS OF PLANNING WORK IN HYDERABAD

In order to associate all shades of public opinion of the State with the work of post-war planning, a Post-War Planning Board was set up consisting of twenty-eight members, both officials and non-officials, with His Excellency the President of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government as its chairman. In order to prepare concrete schemes for the post-war development fourteen expert committees have been set up. Under these committees about twenty-eight sub-committees are to go into further details.

Following is the list of the main committees :

- (1) Irrigation and Hydro-electric power.
- (2) General industries other than those covered by committees Nos. 3 and 4.
- (3) Small-scale industries and cottage industries.
- (4) (a) Cotton, textile, woollen, oils, ceramics and electrical goods industries;
(b) Mineral Resources.
- (5) Government Works and Communications other than Railways.
- (6) Scientific and Industrial Research.
- (7) Education (particularly vocational education), including agriculture.
- (8) Training of Personnel.
- (9) Rural Reconstruction.
- (10) Man-Power.
- (11) Public Health.
- (12) Finance, currency, banking, exchange and trade.
- (13) Labour.
- (14) Housing.

The aims before the Board cover practically all fields of activity. We aim at increasing our agricultural production by the use of modern methods, better implements, provision of fertilizers, irrigation facilities, and by educating the cultivator and his progeny, relieving him of his indebtedness, giving him a better house to live in, better and sufficient clothing to wear, and giving him some diversion and greatest interest in life.

A misunderstanding exists in certain quarters and the fear expressed that the

planning in various States is likely to lead to isolationism and to the growth of un-economic small local units. In this connection the following observations of the honourable member in charge of the post-war development should satisfy even the most pessimistic thinkers. He has remarked that :

“ A concentrated plan by all units forming the vast sub-continent of India, having one common aim differing in methods of work and execution only to suit local conditions, is an essential condition for success. Co-ordination of effort, pooling of all knowledge and ideas, and avoidance of overlapping are essential in the common interest. With her limited resources of technical man-power, no part of India could afford to fritter away its resources or try to become self-sufficient in all matters.”

As a concrete example of our Inter-State and Provincial co-operation I may mention that Hyderabad has recently entered into an agreement with the Governments of Madras and Mysore State to tap the waters of the river Tungabhadra and jointly complete the irrigations and hydro-electric schemes.

(*To be continued.*)

THE APPRECIATION OF INDIAN ART

BY BARBARA WHITTINGTON-JONES

OPPORTUNITIES to study Indian art in this country have long been astonishingly scanty, and is more than a century behind other branches of Indian learning.

Already in the eighteenth century the study of Indian philology and history had been initiated by a group of East India Company officials, who were inspired orientalists as well as distinguished administrators. The founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784, in which Sir William Jones, that phenomenal linguist, who is the true father of British orientalism, was the prime mover and its first President, opened a vast field of scholarship in Indian antiquities, which is a big item on the credit side of our connection with India as well as a unique enrichment to world culture. This enterprise owed much to the active support of the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, who, for strictly practical reasons, sought a means of training officials in Sanskrit so that they might better administer the Hindu population of the former Moghul Empire. (Persian, being the official court language of the Moghuls, and the lingua franca of India as a whole, was known to most company officials, but until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the study of Sanskrit was a closed book to all Europeans living in India. Hindu laws, writings and petitions had therefore to be translated into Persian to enable the English rulers to understand and apply them.)

At home in England the beginning of Sanskrit studies may be held to date from the opening of the company's library and museum at Leadenhall Street in 1801, when Sir Charles Wilkins, the original pioneer of Sanskrit philology, became librarian. This project also was effectively encouraged by Warren Hastings, then in retirement. It was followed by the founding by the company of Haileybury College in 1806, the nursery of future Indian administrators, and in 1823 by the founding of the Royal Asiatic Society by Henry Colebrook, third in this great trinity of Sanskrit scholars.

But attention to pure art lagged, perhaps because a mastery of the linguistic and archaeological background was indispensable to a real understanding of Indian art forms. Even so, in view of our long and intimate connection with India, and the abundance of flourishing learned institutions to further it, one continues to wonder how the serious study of Indian art came to be overlooked until about thirty years ago. A beginning was made in 1910 when in a famous letter to *The Times* the values of Indian sculpture were proclaimed for the first time by a group of working artists. The signatories included Laurence Housman, Walter Crane, W. B. Yeats, W. R. Lethaby, T. W. Rolleston, Sir Thomas Arnold and William Rothenstein.

"We find in the best art of India a lofty and adequate expression of the religious emotion of the people and of their deepest thoughts on the subject of the divine," they wrote. "We trust that [the School of National Art in that country] will zealously preserve the individual character which is the outgrowth of the history and physical conditions of the country, as well as of those ancient and profound religious conceptions which are the glory of India and of all the Eastern world."

As a result of this gesture the India Society was founded in the following year to promote interest in Indian art. One of its first undertakings was the publication of copies of the Ajanta frescoes. Later it held exhibitions of Indo-Saracenic art and of Hindu religious art. In 1934 it organized an exhibition of modern Indian art from the art schools of Calcutta, Bombay and elsewhere. It included some of Tagore's own paintings and was opened by the Queen, then Duchess of York.

Fresh encouragement was given by the King-Emperor George V. at the opening of the School of Oriental Studies in 1917, when he said that "the ancient history and art of India are of unique interest in the history of human endeavour," and thenceforward Indian art and archaeology have been taught at London University. At Wembley the India Society organized a display of Indian paintings which proved one of the chief centres of attraction and there was also a stall of arts and crafts arranged by Mr. Lionel Heath, head of the Art School in Lahore. In 1931 the Burlington Fine Arts Club held a private exhibition of Indian art which attracted much attention from orientalists. Rather belatedly a full-dress affair at Burlington House on the lines of the great Persian, Chinese and other exhibitions was planned for the winter of 1939-40, but had to be cancelled owing to the war. In this brief survey mention must be made of the great permanent Indian collections at the British Museum and at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which are much visited by foreign scholars and very popular with the schools.

Last year *The Times* published another letter, this time in an admonitory tone. It called for greater attention to Indian art, literature and archaeology, and appeared on October 11, 1943, over the signatures of Mr. Amery, Mr. R. A. Butler, Mr. John Masefield, Lord Zetland, Lord Wavell, Sir William Rothenstein and others.

They wrote: "It is a regrettable truth that these studies have generally obtained less recognition in Britain, in spite of our Imperial responsibilities, than on the Continent, and we feel that urgent efforts should be made to remedy this state of affairs." A happy solution of the difficult political problem of the present day, the letter continued, upon which good relations between Britain and India in future depend, springs ultimately from an understanding of each other's spiritual and cultural backgrounds.

Sir Kenneth Clark, the revolutionary and modernistic Director of the National Gallery, declared the other day that mediæval Indian sculpture is very much underrated. The late Roger Fry he described as "an honourable exception" to the almost universal disregard of Indian art forms among English art critics. Some years earlier Mr. Lawrence Binyon had compared the Ajanta frescoes with the best Italian paintings. In 1940 the India Society sponsored a photographic exhibition of Hindu art, which was held at the Warburg Institute. It had been arranged by Dr. Stella Kramrisch of the University of Calcutta. It was opened by Mr. Amery before a large audience and subsequently went on tour in the Provinces. A small Indian Art Exhibition recently held at the Alpine Club was a striking expression of the immense potential interest in Indian art. Owing to wartime conditions it was not possible to obtain specimens from India. The exhibition therefore relied entirely upon examples loaned by private collectors in England.

A group of Gandhara sculptures third to fourth century provided the most notable feature of the exhibition. Recovered from the inaccessible valleys of the Indo-Afghan Frontier, these Buddhas of greyish-blue schist with their somewhat incongruous Greck draperies are a forceful reminder of the Macedonian invasion under Alexander the Great when contact between Europe and Asia began. By the fifth century A.D. we find that the classical veneer has long disappeared or been absorbed and a Gupta Buddha in bronze is wholly Indian in spirit and in form. Several Khmer heads of the twelfth to fourteenth century in sandstone illustrated the Indian influence upon Siam and Farther India. Some exquisite Moghul miniatures included some panels

of illuminated calligraphy and a portrait of the Emperor Shah Jehan. The heyday of John Company was reflected in the display of gay hand-painted re-dyed chintzes made expressly for the European market, where they helped to create the eighteenth-century vogue for "chinoiserie."

The "austerity" dimensions of this little exhibition were effectively enlarged by the rich comprehensive programme of lectures, mostly illustrated by superb lantern slides of Indian scenes and monuments, and of readings from Indian classics. The lecturers included Mr. K. de B. Codrington, the dynamic Keeper of the Indian Section at the Victoria and Albert Museum and one of the technical advisers to the exhibition; Miss Dora Gordine (the Hon. Mrs. Richard Hare), the distinguished sculptress; Dr. E. H. Hunt, Mr. Basil Gray, Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Mr. Sistir Kumar Mukherjea, Dr. Reginald le May, Miss Beryl de Zoete, Mr. Swami Avatykananta, Mr. Bhupen Mukherjea. Readings from Indian literature were given by Dame Sybil Thorndike, Mr. Robert Speight, Miss Sheri Saklatvala, Mr. V. C. Clinton-Baddeley, Miss Peggy Ashcroft and Miss Patricia Hilliard. In spite of the "doodlebugs" these lectures and the exhibition were very well attended.

Some critics have professed to find the art of India and China too difficult to understand. But Mr. Codrington replied that no creation of man in East or West is too difficult to understand given the will to learn and the time to study. "Ancient Greece is no more, and Rome is hardly what it was," he said. "The Oriental empires of the Nile and the Tigris are dead. Only in China and India does tradition survive from the beginning. No man who boasts himself a humanist can afford to neglect them."

The rising ascendancy of Asiatic art was also stressed by Miss Dora Gordine. "The art of today," she declared, "has more to learn from the sculpture of India and China than from Greece and Rome. For pure sculpture, unlike painting, reached a degree of perfection in Asia which it hardly ever achieved in Europe, except perhaps for a certain period in Greece."

This stimulating effort was followed by the organization by Mr. Codrington of an exhibition entitled "Colour and Pattern in India," under the auspices of the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, which is touring the island after a preliminary view at the Imperial Institute. This will perform the very useful function of familiarizing the Provinces' Indian art.

It is to be hoped that the plans for a large-scale exhibition of Indian art, sponsored by the India Society for display at Burlington House, will be revived as soon as possible. Considerable stimulus has been given by Queen Mary, who has always been deeply interested in Indian art, and recently honoured the India Society by her membership and graciously consented to become its patron. Its name has accordingly been changed to The Royal India Society. Let us hope that the change foreshadows a new awakening to the claims of Indian art and culture upon the attention of the Western world.

THE INDIAN STATES IN WAR AND PEACE

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

A RECENT official survey reveals that the Indian States have supplied over 375,000 recruits for the fighting forces of India. Some of these are with States units, others with Indian Army units. Recruitment in the States has covered all branches of the fighting forces—the Army, Navy and Air Force as well as the auxiliary services attached to them. Large numbers of men have also been recruited to non-combatant ranks, including many for skilled and technical work. Enlistment is entirely on a voluntary basis in all the States. Besides enlisting large numbers through their own recruiting organizations, the States have extended complete co-operation and active assistance to the Central Recruiting Committees organized by the Defence Depart-

ment of the Government of India. At present 63 States units are serving outside the States. In addition, 38 Indian Army units have been raised by the States.

In regard to the fighting valour and competence of the men so recruited, Lord Linlithgow's farewell tribute still remains applicable—viz., that "The Indian States Forces have taken full advantage of the opportunities that have come to them to win fresh distinction on the battlefield." As the former Viceroy added: "Nor has the active aid of the States in the actual war zones been confined to combatant units. Invaluable assistance, at a time of very real and pressing need, has been lent by the Indian States in providing labour units for the construction of roads and aerodromes. For the rest, contributions and offers of personal service, aircraft, buildings, labour, watercraft, machinery, training facilities and medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description have continued to pour in from Indian States in an ever-widening stream. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation; thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been most readily granted, not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies; and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new science of jungle warfare." The value of the latter service is adequately measured by the recent advances in Burma.

Indeed, as the pages of this periodical have constantly testified, every State has placed its resources unreservedly at the disposal of the War Department. While some of the larger States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior and Travancore, which possess large industries, have been able to supply a variety of goods, some of the smaller States have made valuable contributions from their natural resources. For example, Keonrajh and Mayurbhanj have supplied over three million tons of iron ore (two million tons of pig iron), while Sandur State in South India has contributed vast quantities of manganese. An arms factory has been started in Hyderabad with the active co-operation of the Nizam's Government. Mysore is producing 24,000 tons of steel per annum, which is subsequently rolled into bars and structurals. The State also makes large quantities of cast pipes and some of its high-grade iron is used for making machinery castings. Mysore is now erecting a second 25-ton steel furnace, which will almost double its steel output. Another recent installation is an electric furnace to produce ferro-silicon for steel-making. These furnaces will meet about half the total demand of India. Among other States Hyderabad and Baroda are making valuable contributions to arms and ammunition production. The States have also undertaken pioneering work in the field of aircraft production, notably Mysore.

Although the foregoing details afford convincing proofs of the industrial activities and the considerable potentialities of the Indian States at a time when available resources are being subjected to the closest scrutiny, they do not tell the whole story. For textile manufacture is by no means a monopoly of British India. Thousands of Army blankets and many thousands of yards of woollen cloth and hosiery goods have been supplied by Hyderabad, Baroda, Kashmir, and other States, while Kashmir and Mysore supply the silk required for the manufacture of parachutes. The Maharaja of Gwalior presented to the Government of India as a free gift the only mill in India equipped to manufacture webbing cloth. Again a very large proportion of India's supply of chemicals comes from Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda, Kashmir, Gwalior, Bikaner and Mayurbhanj. Kashmir is the world's chief supplier of belladonna, from which atropine, sulphas and various other preparations are made. The entire turpentine production of Kashmir is devoted to war needs, while valuable chemicals of every kind prepared in Hyderabad, Mysore and Baroda are also devoted exclusively to defence requirements. Rubber products have come from Travancore, Baroda and Mysore, and have been an additionally valuable standby owing to Japanese occupation of the larger rubber-growing areas further east. Timber is another States product, and has been made available to the extent of 215,000 tons for the manufacture of railway sleepers, aeroplanes, and smaller articles such as packing cases, rifle butts, etc. Such essential building materials as cement and tiles have come in large quantities from the States, Hyderabad alone producing 250,000 tons of

cement annually. This list is not exhaustive, but, lest it should become exhausting, let it suffice! It should, however, be added that in their all-out war effort the States are contributing money, proportionately to their resources, as unstintingly as they are providing men and material. In some States military expenditure has increased by as much as 300 to 400 per cent., while the average increase exceeds 100 per cent., these figures excluding outlay on A.R.P., Civic Guards, additional police, etc. In terms of donations the States' total contributions are more than half the All-India figure in the Viceroy's War Purposes Fund, which now totals about £8,000,000. Although this is neither the time nor the place to divulge the controversial issues which have led to a temporary suspension of the meetings of the Chamber of Princes, one assertion which may be made with complete confidence is that the States' contribution to India's war effort remains unaffected; the Chancellor of the Chamber reflecting the attitude of his brother Princes, without exception or exaggeration, when in a recent speech he declared: "I am not one of those who regard the turning of the tide as an occasion for resting upon our oars; rather should we redouble our efforts to reach our goal with the least delay, lest another turn of the tide should find us still at sea."

Whether the economic co-operation essential to the full implementation of the reconstruction plans recently adumbrated by the Government of India can be achieved without the Constitutional Federation contemplated by the India Act of 1935 only time can reveal. Palpably maximum development in such fields as hydro-electric power, irrigation, road expansion and improvement, and many of the other projects outlined in the New Delhi, cannot be achieved unless the fullest collaboration is secured—if not by federation, then by voluntary co-operation within the ambit of the present political structure. As regards post-war planning, as readers are aware, the larger and more progressive States are at least as active as the British India Provinces, and indeed are ahead of some of them.

In Hyderabad, where the State had already acquired the railways from the London company which formerly owned and managed them, it has now also acquired a controlling interest in the local coal-mining industry, purchasing the holdings of sterling shareholders for that purpose. In British India the Central Government has for many years owned a number of coal mines, which are used to supplement the coal purchased for railway requirements from private collieries, but in Hyderabad in this field the Government now occupies the position of sole producer, and the considerations which prompted it to adopt this rôle are worth noting. As explained in a Hyderabad "White Paper," the history of modern mining in the Nizam's dominions dates back to 1886, when Messrs. W. C. Watson and J. Stewart were given a monopoly of mining rights in the State for 99 years. The same year the concessionaires formed a company called the Hyderabad Deccan Company. Most of the mining activities in the State have since been in the hands of this company or in those of the companies to which it transferred its rights. In 1907 the Hyderabad Deccan Company was granted leases in the State covering an area of about 3,075 sq. miles, in addition to the leases for Singareni coal and the Raichur Doab gold granted, respectively, in 1893 and 1894. In 1920 the Singareni Collieries Company, Limited, was incorporated and registered under the laws of the State, and 88·5 per cent. of the shares of the company were acquired and held by the Hyderabad Deccan Company. The Singareni Collieries Company took over the lease of the Singareni Collieries and rights in respect of the Kothagudium coalfields from the Hyderabad Deccan Company and gradually acquired its rights over all the other coal-bearing areas.

In Hyderabad, as in British India, the war-time shortage of labour led to a decline in coal production for which State ownership, it was decided, afforded the only effective remedy. To quote the Hyderabad Government's own document:

"As the sole right for mining activities in the areas under the lease were vested in the Singareni Collieries Company, Government could not take any action to increase the output of coal to meet the growing industrial needs of the State. In the wake of the war came rising prices and a general rise in wages. Increased industrial activity opened up alternative avenues of employment for

the mine labourer offering attractive wages with less rigorous conditions of work. This naturally decreased the number of workers in the mines and led almost to an exodus of labour from the coal-fields. Ultimately it became evident that the output of coal could be maintained only if Government acquired an interest in the collieries and employed their administrative machinery for the recruitment and maintenance of labour at the collieries. Failing this, it was apprehended, the output of coal would continue to fall.

"With a view to keeping up and increasing the output of coal to further their plans of post-war development in general and to step up their war effort in particular, His Exalted Highness's Government considered it essential to acquire a controlling interest in the Singareni Collieries Company. It was also felt necessary that arrangements should be made by payment of reasonable compensation to obtain surrenders and transfers of concessions and rights held by the Hyderabad Deccan Company in respect of coal, gold, diamonds and other minerals occurring in the dominions so as to relieve our entire mineral wealth of all long-term concessional encumbrances."

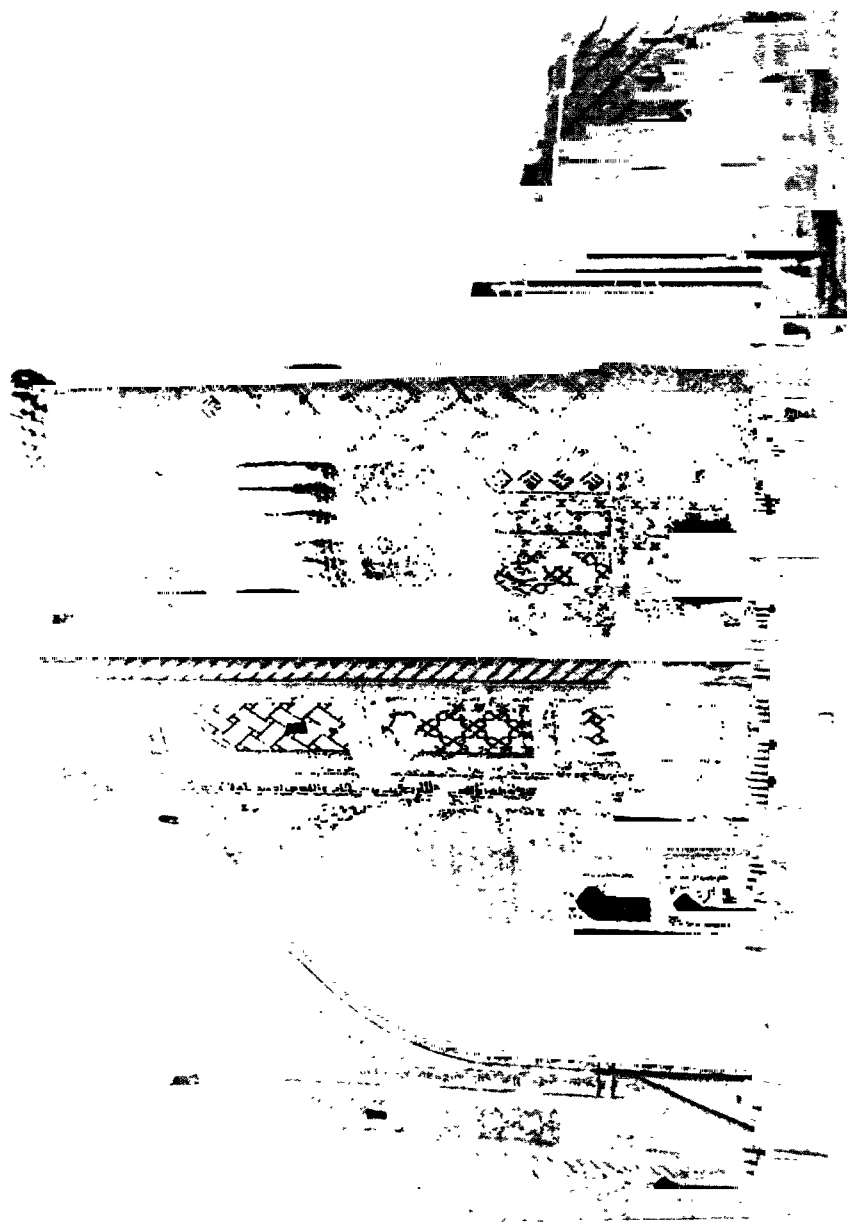
Enquiries revealed that the Hyderabad Deccan Company was willing to sell its entire holdings of the ordinary shares and debentures of the Singareni Collieries Company "if a reasonable price was offered," and no great difficulty was experienced in reaching terms mutually acceptable. From the standpoint of Hyderabad, as Government emphasize, one important factor was that, being "domiciled" in Great Britain, the Hyderabad Deccan Company was liable to heavy taxation (about ten shillings in the pound) of its revenue derived almost entirely from the shares of the Singareni Collieries held by it. With the transfer of these shares to India the dividends will no longer be liable to such heavy deductions. Above all, the Hyderabad Government can henceforth control its own output of coal and other minerals in its own way and on lines contributory to a co-ordinated plan of industrial development. It has been calculated that the quantity of coal available from the area leased to the Singareni Company is about 1,000 million tons. Of this the quantity extracted so far is only about 33 million tons. This points to a long period of profitable working, with production and distribution regulated to suit State interests, added to the general consideration that, as claimed, "the acquisition by Government of a controlling interest in the mining industry of the State carries the assurance that the general mineral wealth of the State will be utilized for fulfilling its growing industrial and other needs."

It would, I think, be a complete misinterpretation of this action to infer that the object in view is to terminate the connection of British capital or enterprise with India's premier State. If old doors are closing, new doors are opening. Hyderabad nurtures, and intends to further, large industrial ambitions. Speaking at the Seventh Industrial Exhibition held recently in Hyderabad, H.E.H. the Nizam epitomized the programme of his Government when he declared: "Apart from reviving the ancient arts and crafts, it is necessary also to establish modern large-scale industries in order to improve the economic conditions of the country. By this I mean mass production of machine-made goods which are not only needed in the country but for which there is a demand also outside the State." This declaration may serve as a reminder to British manufacturers that the scope for industrial collaboration in India is not limited to the British India Provinces alone. Typical of the official projects now going forward in Hyderabad is the determination to establish a new industrial town in the Godavary Valley, a part of the State rich in minerals such as coal, limestone, soapstone, fine clay, iron ore and graphite as well as in such other products as timber, cotton, and oilseeds. In due course it is hoped to establish other industrial centres in Raichur, Nalgonda and Warangal, all of which are rich in mineral wealth. The Commerce and Industries Member, the Hon. Nawab Zain Yar Jung Bahadur, stresses that "A vital factor which will play a great part in the success of the Godavary Valley Scheme is the installation of hydro-electric and thermal power stations which will provide cheap power for maintaining the industries established there. The new industrial town will be built on entirely modern lines with efficient and adequate arrangements for housing labour."



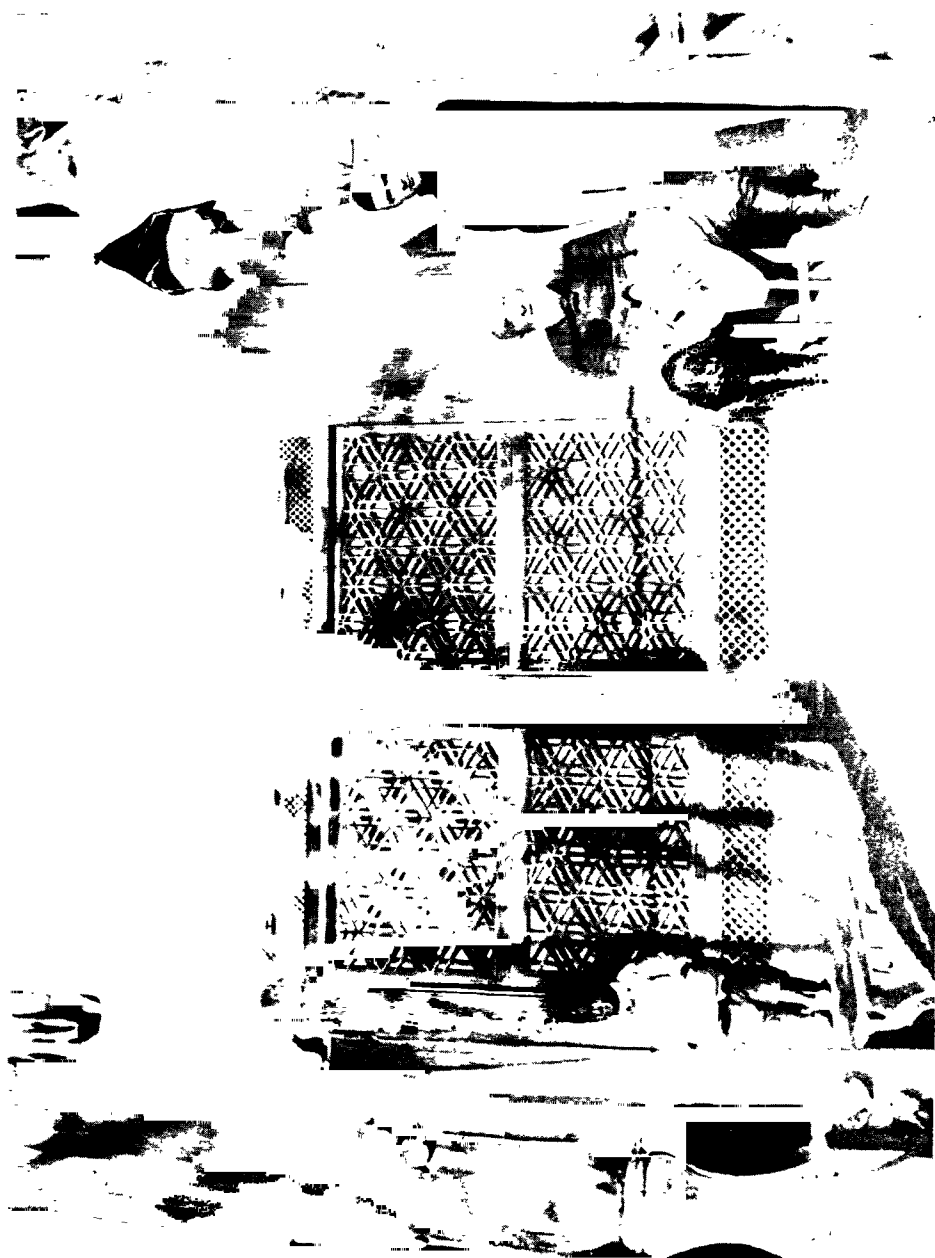
SAMARKAND : SHAH-I-ZINDA

Photo : Soviet War News Weekly.



SAMARKAND : PORTAL OF SHUR-DOR

Photo: Soviet War News Weekly



TASHKENT : "KASHKARCHA" OR LATTICE WALL IN A PRIVATE HOUSE

Photo: Sun et War News Weekly



TASHKENT : GENERAL VIEW OF THE MOSQUE OF TURSUN-AIA

Photo: Soviet War News Agency.

MONUMENTS OF MUSSULMAN CULTURE IN UZBEKISTAN

BY TASHMUHAMED KARINIYASOV

(President of the Academy of Sciences of the Uzbek S.S.R.)

THE territory of the present-day Uzbek Republic is one of the most ancient seats of civilization. The numerous old monuments to be found here are the objects of constant care on the part of the Uzbek Government, which annually assigns large funds for their restoration and preservation. In the early days of Soviet rule a special committee was set up to carry out this extensive and valuable work. Its members study and restore relics of the Middle Ages, a period of particular interest in the history of the Central Asiatic peoples known as the "Central Asiatic Renaissance."

A thorough study has been made of the site of ancient Samarkand, capital of the mighty State founded by the celebrated Timur. A plan of the town as it existed at the time of the Timur dynasty has been drawn up, showing the exact location of the various monuments and buildings, many of which have survived to this day.

An important piece of work done in Samarkand was the straightening out of the minaret of the famous Medressah, erected by Ulug Bek, grandson of Timur and eminent savant and humanist of his period. The minaret was threatening to collapse, and it required much technical ingenuity on the part of Soviet architects to save it.

Equally important were the measures taken to preserve from decay the seventeenth-century Medressah in Samarkand, known as Ship Dor. The arch of its main portal was relaid. Restoration work was also performed on the coloured ceramic facing of another Medressah of the same period, Till-Kara, a structure of striking beauty and elegance. This work was made possible by the discovery of the lost secret of manufacture of these coloured ceramic tiles which were used in Central Asia in the Middle Ages for facing buildings.

Archæological research carried out in Samarkand led to the discovery of the remains of the celebrated suburban palace of Ulug Bek. It was known in its time as the Porcelain Palace, because of the porcelain tiles with which the interior halls were lined, and which, according to legend, were brought from China on camels. Just prior to the war a special Government Commission consisting of eminent archæologists, anthropologists, historians and physicians, observing all measures of precaution, opened up the vaults of the mausoleum G.R. Emir, where lie interred Timur, his son, Shahrub, his grandson Ulug Bek, and other of his near descendants. Highly valuable information was gathered.

Extensive archæological researches have also been carried out by Soviet experts in ancient Kharizm. Excavations reveal that a very high culture once flourished in this city. Remains of monuments of diverse periods from the first to the tenth centuries of our era have been found buried in the sand. These finds are particularly valuable as no written records exist of Kharizm of that period.

On the western edge of the Bukhara oasis, archæologists have discovered the remains of a palace, one of the most ancient monuments of the town of Barkhash, to judge by evidence taken from Narhash, the tenth-century historian of Bukhara. Barkhash flourished in the first millennium of our era and for a long time it was the residence of the so-called Bukhar Khudats, the rulers of the Bukhara oasis. The palace was built between the third and seventh centuries, and for its magnificence and beauty was classed by Narhash among the seven wonders of the world. Very fine specimens of carved alabaster used to ornament the interior halls have been found.

Archæological excavations have also been carried out in Termez, another of the ancient cities of Central Asia, situated on the banks of the Amudarya. Here fine specimens of Greco-Bactrian art have been discovered.

Extensive operations concentrated chiefly on the site of the Guremir Mausoleum are still continuing in Samarkand. Two years' research has revealed that Guremir constituted only part of a series of large architectural structures which are today no

longer extant. This is confirmed by the discovery beneath a two-metre layer of sand of the remains of the foundations of a building, part of which was built prior to Guremir. Guremir is now being carefully restored to preserve for many ages to come this monument of ancient Mussulman culture. The Uzbekistan Government has assigned two million roubles for the work, for which old folk craftsmen, skilled in Central Asiatic art building, have volunteered their services. Collective farms have offered to provide the building materials necessary for the work.

One most valuable piece of research undertaken in war-time is the study of Shahrīsyabz, not far from which Timur was born. The ancient Mussulman monuments to be found in this town are in many cases not inferior in beauty and luxuriance to those of Samarkand, but until quite recently they had not been studied so closely. It is now possible to establish the date of erection of many of these relics, some of which proved to be much older than was originally supposed. Careful research has ascertained that one of the most ancient monuments in Shahrīsyabz, known to this day as Hazret-i-Iman, is actually the mausoleum erected by Timur and intended for himself and members of his family. However, as we know, Timur was buried in Samarkand.

In Bukhara, besides extensive restoration work carried out before the war in the celebrated tenth-century mausoleum of Ismail Samanid and the sixteenth-century Kalyan mosque, during the war itself the palace of the nineteenth-century emirs of Bukhara has been restored. It is now a museum.

WHO WERE THE SARACENS?

By C. C. R. MURPHY

IN the history of the Middle Ages we read a great deal about the Saracens, a generic term that seems to have been loosely applied to all who took up arms against those striving to obtain for Christendom the control of the Holy Land.

Even before the close of the Plantagenet dynasty, in spite of the failure of the Crusades and the waning popularity of penitentiary pilgrimages, inn signs such as the *Saracen's Head*, the *Turk's Head*, and the *Trip to Jerusalem* were occasionally to be seen by the roadside; but by the beginning of the seventeenth century the first-named at all events had become general throughout England. Most of these famous inns, with titles reminiscent of the Crusades, have vanished long ago, though a few—notably the *Saracen's Head* at Southwell near Newark, another of the same name at King's Norton, and the *Trip to Jerusalem* at Nottingham—are still in existence, whilst the general interest in the Saracens themselves remains as keen as ever. Though so many centuries have passed away since that interest was first aroused, people are still asking: "Who actually were the Saracens? How did this household word come into the English language, and what is the ultimate derivation of it?" These questions are not easily answered, involving as they do much consideration and research. Nevertheless, it is proposed to discuss the subject in this article, and to see whether it is possible to arrive at any conclusions.

According to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* the earliest certain mention of this name is to be found in the work composed by Dioscurides about the middle of the first century A.D., who describes the resin of bdellium as a product of a Saracenic tree, adding that it was imported through Petra. Pliny the elder states that the Arab tribes of the interior, whose lands bordered on the Nabatæans, were called Araceni. Ptolemy, in his books on geography that were written about the middle of the second century, says that Sarakene was the name of a territory lying to the west of the Black Mountains that stretched from the Gulf of Faran to Judæa, beside Egypt. On the other hand, the same authority describes the Saracens as a people in the interior of Arabia Felix.

According to Stephanus Byzantinus, Saraka was a district beyond the Nabatæans, who were themselves Arabs, and its inhabitants were called Sarakenoi. In the treatise of Bardasanes (third century) the Sarakoye—for which the translation of Eusebius gives Sarakenoi—are simply the nomad Arabs. These statements are very important.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* says that in mediæval times the name was often associated with Sarah, the wife of Abraham, and adds that St. Jerome identifies the Saracens with the Agareni (Hagarens, descendants of Hagar), "who are now called Saracens, taking to themselves the name of Sara."

Of the above, the statement by Ptolemy is entirely unsupported, whilst that of St. Jerome appears to be based on conjecture alone. Neither of them is convincing, and we may safely conclude that the people whom the Greeks called Sarakenoi, and the Romans Saraceni, were merely the nomad Arabs of the desert. It is probable that the name was originally applied by the scattered Greek and Roman communities of Syria and Palestine, perhaps even before the Christian era, to all the Arabs with whom they came in contact. Much later it was used by them and the Byzantines as a generic term for the followers of the Prophet, and was transmitted to western Europe through the Crusaders, who always spoke of their Muslim adversaries as Saracens.

Many years ago, during a long sojourn in Syria and Palestine, the writer discussed this subject at length with several prominent Arabic and Aramaic scholars, and from these discussions three important points emerged—namely (1) that the name Sarakene was unknown to Arabic literature and tradition alike; (2) that it was not the name of any particular tribe or place; and (3) that it was a name used by Europeans and not by the Arabs themselves. It was also agreed that there was nothing to be said in favour of a suggestion by Moritz that the "little Beduin tribe of Sawarke, who live at the present day along the coast between Pelusium and Ghazza, may be their descendants."

It seems logical to suppose that the ultimate derivation of our word Saracen, which has for so long been a matter of controversy amongst scholars, must be sought in one of the Semitic languages. Many theories have been advanced as to its origin, the most popular being that it is derived from the Arabic word *sharq*, meaning sunrise or east; and that the Saracens were merely the *sharqiyin*, or easterners, just as the Arabs of North Africa were the *maghribiyin*, or westerners. This argument, however, contains a serious flaw, because the Arabs when expressing the direction of a place in terms of the compass always did so in its relation to Mecca. The application of such terms as east and west was thus strictly limited by them even in the Days of Ignorance.

It must be borne in mind that Mecca did not spring suddenly into existence or fame with the coming of the Prophet. Long before the rise of Islam it was not only a commercial centre, but also a celebrated place of pilgrimage. The Meccans naturally referred to the people of North Africa as "westerners" because they dwelt in a land that lay outside the Arabian continent and to the west of Mecca; but they would never have spoken of the Saracens as "easterners." Nor would the Europeans domiciled in Syria have done so. This important limitation, which compels a re-examination of the subject, seems to have been overlooked even by Burton himself. For a long time the champions of the *sharq* theory have dominated the field, and the support given to it by Burton (who may not have gone deeply into the matter) has so far deterred its opponents from taking the initiative. Actually, however, there is nothing to be said in its favour.

Two other suggested derivations—however unworthy of serious consideration—may be noted in passing. The first associates the Aramaic Sarakāje with Sarakhs, a town in north-eastern Iran; the second with Sirkeji, the port railway terminus in Stamboul. Sirkeji means vinegar-maker or vinegar-seller, from *sirke*, the Turkish word for vinegar—also used in Urdu and Persian. Neither of these place-names, however, has any etymological connection with Sarakāje. They are clearly cases of mistaken identity, and have only been quoted to show (as Archbishop Trench would have said) the absurdities into which we may be betrayed by a similarity of sound.

The O.E.D. says that among the later Greeks and Romans Saracens was the name for the nomadic peoples of the Syro-Arabian desert who harassed the Syrian confines of the empire. The question is, however, were they so called because they

were nomads, or because they harassed their neighbours? In other words, was it because they were Bedouin, or because they were marauders?

The imputation that the Saracens were marauders gave rise to the idea that the name was derived from the Arabic word *sāriq*, meaning a robber, plural *sāriqīn*. The resemblance is certainly tempting, but the theory is to be rejected. After the foundation of the Arabian empire by the successors of the Prophet the Byzantines call Saracens all Muslim peoples subject to the Caliphs, and this usage survived into the late Middle Ages, as is shown by the anecdote given by Ibn Battuta, who was greeted in Constantinople by the Emperor as "Sarakeno, that is Muslim." He would scarcely have been addressed in that fashion had the name been capable of any sinister interpretation.

Having thus dismissed the *sharq* and *sāriq* theories as untenable, the reader will naturally ask: "What alternative do you propose to offer in their stead?" Here is the answer. The signposts all point the same way.

In Aramaic, the word denoting the nomad Arabs of the desert as distinguished from the settled Arabs of the towns, villages and oases was Sarakāje, derived from the Aramaic root *srāk*, meaning empty and (by metonymy) a desert. Aramaic-speaking people called the desert *srāk* because it was an empty place—that is to say, devoid of fixed habitations. In exactly the same way the Arabs call the great desert that covers the south-eastern portion of the Arabian continent the *Ruba' al Khāli*, or the empty quarter. In this connection it is interesting to note that our word Bedouin comes from the Arabic *baida*, a desert. The Bedouin are thus merely the dwellers in the desert, though of course they must be Arabs of the right blood or stock: for not all Arabs are Bedouin, even though they may be nomads.

In support of this view the *Encyclopædia of Islam* says that "the spelling *sarkī* in the Palestinian Talmud and in the Targum Yerushalmi as well as amongst the Syrians points to *saruk* as the root, provided that this form is not based on Sarakenos." The same authority states that "Winckler thought he had discovered the word *sharraḳu* in the meaning "desert-dwellers" in two passages in Sargon's *Annals*, and derived the name Saracens from this." There is no doubt that the Akkadian word *sharraḳu* and the Aramaic *srāk* spring from a common root of great antiquity.

In conclusion, therefore, we may express the opinion with reasonable confidence that our word Saracen came into the English language through the post-classical Greek and Latin writers: that these people were originally the nomad Arabs of the desert; and that the ultimate derivation of the name is to be found in the Aramaic root *srāk*.

THE PROBLEM OF MALAYA

By J. R. PERCEVAL

NOT all those who express opinions concerning the future of British Malaya seem to be aware that, except for the Colony of the Straits Settlements, no part of Malaya is British territory. Both the federated and unfederated States, which comprise almost the entire mainland of Malaya, are independent States ruled by their own sovereigns. Although the Malays living in them are glad to regard themselves as members of the British Empire, they are not British subjects but are subjects of their respective Sultans, who rule under British protection and guidance. The problems of the Malay States cannot, therefore, be solved by dictatorial methods, and any speculation upon them which ignores the significance of the Sultans is bound to be misguided.

The four central States (Perak, Pahang, Selangor and Negri Sembilan) are federated, but each has its own Malay Ruler, as zealous in maintaining his position and powers as are the Rulers of the five unfederated States: Johore in the south; Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu in the north (all four now incorporated in

Siam by the Japanese). Under the treaties of protection we are pledged not only to respect Malay custom and religion, but also to uphold the position of the Rulers. Any attempt to do otherwise would be utterly unjustifiable.

Opponents of "British Imperialism" often insinuate that these Malay Rulers are mere puppets subsidized by the British Government. In theory the possibility of their deteriorating to this inferior status is obvious and needs to be constantly guarded against. In practice the Sultans enjoy the whole-hearted support of their peoples, who recognize them not only as their Rulers but also as the chief guardians of Malay interests. Loyalty to their Sultan and their State is, indeed, one of the dominant characteristics of the Malays. The fact that this loyalty scarcely extends as yet beyond the boundaries of the individual State is a relic of the feudal conditions prevailing in the country up to the time of British protection : it is also one of the main obstacles to achieving the political and economic unity of Malaya as a whole which is essential for its future welfare.

Each of the States has its own postage stamps and, although the whole of the Malaya is no larger than Great Britain, each of the unfederated States has its own customs duties. The federation was an experiment in unity and it brought great benefits to the States concerned, as well as indirect benefits to the others. The reason that these other States remained firmly aloof was the fear that entry into the federation would infringe upon their sovereignty. It was mainly to allay such fears that the policy of decentralization was introduced into the F.M.S.; but, although each of the unfederated States had a British Adviser with very wide political powers, it was not his policy to force the Ruler to act against the latter's will and, so far as federation in any form was concerned, he was expressly forbidden by treaty to do so.

Strong as the position of the Malay Rulers was, and strong as it will remain under British protection, it is nevertheless a somewhat incongruous one. The cause of this incongruity may be readily appreciated by reference to the figures of Malaya's population as estimated in 1940. Of the nearly $5\frac{1}{2}$ million inhabitants of Malaya in that year only $2\frac{1}{4}$ millions were Malays, including a large proportion of Malay immigrants from the Netherlands Indies. The Chinese, on the other hand, numbered 2,350,000. The total of the Indian population was 750,000 and that of the Europeans only 31,000.

These figures tell the story of Malaya far more explicitly than any history books can do; they also indicate the true nature of the Malayan problem. That problem is not primarily one of military defence, as many people have been inclined to suppose. The lessons of the Malayan campaign will supply their own clear answer as to what measures will be required for the future defence of the country. It cannot be sufficiently emphasized, moreover, that the defeat of Malaya, as all the evidence collated by Sir George Maxwell in "The Civil Defence of Malaya" proves beyond doubt, was "from beginning to end a military disaster due to lack of military preparedness and adequate military forces." Failure to realize this fact and the consequent attempts to seek other explanations for that defeat have been responsible for much of the confusion of public opinion on the issues involved.

The real problem of Malaya has its roots buried deep in the country and in its people. In the country, because Malaya is one of the richest and most fertile lands in the world, which before the war was supplying approximately one-half of the world's rubber and one-third of the world's tin. In the people, because although the Malays are the natural heirs of this rich land, it is the Malays alone who have neither sought nor desired the wealth of Malaya : Muhammadans by religion, their way of living is, in this respect at least, more strictly Christian than that of most of the countries professing Christianity. The whole of the modern history of Malaya is founded on this paradox.

In some of the Malay States the majority of the inhabitants are not Malays but Chinese. There is also a considerable proportion of Indians, who are British subjects. These Chinese, however, are not British subjects. Those who have been born in the Malay States are frequently referred to as "natural-born subjects" of the Sultans, but, as Roland Braddell, an eminent authority on Malayan law, recently pointed out in the magazine *British Malaya*, the Malay Rulers will accept as subjects only those who are Muhammadans and are of Malay parentage, or who at

least have a Malay father. The present status of the Chinese in the Malay States is, therefore, that of Chinese citizens, even though they may be "domiciled" in Malaya.

In the Colony the proportion of Chinese is still higher. But both Singapore and Penang were ceded to us by treaty and, having turned these two islands from uninhabitable, malarial swamps into two of the most important shipping and commercial centres in the East, their internal problems are of no direct concern to anybody but ourselves. It does not matter to anybody else how high the proportion of Chinese in them may be. Malacca has strong traditional associations with the Chinese in Malaya, dating back as far as four centuries, but, apart from the implications of its position on the mainland, its significance today is in other respects largely historic. The position in the Malay States, however, is totally different. Our relation to them is that of trustee, and therefore involves the difficult and delicate responsibility of supervising *their* property for *their* benefit. Our rôle is neither to compel nor to dictate, but to advise and guide.

The bulk of the Chinese, as also of the Indians in Malaya, supply the country's labour forces on the rubber plantations and in the tin mines. The Malay, not without reason, considers himself the "gentleman of the East," and he does not care for this type of work, or for any branch of commerce, and has little, if any, aptitude for it. Except for a small educated minority, the Malays are essentially a peasant or fishing people. They may well delight in running small rubber plantations on their own, and many Malays have small holdings of this nature—the Government did much to help and encourage them in this—but provided they gain an income sufficient to meet their meagre needs they are satisfied; if they can sell out at a profit and retire on the proceeds, they will not hesitate to do so. It is the Chinese, therefore, and to a lesser extent the Indians, who have always formed the economic backbone of the country and who are mainly responsible for its great prosperity.

Under British protection great Reservations were established in which Malays alone might own land, and much else was done to afford the Malay States economic and political protection. Several of the Malay Sultans realized, however, that the prosperity of their States was dependent upon alien immigration and the inflow of Chinese consequently continued on a great scale, although under a system of rigid control. We established a Chinese Secretariat and Protectors of Chinese in Malaya, also a Controller of Labour, in order to supervise the immigrant Chinese and Indian labour forces. But the most important step taken to protect the interests of the Malays was the exclusion of all except Malays and British Europeans from the administrative services of the country.

The majority of the Chinese labour force in Malaya are not concerned with the political problems of the country. They are there to earn a better living than they can do in their homeland and, having earned it, they return to China. Their interests do not, therefore, necessarily coincide with those of the Malays. There are, however, many other Chinese whose families have been living in Malaya for generations. The 1931 census showed that 31 per cent. of the Chinese population of Malaya had been born there. Their lives and interests are identified solely with the country of their adoption and they consider themselves Malaysians rather than Chinese. Many of them do not speak Chinese. Although they are represented on the State Legislative and Federal Councils they are still banned from the administrative services, and this exclusion has been a long-standing grievance in their eyes. In answer to the policy of "Malaya for the Malays," these Chinese put forward a claim of "Malaya for the Malaysians." Their claims cannot lightly be ignored, although it is feared in many quarters that any further encroachment of the Chinese in this direction might easily equal their present economic encroachment.

To some extent this underlying conflict has been aggravated in recent years by the rise of a spirit of nationalism in China the influence of which, Malays fear, is extending to the huge Chinese community in Malaya. At the same time failure to establish the political position of the Malayan Chinese on a more satisfactory basis must necessarily tend to make them more receptive to any outside influence or support for their cause than they would otherwise tend to be. There is, accordingly, a serious danger of a vicious circle evolving.

The crux of the Malayan problem lies in a decision, or at least a reconciliation,

between these two conflicting policies, and some ultimate solution to that problem must be found before the country can become a political unity capable of standing on its own feet in the modern world. Any such decision, however, which ignores the wishes of the Malay Rulers, as representatives of their race, would be contrary to our declared policy towards the country. Should some of these Sultans fail to survive the Japanese occupation, it will be our duty to place the rightful heirs upon their thrones, and it must be remembered that the education of the next generation of Malay Rulers has been very different from that of their predecessors. The young Malay princes have been brought up on more or less English public school lines and many of them have travelled and studied in Europe. It is good that they should have done so, for it is mainly upon their shoulders that the task of helping their people to adapt themselves to the conditions prevailing in the rest of the world will fall. As a result of their education and travels, they are likely to have views of their own as to how this task may be best performed.

The purpose of this article is to state the problem of Malaya rather than to solve it, for the first step towards any such solution must be the removal of misconceptions concerning the real nature of the problem. It would seem that the solution itself must lie along two parallel lines.

Firstly, no good purpose can be served by ignoring the presence of the Chinese community or their legitimate aspirations so long as these aspirations do not extend beyond Malaya. For those Chinese who are permanent residents in Malaya, and who have renounced or are prepared to renounce all other ties of allegiance, it should be possible to provide a more satisfactory political status than they have hitherto enjoyed.

Secondly, everything possible must be done to educate and encourage the Malays themselves to be able to compete with the Chinese. Much has already been done in this direction, but much remains to be done.

THE TERRACES OF NIGHT*

BY PETER WARREN TEW

The author was the winner of a prize in the *Young People's China Short Story Competition*, organized by Mrs. Hilda Seligman in London.)

TSAO LIN looked up into his mother's calm eyes; they were deep brown and flecked with white, rather like the pods he remembered seeing on the banks of the Yangtse-kiang when he was very little, and they were peaceful, as peaceful as the Chinese night and perhaps, he thought, as inscrutable. She smiled down at him and idly stroked his head.

"Mother," he said suddenly, "why don't the Americans and British come to help us? All these years we've been fighting alone, against such frightful odds and with so few weapons. They say they are Democracies and that they want freedom for all people. Then why don't they do something?"

His mother stopped stroking the back of his head, and, regarding her out of the corner of his eyes, he saw, by the expression on her face, that she was deep in thought.

At last she spoke.

"It's difficult for them, my dear," she said. "You see, they, too, are in deadly danger, not from Japan so much as from Germany. When Hitler is beaten, then they will come. I am absolutely sure. What a day that will be for China! The sky will be black with aeroplanes, not Japanese bombers, but British and American machines, the heralds of liberation." She sighed softly: "If only I could live to see that."

* "Sleeping on the terraces of night" is the beautiful Chinese phrase meaning "death."

"You will, mother," said Tsao Lin softly.

"That is in the lap of the gods," she answered quickly, "but I doubt it. Now," and she rose to her feet, "you must go down to the village and buy food."

She gave him money from the little tin box she kept under the pillow of her "comfort,"* and with a heavy heart Tsao Lin set out down the hill.

Two hours later—for it was a long, stiff climb back to the hut, perched like an eagle's eyrie on the side of the mountain—Tsao Lin pushed open the door and called out to his mother. There was no reply, only the muffled echo of his own voice. Suddenly, fear clutched with icy fingers at his heart-strings. Something dreadful had happened. He knew it, could feel it somehow in the very atmosphere of the room; all the warmth had gone out of it and been replaced by a chill which seemed to penetrate to the very marrow of his bones. On the table in the middle of the room, piled up neatly, were his mother's clothes, the clothes she had been wearing when he left for the village—and they were the only clothes she possessed! Wild, with panic sweeping over him like some vast tidal wave, his eyes explored the room. Nothing. But, yes, there was something, the one big window, which overlooked the precipitous rocks falling to the swift-flowing river below, was wide open, and the hinges creaked as the shutter was blown backwards and forwards in the wind. The noise completely unnerved him, and he was about to rush he knew not where, when his eyes fastened on a piece of paper which lay almost concealed under the heap of clothes.

Fearfully—why, he did not know—he slowly approached the table, then, quickly making up his mind, snatched the bit of paper and smoothed it out. It read as follows:

"MY DEAREST SON,

"Good-bye, and may the God of our fathers bless you and keep you always. Since your father was killed at the front it's been almost impossible to make ends meet. You've understood that, I think, and now there is so little money left, just enough, with what you can get in the village for my clothes, to take you to your uncle Ling in Chungking. He will look after you and bring you up to be a good Chinaman. What happens to us older people doesn't really matter much: the world that will come out of this chaos is for youth. See that you are worthy to take your place in it. Remember, my darling, I shall be watching you all the time from where I am sleeping peacefully on the terraces of night.

"Good-bye, my darling, good-bye."

Tsao Lin fell to the floor and wept unrestrainedly. Why, oh why, had this to happen? Would the free world never come to the rescue? Would freedom never return to tortured China? Slowly his eyes closed and the sleep of utter physical and mental exhaustion engulfed him.

Outside the shutter still swung backwards and forwards, creaking each time—and Tsao Lin and China waited for the dawn of a new day.

HOW CHINESE AIRMEN FIGHT

BY JACK RANDOLPH

(Special American Information Service Correspondent)

THE headquarters building of the Chinese-American Composite Wing Squadron is a two-roomed building where nothing ever seems to be happening. The deceptive quiet in its bare rooms is not even disturbed when important operations are in progress.

* "Comfort" is the Chinese name for a bed. It is generally composed of cloth padded with cotton-wool.

Occasionally young Chinese pilots, or Americans, drop in from their nearby quarters to talk to the twenty-eight-year-old American Commander or to exchange idle chatter. Even when they are told that they are about to go on a mission they receive the information as they would receive the news that a truck had a puncture outside headquarters. They may talk a little more, or just sit and smoke, before strolling away.

A few minutes later they may be getting their briefing for a dangerous job, and in half an hour or so thereafter they will be in the air. There the casual attitude ends. No airmen ever have been more eager for combat than the Chinese pilots of this squadron—according to their own Commander, a young American Major who is not given to exaggeration about anything. In fact, that eagerness troubles him a little sometimes.

"The only thing I ever had to criticize these fellows for is that sometimes I can't get them away from the target," he said. "Our system in strafing is to hit the target once and then go on before the Japs can get their guns set. A second pass at the target gives them a chance to get ready. But sometimes these boys keep on going back four or five times. They don't care how low they go, either, or how heavy the flak is. They take greater risks than I want them to take and it's hard to hold them back."

He thought that over for a minute, and added :

"But, then, if you want combat fliers you've got to get men who want to fight, and I've got them."

He ought to know, because he has been with them since they became a squadron. He and some American fliers met them at an air base in India to give them combat training. Some of them, like their thirty-two-year-old Chinese Commander, had been fighting in the air ever since that day seven years ago when a few Chinese planes struggled aloft to fight the overwhelmingly superior Jap Air Force at Shanghai. Others were trained in the United States and have not had combat experience. He and his aides taught them the American type of formation flying and the air tactics developed by the 14th Air Force. They are good fliers already.

"I took some of them up to teach them gunnery," he said, "but I soon found I couldn't teach them much. They were already good gunners."

After their training in India they came here as a squadron. By that time the Major had flown with every man and knew each man's abilities.

The Chinese airmen form a full squadron, some forty officers and some eighty other ranks, with their own commander. The Americans are commanded by the Major. He commands the entire group in air operations. They are members of the Chinese Air Force, assigned to duty with the Composite Wing of the 14th Air Force. Eventually they will be returned as a veteran unit to the Chinese Air Force by the simple expedient of withdrawing the Americans assigned to them.

On missions, the flying group are usually composed of about half Americans and half Chinese pilots, with full Chinese crews behind the Americans. But some missions are all Chinese. Frequently they team up with elements from nearby 14th Air Force fields for dual 14th Air Force-Composite Wing missions. In all of the missions they are part of the operations by which the 14th Air Force has wrecked Jap communications and supplies far to the north, smashing shipping along the coast and blasting Jap troops and gun positions in the field as the actual artillery of the Chinese ground troops in East China.

The Chinese pilots are particularly fond of strafing and will carry it out under any difficulties. Not so long ago they had a mission in which they were supposed to bomb at 10,000 feet. But the cloud base was so low that they ended by bombing at 800 feet. Flak tossed them around and their own bomb concussion bounced them. Yet when that was over they came back to strafe roads and ground troops. One of them had a shell hole as big as a man's head through the base of one wing; if the shell had exploded it would have torn the wing off.

Their missions are so frequent that they have become precise formation fliers. Chinese fly as smoothly with Americans as with their own countrymen and *vice versa*. Their eagerness to fight remains keen after dozens of missions and their *esprit de corps* is high. Every one of them seems to be extremely fond of their young

American Commander and all of them accept his judgment on air operations implicitly. He says of them:

"Some nights I go to bed mad as hell at them for returning to a target to strafe again when they should get out of there. But even then I usually wind up by going to sleep proud as hell."

THE FOOD SITUATION IN CHINA

BY DR. TAO SHING CHANG

It must be explained at the outset that in China the term "food" is used to denote rice, wheat, barley, kaoliang (sorghum), corn, potatoes and other similar crops containing starch. Of these, rice and wheat, being the commonest used and the most essential, are called major crops: whereas the others, either because their production is limited in area or because their consumption is limited to certain localities, are regarded as supplementary food less in importance than rice and wheat and are generally called miscellaneous crops. These (both the major and miscellaneous crops) constitute the daily food of the Chinese population and are therefore called staple food. Meats, vegetables, oils, fats, salt and sugar, although equally essential from the point of view of nutrition, are regarded as subsidiary foodstuffs and are therefore called secondary food. Long usage limits the term "food" to imply the so-called staple food only, having no regard to the secondary food at all, and the review that follows will not deviate from long usage.

I.—CHINA IS SELF-SUFFICIENT IN FOOD

Chinese farming consists mainly in the production of cereals. Areas actually tilled extend over 80 per cent. of tillable land. Such a ratio is hardly seen in any European or American country. In addition to this, Chinese farmers carry on farming almost entirely by themselves, each family a unit, cultivating a small tract of land and having therefore no fear of shortage of labour. For this reason food is produced throughout the length and breadth of the country. Then again, as China's territory is extensive, having varied climate, varied topography and varied soil, the food produced covers a wide range of varieties, each adapted to the local conditions where it is produced. Even when there is a shortage of a particular kind of crop in a particular locality during a particular season owing to flood, drought or pest, it seldom tends to have far-reaching consequences on the whole if other kinds of crops of other localities during other seasons still are, or have been, plentiful, thus regulating food supply. Taking the nation as a whole there is never any fear of food shortage.

The following table shows the annual production of the whole country of ten kinds of foodstuffs, based on the statistics of the last ten years:

<i>Kind.</i>	<i>Amount (in Chinese piculs).</i>
1. Rice	932,927,000
2. Wheat	434,617,000
3. Barley	176,768,000
4. Kaoliang	224,381,000
5. Corn	169,246,000
6. Millet	183,062,000
7. Proso-millet	30,725,000
8. Oats	18,753,000
9. Sweet potatoes	397,387,000
10. Soy beans	209,033,000
Total	2,776,909,000

From the above figures it may be seen that each of the 450 million of the Chinese population may be allotted more than six piculs of food every year. In other words, it is clear that the annual production is not entirely consumed, and there is always a surplus.

Rice and wheat are the commonest used foodstuffs in China. Statistics of the recent five years show that on the average of all the foodstuffs consumed 54.5 per cent. is rice, 13 per cent. is wheat and the remaining 32.5 per cent. is miscellaneous foodstuffs. For this reason we may judge whether China's food supply is sufficient or not by taking into consideration the figures showing the amounts produced and consumed annually of rice and wheat only, to see if there is surplus or deficit. Although conditions vary in Provinces individually, statistics of the recent few years show that on the whole there is every year a surplus of 35,022,000 piculs of rice and of 11,357,000 piculs of wheat, totalling 46,379,000 piculs. This well proves that China is self-sufficient in food.

One might ask, "If China is truly self-sufficient in agricultural products why should she have to import foreign foodstuffs annually?" According to the statistics of the customs, during the four years previous to the war (1934-1937) China imported annually 6,808,957 kilograms of rice, 2,814,267 kilograms of wheat and 430,044 kilograms of flour. Obviously, if there was abundance of food during those years, there was no need of foreign imports. This, however, had nothing to do with shortage or scarcity. There were external reasons to account for as follows:

1. Inadequate means of inland transportation retarded the free flow of food from producing centres to such coastal ports as Canton, Shanghai and Tientsin which, being accessible to foreign countries by sea routes, used to resort to foreign food, usually cheaper and more easily transported.

2. Imported rice and wheat used to be exempted from import duties, thus encouraging them to dump the Chinese market. Import duties were first introduced in 1933, but the rates were so low that the importation of foreign food was in no way checked. On the other hand, before the abolition of the "likin" system, revenue-collecting houses were so numerous in interior China and the tax rates were so exorbitant as to discourage transportation of food from one place to another. Naturally native food could not compete with imported food on the market.

3. As rice- and wheat-producing areas used to vary greatly in climatic and topographical conditions, the crops yielded varied in degree and quality. Primitive implements and methods were employed in food production and food manufacture, and so the quality of farm products was far from uniform. This accounted for the fact that they could not find a ready market, and the food dealers were only too glad to carry on transactions in imported food having a standardized quality.

All in all, the importation of foreign rice and wheat was not due to insufficient supply of native food but, on the other hand, proved to us that there was always a surplus in the interior. Eighty per cent. of the imported rice, for example, was consumed in Kwangtung where food production used to be less than consumption. Although there was always a surplus in the two neighbouring Provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan, lack of adequate means of transportation kept it from flowing into Kwangtung. Since the completion of the Canton-Hankow Railway food has begun to be transported from Hunan into Kwangtung and the amount of imported rice has steadily decreased. Blockade of the China coast by the enemy in the early stages of the present war cut short the supply of imported rice and wheat, and yet did not reduce the latter Province to starvation, strongly testifying that China is truly self-sufficient in food.

II.—SUPPLY OF FOOD IN WARTIME

Since the outbreak of hostilities in July, 1937, vast tracts of food-producing areas, especially in the coastal Provinces, have fallen into enemy hands. The trumpets of war have called away large numbers of farmers from the fields. Means of transportation have been rendered even more difficult than ever. All these result in decreased production. On the other hand, the war zones are extending in area, the demand for military provisions is ever increasing, innumerable civil officers and civilians and

those engaged in industrial, mining and communication enterprises have migrated into Free China. Such being the situation, there is likely to be either shortage in the supply of food or inadequate distribution. In either case the grand task of resistance and reconstruction will be fatally affected but for the foresight of the Government. All measures in food administration in the time of war have been directed to production, collection and distribution to be dealt with separately as follows:

1. **INCREASED PRODUCTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—The programme of increased production formulated by the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry comprises more than twenty items, the outstanding ones being: (1) Increased production of rice; (2) increased production of wheat and miscellaneous crops; (3) remedy for and prevention of insect pests; (4) extended utilization of fertilizers; (5) land reclamation and improvements in irrigation; (6) loaning of improved seeds to farmers on credit. As a result, in the year of 1942 farming land increased by more than 64 million mow and farm crops by more than 55 million piculs. In the year 1943 farming land increased by more than 58 million mow and farm crops by more than 42 million piculs.

2. **COLLECTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—In order to have an adequate control of food to meet the demands for military and civilian provisions the Government has adopted various measures for collection of land-tax in kind and for compulsory purchases at prescribed prices and compulsory borrowing from the landowners. These constitute the main sources of food under Government control. In addition, the Government has resorted to rush purchases in war-affected zones, ordinary purchases and purchases by means of Government bonds proportional to land-tax in kind. These latter meet timely needs.

No sooner than its inauguration in July, 1941, the Ministry of Food promulgated a number of regulations governing the collection of land-tax in kind in wartime and set upon the task. According to the stipulations of the said regulations the standard for collecting land-tax in kind should be calculated at the ratio of 4 tou or 40 per cent. of a picul) of paddy or 2 tou 8 shen (or 28 per cent. of a picul) of wheat to one dollar national currency as fixed for the regular tax and surtax to be levied for the fiscal year of 1941. In other words, the estimated amount of food to be so collected for that year should be 21,817,915 piculs, 30,541,450 piculs for the year of 1942 and 36,150,000 piculs for the year of 1943. The total amount of production in the year of 1943 was 1,222,904,956 piculs—that is to say, the estimated amount of land-tax for the same year was only 2.96 per cent. of the total production. Neither the landowners nor the farmers had excessive burdens to bear as a result of the adoption of the measure.

Collection of land-tax in kind alone, however, was not sufficient to meet the demand for military and civilian provisions. The Government had to resort to other measures. Apart from Hupeh, where all surplus food was bought over by the Government, and Kweichow, where purchases were made from large landowners, in all other Provinces purchases were made proportional to land-tax in kind. The food so purchased was partly paid for in cash and partly in Food Bonds or Savings Bonds. For instance, at the very beginning, 30 per cent. was paid in cash and 70 per cent. in bonds in the Province of Szechuan. Later, when in view of national financial stringency, it was deemed unwise to overburden the national Treasury for cash payments, such purchases began to take the form of borrowing to be paid for in Government bonds in total in the Provinces of Szechuan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Sikang, Fukien, Kansu, Shensi and Chekiang.

During the last three years the returns from collection of land-tax in kind and from various forms of Government purchases were 55,073,897 piculs in 1941, 71,074,407 piculs in 1942 and 80,710,000 in 1943. There is a tendency to increase from year to year. Apart from supplying military needs, there has always been an ample surplus for the adjustment of civilian provisions. Such effective measures of food control have contributed a great deal to the war of resistance.

3. **DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD IN WARTIME.**—The food collected through land-tax in kind and Government purchases has been used for three purposes: to supply military needs, to supply the needs of those in Government service and to regulate civilian provisions. These will be dealt with separately as in the following:

(a) *Military Provisions.*—In the early stages of the war military provisions were

supplied by the Bureau of Military Supplies and military supply stations through direct purchases from the farmers. What was paid for these purchases was deducted from the budgeted allowance of each army. In 1940 this system was modified and the major provisions were supplied to the army in kind, calculated according to the actual needs, in order that the livelihood of the officers and soldiers might not be affected by fluctuations of prices on the food market. This new system was carried out by degrees from one war zone to another and from one stage to another. The provisions were collected through purchases by war zone commanders' offices, by the provincial governments and by military provisions supply stations situated for the purpose, and then distributed to the army or armies stationed therein. Since its inauguration in July, 1941, the Ministry of Food took up the task of supplying military provisions in kind with the food under its control. Food has been distributed by the Ministry to the armies stationed in different war zones according to actual needs through the provincial food administrative organs to be drawn from what has been collected for land-tax in kind and Government purchases. No shortage or delay has there ever been since then. In 1941 the appropriations of military provisions were based on the military register provided by the Ministry of Military Affairs, with a 10 per cent. extra as reserve food. Altogether 10,073,100 bags of rice and 7,529,870 bags of wheat, each weighing 200 catties, were so distributed. In 1942, as there was a greater demand and as it was thought wise to have more reserve food, the amount distributed increased to 12,267,688 bags of rice and 7,277,612 bags of wheat. In 1943, when there was a surplus left over from the previous year, it was decided to supply military provisions at the ratio of 90 per cent. in kind and 10 per cent. in money subsidy so as to enable the army to make purchases in the area where it was stationed. The food distributed in that year amounted to 10,751,000 bags of rice and 6,797,000 bags of wheat; and the money subsidy amounted to an equivalent of 688,000 bags of rice and 1,155,000 bags of wheat.

(b) *Provisions for Government Officers.*—These have been appropriated according to the following standards:

Provisions for those and their families in the Central Government. The standard of appropriating these provisions has undergone modifications. At present the rations for those in the service of the Central Government and the professors and teachers in Government institutions and their families are fixed at one picul, $\frac{4}{5}$ of a picul or $\frac{3}{5}$ of a picul of rice *per capita* for each month, varying according to age. In principle they are to be supplied with food in kind. In localities where food is not plentifully produced, they are given a money subsidy either in part or in whole to enable them to make purchases on the spot. For every one of them and their families living in Chungking is given $\frac{1}{5}$ of a picul of rice each month. The amount so appropriated in 1943 totalled 5,839,418 piculs of rice and wheat apart from money subsidies.

Provisions for those in the service of provincial and local governments. These are classed into provisions for those in provincial governments and provisions for those in city or hsien governments. With regard to the former their rations are fixed at the same rate as those in the Central Government, with the exceptions of students who receive $\frac{2}{3}$ piculs each month and police force who receive $\frac{25}{16}$ catties each day at the same rate as military provisions. As regards the latter, as most of them are native people and produce food themselves their rations are fixed at 5 piculs for each family per month. The amount so appropriated in 1943 totalled 8,629,857 piculs for those in provincial governments and 10,520,942 piculs for those in local governments, apart from money subsidies.

(c) *Regulation of Civilian Provisions.*—To adjust civilian provisions use has been made of any surplus in the land-tax in kind and Government purchases after making appropriations for military and Government needs. Only in a small number of densely populated consumption centres has there been the need of such adjustment. In other parts, and especially in rural districts where food is produced, no such need has there ever been. But as the amount needed in the large consumption centres is enormous, the surplus under Government control has often been found insufficient to meet the purpose. For this reason the Ministry of Food has instructed provincial and local food administrative organs to make timely investigations into the

amounts of food in the hands of large landowners so as to tighten the strings of control. The landowners are ordered to offer their holdings for sale from time to time to steady the food market. Then, again, the food administrative organs have been instructed to look after the registration of food dealers and reorganization of food dealers' guilds, and to give aid and encouragement to the dealers in their transaction and transportation. These measures have helped a great deal to maintain an equilibrium between supply and demand and to steady food prices. Attention has also been given to the regulation of food supply between Provinces, making use of the surplus of one to make up the deficiency of another. Apart from Chungking and other important cities of Szechuan, where the Ministry has set up special food supply organs, the provincial governments have set up food supply and regulation stations in the more important consumption centres, whose task it is to store up food from time to time for regulation purposes.

(To be continued.)

SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS IN TURKEY*

By A. R. HUMPHREYS

Good evening! My subject to-night, "Shakespeare's Plays in Turkey," is the story of a remarkable achievement of the Istanbul Theatre. This is an achievement which has owed its inspiration in particular to one man about whom I shall tell you.

When Shakespeare and his fellows thought of Turkey it was as the conquering Star and Crescent, which cast a turbulent influence across Europe from the palaces of the mysterious Sultans of Constantinople. Today in that same bewitching city, renamed Istanbul, Shakespeare's plays are performed by enthusiasts to applauding audiences—a consummation no Elizabethan could have dreamt of.

Let me introduce you in imagination to the man who has brought this about—Ertugrul Muhsin, the Director of the Istanbul Theatre. Picture a man of moderate height and broad build, with the graceful gestures natural to the Turk, mingling the animation of the actor and the sagacity of the producer. His friendly, expressive face lights up when he hears you are interested in the drama. In his neat, well-polished office in his comfortable, old-fashioned theatre, ornamented with the gilded scrolls and florid medallions of the nineteenth century, he shows you his souvenirs. Shakespeare is a religion in this, the foremost theatre in Turkey, free from self-consciousness and bondage to convention. Just think what it means to see a Shakespeare play for the first time, to hear the soliloquies of *Hamlet* or the murder scene of *Macbeth* for the first time, or the trial scene in the *Merchant of Venice*, or the almost unbearable intrigue of *Othello*. Try to imagine yourself in the theatre, hanging on every word that carries the plot to a conclusion as yet unknown. That experience Ertugrul Muhsin has given his audiences. As for *Hamlet*, the distinction of being the first in his country's history to play the part was his when he introduced the play to the Turkish stage in 1912. Since then he has played it again, in 1927, in his own translation, and produced it most recently in 1942, in a translation by Turkey's most literary figure, Madame Halide Edip. This caused tremendous excitement. Turkish critics take a serious view of their duties and Turkish actors take a serious view of critics, so a wonderful whirl of libel actions kept Istanbul agog for weeks. No wonder there is a freshness about Shakespeare in Turkey which makes actors, audiences and school children re-live each scene as though it were real.

Ertugrul Muhsin started his campaign in 1927. He opens each season with a fresh Shakespearean production. His actors like Shakespeare because of the challenge of

*Text of broadcast given from Ankara by Mr. A. R. Humphreys, who is a member of the staff of Liverpool University, seconded to the British Council for work at Istanbul University.

his difficulties, and his audience because of the action and the language. Shakespeare in a good translation is irresistible to Turks, one of whose hobbies is fine language—well-turned phrases and their own musical tongue. Ertugrul Muhsin does not merely wait for the audience to come to Shakespeare—he takes Shakespeare to the audience. He and his company have played *Hamlet* and *Othello* all over Anatolia, even in villages where the only previous entertainers had been strolling singers and jugglers. These new audiences swallowed the bait—hook, line and sinker: he cherishes the memory of excited villagers leaping to their feet as Queen Gertrude towards the end of *Hamlet* drinks the poisoned chalice, and shouting, “İçiyor! içiyor!”—“She’s drinking it! she’s drinking it!”

Hamlet, though the most popular, is only one in a long list—*Twelfth Night*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Comedy of Errors*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *A Winter's Tale*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure* and *As you Like it* among the comedies, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Othello* among the tragedies. This season gave us *As You Like It*—a jovial production with a truly Elizabethan spirit of fun. The theatre held its breath as the kindly vignettes of the Seven Ages of Man came delightfully through the expressive musical Turkish.

So much for the present. What of the future? The signs are good. There is an audience, and players too, mostly young, working bravely on small salaries because they love the theatre. There are dramatists—Shakespeare leading, but others well in the picture, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ben Jonson, Molière, Goldoni, Goethe, Schiller, Tchekov, Galsworthy, Barrie. As I speak, Somerset Maugham's *Home and Beauty* is being played. And there is the producer. As we rise to leave, our final question, “What do you hope to do?” brings a twinkle to his eye, the twinkle of an earnest ambition pursued with enjoyment. “We want,” he says, “to establish a tradition of culture here; to put on nothing slipshod or second-rate. We want” (here the twinkle expands into a generous enthusiasm) “to do Shakespeare better even than they do him at Stratford.” Could any ambition be better?

THE ELEMENTS OF INDIAN MUSIC*

BY DENNIS GRAY STOLL

At the very beginning I feel there are a few misconceptions that should be cleared from our path. First, there is the popular fallacy that Indian music is impossibly unscientific and eccentric because it has twenty-two notes within the compass of the western octave. I have sometimes heard English musicians, who should know better, refer to it airily as “confusing clusters of quarter-tones” or a “muddling microtonal mess.”

It is curious that so few westerners seem to have noticed that the 22 *srutis* of Indian music are precisely the same as the divisions of the European octave before the adoption of Equal Temperament by us in the seventeenth century. Even today our western notation is based on 7 naturals + 7 sharps + 7 flats, which, if the final note of the octave is added, makes 22 notes. The compromise of Equal Temperament, whereby some of our naturals and sharps and flats in practice became the same note, was purely a local convenience of harmonic music for gaining access to a greater number of possible modulations. For Indians to have followed suit with their non-harmonic music would have been indeed eccentric and unscientific. India must, of course, keep her 22 *srutis* intact to maintain the true intonation of her modal scales, the melodic integrity of her *raga*.

Indian music is most certainly not a “microtonal mess.” Where the misunderstanding arose was, perhaps, in western musicians mistaking its intricate microtonal

* Lecture delivered to the Royal India Society's Music Group.

ornaments and graces, *gamakas* and so forth, for actual notes of the scale. I fear that this microtonal misconception has sunk deep, and needs as much digging out and exposing to the healthy air of reconsideration as our western error in thinking that only our method of voice production is beautiful.

One answer to our vocal prejudice is that Indian singers don't sing through their noses. This typically eastern restraint of theirs is apt to offend many western ears. Not mine, however. The art of singing through the nose has been carried to a fine degree of perfection in the West. But Indian music would have nothing to gain by it. After all, the sensuous attractiveness of the voice has always taken third place to technical suitability and musicianship in India. "Our voice production," a Hindu saint said, "is like the outward poverty of God, whereby His glory is nakedly revealed." I think it's better that it should remain so.

You may agree that the Indian voice has spiritual loveliness. Or you may feel very English about it. Perhaps you have an enormous conviction that you don't like Indian singers because they do nothing but wail through their noses! If so, it is because your ultra-Englishness has made you love a paradox to the extent of saying the opposite of what you mean. However, a simple experiment, in which you pinch your nose and sing, will doubtless convince you of the truth of this nasal matter. Indians normally don't sing through their noses. Englishmen invariably do.

I hope nobody is going to be intimidated by the apparent queerness of my introduction to the elements of Indian music; because, as with all the cultural elements of India, the queerness will largely vanish if we make our approach with an Indian outlook. What is the sense of studying Indian music if we intend to remain wholly English? Such a study is bound to be dead unless we bring it alive through our awareness of the other man's point of view.

For instance, there is the question of our attitude to listening. Indians don't normally sit on plush seats, frowning at those who sing their favourite piece, in a sternly critical mood. They sit on the good plain earth and, as Tagore said, "are content to perfect the song in their own mind by the force of their own feeling." An appreciative Indian audience often cries aloud, intent on getting the last drop of what they call *rasa*, from the music they hear. It is as if the music were within them and not outside them, and they were completing it in their own minds, and giving audible expression to their fulfilled feelings.

This opens up a wonderful vista: the Hindu theory of musical appreciation through *rasavadana*, the emotional tasting of spiritual essences. Of course, we all see that music cannot exist for us without perception through the senses. But the Hindu looks beyond that. He sees that all the best Indian music aims in its effect to be supersensuous. *Rasa*-appreciation implies for him a plane of consciousness on which spiritual and physical appreciation become the same thing.

Rasavanda is not an exclusively Hindu idea. Poet-philosophers from Kabir to Tagore, who may be said to have spoken for India rather than for any one religion, have held this theory, too. Putting it into practice comes fairly easily to Indians, but we must be honest with ourselves and admit that it comes hard to most Englishmen. We may reflect with sorrow that creative imagination is not one of our national characteristics. When William Blake declared that he saw angels like stars in trees at Peckham Rye, many of his contemporaries thought of him, not as a great poet who was intent on realizing his poetry in the art of life, but as a great liar or lunatic. One suspects that the vision of angels like stars in trees would upset the nerves of the good, matter-of-fact people of Peckham Rye even today, perhaps almost as much as the sight of flying bombs.

Closely linked with this theory of *rasa*-appreciation is the system of *raga*, on which all Indian melody is built. The word *raga* is derived from the Sanskrit root *ranj*, the colouring of emotions. It suggests to Indian ears not only the melodic ground plan of a piece of music, but also gives a definite idea of its mood. *Raga* is, therefore, both a psychological and a technical device.

It would be less than a half-truth to say (and it often is said) that *raga* is the equivalent of the western scale system. More nearly correct to describe it as in some ways similar to the medieval modal system of European music. But even that likeness is far too limited to give a clear picture of what *raga* really is. *Raga* might

perhaps be best described as a mould for melody, having a definite emotional significance in *rasa*.

In South India there are about 500 types of individual *raga*, each a melody-mould of distinctive scale or modal pattern, as we might view the matter. The primary *raga* are significantly called Lords of Melody, a striking indication of how Indians see them. They number no fewer than 72, and from these 400 odd secondary *raga* are formed by combining in various ways five or more of the notes used in the primary *raga* under which they are grouped.

The classification of *raga* in the South differs from the North, where most musicians use what might be described as a family system of six principal *ragas*, each having a number of *raginis* or melody-mould wives, and *putras* or sons. Dr. Narayana Menon and Dr. Bhupen Mukerjee will, I hope, be persuaded to enlarge upon their respective systems some time soon. Meanwhile we shall content ourselves by observing that the general principles that apply to southern *raga* apply to the North also. Much of the difference is in name only.

The instinct to embellish a melody is as universal as music itself, yet nowhere is it so pronounced as in the non-harmonic music of India. Melodic ornaments are natural and necessary to all systems that employ no harmony. The delicate brush-work of the Indian *gamaḥas*, grace notes, limns the light and shade of a picture in sound, just as the consonance and dissonance of harmony do in western composition.

Gamaḥas are as integral a part of Indian melodic expression as the lips are to the face. Without them a melody cannot smile. *Gamaḥas* are never imposed upon a tune; they grow there as the spontaneous expression of emotion, an indication of spiritual emphasis. Fox Strangways rightly insists that: "There is never the least suggestion of anything having been 'added' to the note which is graced. The note with its grace makes one utterance."

Instrumental *gamaḥas* vary from a kind of wail, produced by deflecting the wire of a vina, for instance, to elaborate fingered phrases. Some of them seem to require an aural microscope for our unaccustomed western ears to grasp them in detail. Indian ears make hair's-breadth distinctions, sensitively attuned as they are to a highly evolved art of pure melody.

The seventeenth-century *Ragavibodha*, by the southern musicologist Somanatha, gives examples of fifty graces, but three times as many more baffle notation. Many *gamaḥas* are prodigiously subtle, as all who have heard good Indian singers and instrumentalists will be aware.

BROADCASTING IN INDIA

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. R. HARDINGE

THE Post-War Planning Committee of H.E. the Viceroy's Council has resolved that the fullest possible use of broadcasting is to be made in furthering all plans for reconstruction after the war, in India. To this end it is essential that there should be more broadcasting stations, but of even greater importance is the need of more receivers of suitable type. With even the limited number of broadcasting transmitters now functioning in the All-India Radio organization, the vast majority of the population of areas already served by existing broadcasting stations is unable to benefit from these transmissions which are passing overhead, having no receiver.

The provision of additional broadcasting stations is a matter understood to be already decided upon and calls for no particular comment, but that of receivers is not equally satisfactory, and early action is very necessary to secure their supply. Broadcast receivers can be classified under three main heads:

1. Those energized from an electric power supply, commonly known as "all-mains" receivers.

2. Those deriving their power from an L.T. accumulator and (usually) an H.T. dry battery, and mostly of the portable or semi-portable type.
3. Those portable types deriving their power from dry batteries alone for both L.T. and H.T. supply.

Group 1 is the ideal method of reception, eliminating all inconvenience of battery replacement and/or accumulator recharging for the user, but this type of receiver cannot be used beyond the limits of an electric power supply—*i.e.*, usually the limits of urban and suburban areas, or rural areas (such as the Punjab Canal Colonies) where power is available.

Group 2 will serve in those mostly rural areas where there are facilities for charging accumulators within reach, or these can be economically provided. A special development of this type of receiver is the village community receiver, designed to furnish a sufficiently large loud-speaker output for public address purposes; its scope is limited by the need of accumulator-charging facilities within reach, as in the case of other types in this group.

Group 3 hitherto has had serious limitations. Even a loud-speaker output sufficient only for an average-sized room demands an amount of power which, derived from dry batteries alone, is costly, owing to the need to utilize batteries of large capacity which are somewhat expensive, and, moreover, even then their life is comparatively short. In fact, for all those areas of India beyond the limits of the availability of convenient accumulator-charging centres, broadcast reception has been economically impracticable for all but the well-to-do, until quite recently. The comparatively recent introduction in Great Britain (since the outbreak of war) of the low consumption 1.5 volt valve has revolutionized this situation. A normal type of receiver, sensitive yet robust, incorporating these valves, can be run for an average of 300 working hours from one set of dry batteries costing, in Great Britain, about fifteen shillings. The output is limited to what will suffice for a room of ordinary size (e.g., for the average small Indian village schoolroom or its equivalent); in technical terms, the output is a quarter of a watt. Assuming the use of such a receiver for three hours daily, seven days a week, one set of batteries should last for about 100 days or roundly three months, when a fresh set would have to be substituted and the exhausted batteries thrown away. The saving in transportation costs (outward only, and after about three months in the case assumed, as against both ways for recharging and return in the case of accumulators, which moreover have to be recharged every two or three weeks); recharging costs (none for dry batteries; acid, distilled water, power and skilled supervision for accumulators); and periodical replacement of accumulators (after about three years if their recharging has been regularly and correctly done, and they have been properly treated in all essential respects; otherwise, probably after a considerably shorter period) will be very substantial. Moreover, the periodical replacement of dry batteries requires no skilled staff; the replacements would merely have to be despatched to destination; anyone capable of changing a battery in an electric torch could do so in one of these receivers.

In view of all these facts, there is no doubt that this type of receiver would enable vast areas of India, otherwise inaccessible to broadcasting, to be opened up and the scope of the broadcasts greatly extended, thus contributing substantially to the plans envisaged by the Post-War Planning Committee.

It will no doubt be appreciated that all broadcast receivers intended for use in India, whether "all-mains," accumulator-powered, or of the "all-dry" battery type, must be suitable both as regards waveband coverage and construction (components as well as cabinets) for Indian technical and climatic conditions. With very few exceptions models produced for Western markets do not meet these requirements.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

II.—GLADSTONE

BY DR. RANJEE G. SHAHANI

THE railway carriage swayed, and its axle squeaked mournfully :

"Quetta—ta—ta—ta . . ."

Then the electric fan, which had been behaving quite well, began to grumble and groan, as though tired out. Soon it set up an irritating wail; but no one seemed to mind.

We had just had a splendid repast—pulla fish, pheasant, a leg of mutton roasted over wood fire and gently spiced, some green vegetables, and, of course, a lot of fresh fruit. But what I particularly recall is the pudding, my favourite jelly pudding. How temptingly it floated in cream cooled in ice! It makes me sigh even to think of it. I have tasted nothing so delicious in Europe.

Over salted pistachios and a glass of something silky and fragrant—later on I learned that it was green Chartreuse—the talk turned to politics. This did not interest me a bit, so I withdrew into myself and gradually became conscious of the squeak of the axle and the complaints of the fan. After a time I heard my father say with unusual warmth: "I'm for Pitt the younger: I think he is the greatest statesman that England has produced." My great-uncle stroked his beard reflectively—in those days he affected a partial beard round the chin—and remarked: "Pitt was a dissolute fellow. I rank Burke higher, much higher." The third member of the party, a trusted friend of our family and always addressed as "Mir Sahib," emptied his glass, refilled it, and uttered a name that I now forget. A discussion followed, which seemed to me interminable. Pitt and Burke signified nothing to me at fourteen. I was just becoming acquainted with King Canute, Robin Hood and other charming personages. If only the conversation had centred round these, or, better still, round cricket and hockey! Then I could have joined in; for in our family we were encouraged to have an opinion of our own. I did not know whether a statesman was a robber or a priest. It was all beyond me.

There was an English parson in the compartment; but he was lying on an upper berth, *ronflant comme un tuyau d'orgue*. Suddenly he appeared wideawake and smiled at us. Then, in a deep voice, which seemed to come from the bowels of the earth, he said: "Gentlemen, you have been feasting in two senses of the word—satisfying the needs of the body and the needs of the mind. Fine; but allow me to make a remark. What's greatness without goodness? To my mind, Gladstone is the finest statesman that our country has produced. Finest, I say, because, apart from his other gifts, which be many, he was a true Christian gentleman. Now, with the exception of this young man here, who I don't think is a politician, all of us have said our say. Shall we now try to get some rest?"

"Certainly," said my father. "We didn't think you were such a light sleeper."

Then the fan stopped and the lights went out. In the darkness I could hear the wheels of the train rumbling in unison:

"Christian gentle—man, Christian gentle—man."

* * * * *

I heard of Gladstone again at school and, later, at college. In fact, I had to study his life and work for some examination. I filled my notebooks with information about him.

I learned that he was born in 1809, was the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant, had had his education at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford. At twenty-three he was elected to Parliament as a Tory, and served his Cabinet apprenticeship under Peel as President of the Board of Trade (1843-45) and as Colonial Secretary (1845-46). He had two dominant interests in life, finance and the Church of England.

After some time in the wilderness, where he was not quite happy, he returned to office in 1852 in a Coalition Government of Whigs and Peelites under the Earl of Aberdeen. From this time onwards he was the leader of Liberalism, first its financial and then its political chief. He was four times Chancellor of the Exchequer and four times Prime Minister. As a politician he had more than his match in Disraeli; as a financier he had no equal in his day. But, curiously enough, he made mistakes in fields where smaller men succeeded.

Gladstone was a tremendous worker. Of the year 1853 John Morley writes :

Thirteen, fourteen hours a day he toiled at his desk. Treasury officials and trade experts, soap deputations and post-horse deputations, representatives of tobacco and representatives of the West India interest flocked to Downing Street day by day all through March. If he went into the City to dine with the Lord Mayor, the lamentable hole thus made in his evening was repaired by working till four in the morning upon Customs reform, Australian units, budget plans of all kinds.*

He prepared his own Budgets, knew every detail from A to Z, and, what is more, never forgot them. There is a story that a friend told Gladstone in his later days the incident of a deaf old lady who was overheard vehemently protesting to the Customs officials her innocence of contraband articles, the while a musical box was plaintively performing "Home, Sweet Home" beneath the flounces of her skirt. Gladstone listened in mournful silence, and then boomed: "And this occurred, you say, last year? It is impossible, monstrously impossible. I myself abolished the duty on musical boxes in the year 1860."†

Almost everybody is agreed that Gladstone was one of the best Chancellors of the Exchequer that England has ever boasted. While not averse to innovation, he conducted the finances of the country on the conservative lines that have made the British Exchequer the admiration of all nations. In handling money he was decidedly a wizard.

In other affairs, however, his efforts were ruined by his extreme emotionalism. His foreign policy was weak and vacillating. In 1881, after Majuba, he made peace with the Transvaal, an action which has been generally condemned, and which, according to certain writers, led to the Boer War. He was in 1884 severely criticized for his failure to secure Gordon and for surrendering the Sudan to the Mahdi. Concerning his management of the Home Rule Bill, he conceded too much, it is complained, to expediency, but, doing so grudgingly, did so too crudely, and much too late, to secure the desired results.

As an orator Gladstone was superb. His Budget speeches were wonderful—at once lucid and moving. His other addresses were verbose and vague, though at the time, because of the magic of his delivery, they passed for masterpieces. Disraeli, however, was not deceived. He touched a tender spot when he referred to Gladstone as "inebriated by the exuberance of his own verbosity." He secured another hit when, after the Liberal leader had made a particularly important speech, thumping his dispatch box frequently to emphasize his statements, he thanked heaven "the table was between him and the Right Honourable gentleman." Gladstone, always excitable, always sure of being on the side of the angels, thought Disraeli "devilish" and fit only for the fires of Gehenna. Disraeli, a man of the world if ever there was one, regarded his opponent with amused admiration and ironic indulgence. He thought him too solemn to be wise.

And Gladstone was too solemn. Look at some of the things he has written: *The State and its Relation with the Church*, 1838; *Church Principles Considered in their Results*, 1840; *Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation*, 1845; *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*, 1858; and *Homeric Synchronism*, 1876. In 1896 he published an edition of Butler's *Sermons* and *Studies Subsidiary to Works of Bishop Butler*. All this is no food for weaklings. I have opened a tome or two—especially

* Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, i, 464.

† Sydney Buxton, *Mr. Gladstone: A Study*, p. 95.

on Homer—and admit that I do not care for this kind of scholarship. It is far more refreshing to read the Shakespearian books of J. M. Robertson, and they are hard enough.

Gladstone's relations with Queen Victoria were far from satisfactory. Not that, in his intercourse with her, he was lacking in courtesy or respect. On the contrary, both in his conversation and his correspondence he showed the utmost reverence; but he failed to realize that the Sovereign was, after all, a woman. He treated her, as the saying goes, as if she were "a public meeting." This antagonized her. There were times when she positively hated him. He, poor man, was deeply mortified. What wrong had he done? So far as he knew, he was blameless. Did he not look upon Victoria, to use the words of Lytton Strachey, "as a sacrosanct embodiment of venerable traditions—a vital element in the British Constitution—a Queen by Act of Parliament"?

* * * * * *

Books gave me this kind of knowledge and much more to the same effect. But the secret of Gladstone's personality—this remained a sealed chapter to me. It was only later, much later, that I understood that facts in themselves are of little consequence; it is their significance that ultimately matters. As Havelock Ellis once said to me, "At the end of every investigation one is left with a sheaf of feelings." That is it. "A sheaf of feelings." There we have a key that unlocks the heart of man, be he a fool or a genius.

As I see him now, an underlying unity constituted the spirit of Gladstone. He thought that life is not a succession of important events followed by unimportant events, but a "something" that is an ordered experience with a divinely ordained purpose. This is merely another way of saying that the cast and the essence of his mind was essentially religious. "In the service of God"—that is how he undertook everything. He sought power, not for itself, nor for his own aggrandizement, but to do good. His ultimate ambition was to be of service to mankind in general and to his country in particular. Of course he made mistakes; but he never acted from petty, vulgar or dishonest motives. He lived and toiled, as it were, under the eye of the Almighty. The following lines from Maxim Gorki's *Vasska Busslaev* might almost have come from his mouth:

Ha, were I only endowed with more strength and power
 I'd breathe a hot breath—and make the snows melt!
 I'd go round the earth and plough it through and through!
 I'd walk for years and years and build town after town,
 Put up churches without number, and grow gardens without end;
 I'd adorn the earth—as though it were a maiden fair;
 Clasp it in my arms—as though it were my bride;
 Lift it to my heart, and carry it to God:
 Just look, my God, at this earth down here,
 Look how finely Vasska has adorned it!
 You just threw it like a stone into the sky,
 While I have made a precious diamond out of it!
 Just look, my God, and rejoice with me!
 Look how bright it flashes in the sun's rays!
 I'd have given it to you, Lord, as a fine gift—
 Only—no—it would not do—I am too fond of it myself!

The last two lines might seem to some unnecessary—almost impertinent; but I don't think Gladstone would have quarrelled with them. The stranger in the train was right. Gladstone was a true Christian, who happened to be also an English gentleman.

THE INDIAN COMFORTS FUND

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL C. SHEPHERD, D.S.O., O.B.E.

As it is now more than five years since the Indian Comforts Fund came into being it is thought that a brief recital of its activities, under the chairmanship of Mrs. L. S. Amery, may be of interest to readers of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*.

Founded in January, 1940, by the Dowager Viscountess Chelmsford and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, then High Commissioner, the object of the fund was to minister to all Indian Forces connected with the war effort, whether sailors, soldiers, airmen or seamen, based on or visiting this country, and to fill all gaps and relieve hardship among Indian subjects who were unable to return to India owing to war conditions. Later the scope was extended to embrace Indian prisoners of war in Europe and Indian operational troops overseas.

The fund operates from India House, Aldwych, London, by the kindness of successive High Commissioners for India.

PRISONERS OF WAR

Acting as agents for the Indian Red Cross, the fund has, since 1940, accepted responsibility for the packing and despatch of special caste-proof Indian weekly food parcels to P.O.W. in Europe. The weekly total has varied from 300 in June, 1940, to 20,000 for a short period in 1943, when a substantial reserve was created at Geneva with the International Red Cross.

The fund has also bought, packed and despatched standard periodical next-of-kin parcels of clothing and comforts to Indian P.O.W. as allowed by International Convention, bearing the cost thereof from June, 1940, up to January 1, 1944. On the latter date the Indian Red Cross assumed full financial responsibility for these parcels also, but their assembly and packing is still undertaken by the Comforts Fund at India House.

WOOLLEN GARMENTS

The fund has organized some 100,000 voluntary knitters in the U.K. into about 2,600 knitting parties, each under a leader, who is supplied with free wool and is required to return the equivalent weight in knitted garments. Gifts of woollen garments from the other organizations, notably the Navy League and the Merchant Navy Comforts Service, have also been generously given and gratefully received.

INDIAN SEAMEN OF THE MERCHANT NAVY

There are some 30,000 of these who visit home ports every year and each man is given a special clothing parcel provided he has not received one during the previous nine months.

Amenities, furniture, shower-baths, central heating, etc., have also been provided in some of the hostels and clubs ashore, and grants of money given for entertainments. Special attention is paid to the needs of Indian seamen patients in hospital.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The fund has also been able to be of considerable service to:

- The Royal Indian Navy, when serving in home waters.
- Individual members of the Royal Indian Air Force.
- The Indian Contingent, R.I.A.S.C., now returned to India.
- The Indian P.W. Reception unit, now in this country.
- The Indian Company, Pioneer Corps.
- The Ministry of Labour's Indian Technical Trainees.

OPERATIONAL TROOPS ABROAD

In response to an appeal from India in September, 1944, the Indian Comforts Fund collected 102,000 woollen garments, over and above its normal commitments, for despatch to Indian troops in Italy and Egypt.

For the winter of 1945-46 the fund has been asked to supply 83,000 garments for Indian forces now in the field.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The chairman and committee take this opportunity to thank most warmly all those societies, organizations, knitting parties and supporters, without whose unfailing help and loyal co-operation such a record of achievement would not have been possible.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

BY MIR MAQBOOL MAHMOUD

THE Indian States constitute an existing and potential factor of great value to India and the Commonwealth. They comprise about half of India's area, with nearly a hundred million population and tremendous resources. Their contribution in the present war, as in all crises in the past, has been most valuable. Unconditionally and spontaneously they have given of their best in men, money and material in support of the common cause. Over half a million of their forces have fought heroically on the various fronts. This is in addition to their substantial assistance to recruitment to the Indian Army and supply of technicians and labour. All Indian Rulers, big and small, placed their personal services and resources at the disposal of the King-Emperor. Many of them have gone personally to the battlefields. Three young Princes lost their lives on active service. As Lord Linlithgow said :

"Contributions and offers of personal services, aircraft, buildings, labour, watercraft, machinery, training facilities and medical aid, donations and gifts of every sort and description have continued to pour in from Indian States in an ever widening stream. I cannot speak too highly of the magnificent response made by the Indian States to the urgent needs of this critical time. They have shown unstinted generosity and co-operation; thanks to their help, great aerodromes, strategical projects of every kind, have sprung up in the territory of the Indian States. Facilities of every kind have been readily granted not only to British and Indian forces, but to the forces of our Allies; and in particular certain States, at the cost of wide stretches of famous forests most carefully guarded in the past, have helped immensely in the training of men in the new scheme of jungle warfare."

This is proof, if proof be needed, of the faith of the Indian States in the British Commonwealth of Nations. This faith, which must be maintained by mutual goodwill, would be of particular value in the India of the future when the decision to remain with the Commonwealth or to secede would rest with her.

The three main aspects of the problem of the Indian States in the Commonwealth are internal reforms within their territories, their relationship with the Crown, and their position, political and economic, in the India of the future. These are examined in the paragraphs that follow, which are concerned mainly with the 140 States whose Rulers are members of the Chamber of Princes. These States, generally speaking, enjoy full or practically full internal powers, and among themselves carry about 95 per cent. of the population area and revenue of the States.

The States do not claim that their constitutions or their administrative arrangements are perfect. There is not one amongst them, however, that has refused to be influenced by the progressive tendencies and movements around them. Some of them

have admittedly been pioneers in many fields of national development. The highest percentage of literacy in India is recorded in an Indian State which is about double the highest percentage for British India. An Indian State led the way in the development of the hydro-electric resources of the country. An Indian State has successfully sponsored the great ideal of a university in an Indian language. The first schools for girls and for English education were started in an Indian State; so also were the special schools for the depressed classes. In the development of the country's natural resources, and of its science and art, the Indian States have played a worthy part.

The distinguished Indian statesman Sir V. T. Krishnamacharia, former Prime Minister of the progressive State of Baroda, recently stated that about one-third of the States' population enjoyed better social services than those obtaining in British India; one-third received about the same standard of services and one-third were behind British India in administrative efficiency.

In the constitutional field, although the States have developed their systems of Government on indigenous lines, about 76·4 per cent. of the total population of the Chamber States possess representative institutions with varying degrees of influence. Nearly 60 per cent. of this population have legislatures with a majority of elected members. In about twenty States constitutions are being revised to introduce representative institutions.

The Crown's relations with the States are collectively described by the term "paramountcy." These do not admit of a rigid definition in legal formulæ which could be applied uniformly to all the States. The basic features of paramountcy relationship in the past have been (a) the solemn assurances by successive British sovereigns and Parliaments about the scrupulous observance of treaties and engagements with the Indian States; (b) the faith of the Indian Princes in Britain's word for the sanctity of covenants; and (c) the fact that in the main Britain has stood by the fundamental obligations to the States. To scrap these treaties unilaterally would be to scrap one of the principles for which we went to war with Germany.

Recent events have caused grave misgivings in the Indian States. These have been due mainly to a tendency of late to lay undue stress on the exigencies of changing times as a factor in unilaterally affecting and interpreting the treaties and the relationship arising thereunder. This claim makes it all the more imperative that such interpretation should be by an impartial tribunal and not by a party to the dispute. The procedure of impartial settlement of disputes is available to the meanest citizen in the British Commonwealth. Its free application was strongly recommended even by the Butler Committee fifteen years ago. It is the basis of the Dumbarton Oaks proposals for world security.

The Indian Princes do not contest paramountcy. They desire the harmonious working and necessary improvements of the existing machinery regarding the exercise of paramountcy. To this end they have made four main suggestions:

- (1) Disputes relating to justiciable issues or to fiscal, financial or economic matters, or to the interpretation of treaties and engagements on such matters, which cannot be settled by negotiation, should be referable to an impartial tribunal.
- (2) The machinery of the Chamber of Princes should be freely consulted by the Viceroy in matters of common concern to the States as was envisaged in the Royal Proclamation inaugurating the Chamber.
- (3) At a time when eight out of eleven members of the Viceroy's Executive Council are British Indian statesmen, the representatives of the States should also be suitably associated with the Crown representative and the Crown Department so that their advice, except in the case of States which may prefer the *status quo*, may be available on important questions affecting the States.
- (4) There should be an effective reiteration of the assurance that the Crown's relationship with the States would not be transferred to any third party without their consent.

The Indian Princes are devoted to His Imperial Majesty, and they rely on Lord Wavell, His Majesty's Government and the Parliament to implement these suggestions.

The Cripps offer postulates an Indian Union which will constitute a Dominion of the type adumbrated in the Statute of Westminster. The States as well as the Provinces will be entitled to appoint representatives to the proposed constitution-making body, and thereafter it will be open to them to adhere or not to adhere to the new Union. The non-adhering Provinces are given the further right, should they so desire, to retain their existing constitutional position or to agree upon a new Constitution giving them the same full status as the Indian Union.

Sir Stafford told the States Delegation that the contingency of a separate Union or Unions of the States had not been considered in connection with the draft Declaration, but he personally did not see any fundamental impossibility in the suggestion, and agreed to raise the point on his return. It is obvious that a Union of States would imply no more fundamental change in the States' relationship with the Crown than would be involved in a union with British India on the basis of Dominion status.

It need hardly be emphasized that the existence of such a provision, which would place the States at par with the Provinces for constitutional negotiations, need not necessarily lead to the setting up of a separate Union or Unions of the Indian States. In fact, speaking generally, the Indian Princes would make their fullest contribution towards evolving an All-India Union which may be acceptable to them and to other elements in India. His Highness of Bhopal has stated publicly that the Princes yield to none in patriotism and love for their country. They wish to see her great and honoured, filling in her own right a position in the comity of the world, to which her history and the achievements of her people entitled her.

As regards industrial development the States have made it clear that they are prepared to work together with British India for the country's greater advancement and prosperity. They must, however, see that impediments are not placed on the legitimate development of their own resources and that there is no discrimination against their peoples. The Indian States, like British India, must look primarily to the development of those resources to provide necessary revenues for the growing requirements of progressive administration and for raising the standard of living of their people. With a few notable exceptions the States have still a long way to go before they can hope to reach even the stage of industrial development attained by the rest of India. In fostering their young industries in the nascent stage they are actuated with no feeling of rivalry with, much less hostility towards, British India. They have accordingly suggested that until such time as an All-India constitution is framed, their representatives may be associated with the Government of British India in the formulating and implementation of policies with which their co-operation is desired.

There is also much scope for Indo-British partnership in the industrial development of the States. Experiments already tried have been most fruitful. The British industrialists would be well advised not to confine their technical skill and other industrial co-operation to any particular region or party in India. Diversified activity would help them and India as a whole.

The Indian States have a great part to play in the India of the future, and in the counsels of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Indian Princes realize that events in India and abroad are moving fast, and that no constitutional safeguards can protect them and their dynasties unless they buttress the foundations of their heritage on the enduring devotion of the people by their growing association with the governance of the States. The leaders of the British-Indian parties also must recognize that the Indian States have to be assured their due place in the India of the future. The task of constructive statesmanship is to integrate these two Indias together, and to foster a tradition of trust leading to progress. England can and should assist towards this development, and above all she must remove the feeling which is growing in India that nuisance value counts for more with her than friendship.

A WEEK IN IONIA

BY G. E. BEAN

At the end of September, 1944, by arrangement between the Turkish authorities and the British Council, I left Izmir with my friend Rüstem Bey, Director of the Archaeological Museum there, for a rapid tour of the ancient sites in the region of Miletus. We started out, not with the sanguine hope of making any startling discoveries, but with the object of inspecting the sites and reporting on their present condition. The days, indeed, of startling discovery by mere inspection are now past in this part of the world. There was a time, a hundred years ago, when Charles Fellows could walk up to a pile of ruins, known only to the local villagers, and write in his journal: "This place is called in the maps Pinara, but from the inscriptions I discovered it to be Tlos." Those days are gone, but much, very much, still lies hidden in the soil of Ionia for patient (and expensive) excavation to reveal.

Our route took us first to Söke, terminus of a branch line of the Aydın railway. Here we installed ourselves in the "hotel," which proved to be cleaner than it looked. (The word "clean," as applied to a bed, is understood in these parts to refer, not to the sheets, but to the mattress and its possible occupants.) Our next business was to charter an *araba*, which was to be our principal conveyance. *Araba* is a general word in Turkish for any kind of wheeled vehicle, from a bullock-cart to a tram or a jeep; in our case it meant a species of phaeton cab. The chartering occupied about an hour. Negotiation of this kind is an art that requires to be learnt by the foreigner, but Rüstem Bey proved himself a master of it. The essential thing is to take time. Remember that the other man is enjoying it; he will no doubt lower his price in the end, but you must not expect him to do it until he has explained to you all the reasons why he cannot, and has heard all your reasons why he should, several times over. He will also want to know who you are, where you come from, where you are going to, and why. If you appear in a hurry, or show impatience, you will fluster and perhaps offend him. You can, of course, accept his price and have done with it; but you stamp yourself as an utter foreigner: you will be better friends if you talk it over and agree to a lower one. Time is of little consequence: if today is consumed by the discussions, there is always tomorrow. We agreed at last upon a satisfactory figure, and made a far better bargain than we knew. Hasan, our driver, proved to be invaluable, cheerful and competent, and his horses were first-rate.

We left Söke the next morning, our first principal objective being the seldom-visited site of Heraclea-under-Latmus. This lies at the east end of the lake Bafa Gölü, the "bastard sea," which was once a gulf of the Ægean, but in the last two thousand years has been cut off from it by the silt of the Mæander, and now lies a good ten miles inland. There is no road round the lake, so we made for Serçin Köy at its west end, where boats are to be had. We crossed the Mæander at San Kemer by a narrow stone bridge, unfenced and built so low in the water that in winter it is entirely submerged. This, however, is of less account, as in winter the roads are submerged too. Every year the Mæander rises in flood, and its valley, fifteen kilometres wide, is crossed only by boat.

At Serçin we were expected, and were at once made at home in the village guest-room; over the usual cups of coffee arrangements were leisurely made for our use of a boat on the following days. Hasan and the *araba*, with instructions to come for us on the fourth morning early, went back to Söke.

In the afternoon we paid a hasty visit to the site of the ancient Myus, which lay, as we were informed in the village, only an hour's ride on horseback to the north. Horses and a guide were soon procured, but it was a full, and for me long, two hours before we arrived: Rüstem Bey, however, rode with the assurance of long familiarity, acquired as an officer in the army. The site, which is very little known to travellers, proved more interesting than we had hoped. On a rock-cut terrace, below the Byzantine castle which marks the site from a distance of several miles, there once stood a fine Doric temple, perhaps the same temple of Dionysus for which the city

was celebrated. The adjoining hill is covered with countless rock-cut houses. We should have liked to investigate further, but my execrable horsemanship had delayed us too long; as it was, it was well after dark before I tumbled gratefully off my equally grateful mount in Serçin.

Early next morning we walked down to the landing-stage. Our boat proved to be a *sandal*, like a large rowing-boat or small caïque. It carried a sail, but as there was no wind the entire eleven miles had to be covered with the oars—hard work, as the boat was clumsy, the sun hot, and the water, for a mile or so from the shore, thick with weed. The north side of the lake is dotted with islands covered with Byzantine ruins, and highly picturesque; we landed on each, but they were not our real concern, and we pressed on to Heraclea.

The site of this city is wild and rugged in the extreme. It lies on a rocky spur of Mt. Latmus which, rising from the lake-side, is split and cracked into every fantastic shape as it runs up to the main mass behind. All up this uninviting ridge, from sea-level to well over a thousand feet, climbs the wall of the ancient city, in beautiful masonry of the third century B.C., strongly reinforced with towers. Its state of preservation is excellent; nowhere else, perhaps, can a better idea be obtained of the Greek style of fortification. In the lower part of the town are a few scanty patches of more or less level ground, and here are the public buildings, temples, market-place, council-hall, theatre and the rest. There is also the modern village. In the middle of the market-place, lately a cornfield, a school is in process of erection; at the time of our visit the foundations only were in place, but already a number of ancient blocks had been appropriated. This form of vandalism is now strictly prohibited by the Turkish Government, but in a remote site like this the temptation is often too great; there are the blocks, conveniently shaped and lying handy: they are needed for a useful and practical purpose: where is the sense of letting them lie for the sake of visitors who come perhaps once every four or five years? On all the larger and better-known sites a guardian is now officially appointed to protect the antiquities and keep them clean; this is not meant to be a full-time job, and he generally does not actually do very much; perhaps it is better that he should not try; but his presence is a reminder that there is a law on the matter and that he will get into trouble if it is disobeyed. The monuments of antiquity (this is not always realized) have suffered far more through human than through natural agency. Earthquakes are, of course, a powerful cause of ruin, but far less devastating than the hand of man. Plundering of blocks for building lost us the Mausoleum; gunpowder wrecked the Parthenon; iconoclasm will not bear thinking of; but perhaps the insidious lime-kiln has even more to answer for. By an unfortunate provision of nature, marble has the property of making excellent lime.

We slept that night at the little village of Mersinet. Travel in the interior of Turkey, though now perfectly safe, cannot yet be called comfortable; but on one thing you can rely—unfailing hospitality wherever you go. You arrive, quite unannounced, at some tiny village towards nightfall; obviously you will pass the night there. There is no fuss, no complaint of inconvenience; you are guests, *misafir*, sent by the will of Allah, and simple hospitality, the best the village affords, is automatically yours. Payment is out of the question. Every village has its guest-room; to this you are conducted, and introduced to the headman, the *hoca*, and the schoolmaster if there is one. Lamps are brought, and very soon a hot meal makes its appearance, cooked, but not served, by the womenfolk, and is placed on the floor. While you eat, the villagers one by one slip into the room, and with a polite greeting squat down near the door, which part of the room soon becomes crowded, and late comers stand in the doorway. Conversation is general, but in practice is mostly conducted between you and the three dignitaries mentioned: the topics are always the same—your history, your movements past and intended, the local crops, school, roads, prices and the rest. Sometimes the war news also; and if you can explain in what direction England lies from Germany, the information will be gravely and attentively received.

Our reception at Mersinet was friendly above the average; but the beds, alas, were the least "clean" that we met with, and we rose rather the worse for wear. The whole day was spent at Heraclea, the larger part being occupied by the ascent. The wall seemed to go on and up for ever: towers, stairs, parapet, doors and windows

in wonderful preservation, perched on the tumbled masses of rock that culminate high above in the jagged crest of Latmus. The ancient legend tells how Endymion slept on this mountain, and the moon, looking down, felt her chilly heart warmed by his beauty, and came down and kissed him as he slept, rendering his sleep eternal. As a matter of statistics, Latmus is well under 1,400 metres, but it seems to reach the sky. Endymion had a sanctuary in the city, which still remains, and is one of the most remarkable monuments in Ionia. Everything about Heraclea is calculated to impress; only its history is a virtual blank.

I delayed long on the site, deaf to Rüstern Bey's admonitions: he was in the right, for as it was contrary to etiquette to trespass for a second night unannounced on the hospitality of Mersinet, we were obliged to stumble up the road in the dark for a long four miles to the larger village of Bafa. As we walked I enquired the time of our Turkish companion, and was surprised to learn that it was twenty past one; this was my first introduction to the *a la Turka* method of reckoning time, which is still quite usual in country parts: sunset is always twelve o'clock. I remarked on the apparent inconvenience of this system; obviously a watch which is right by the sunset today will be wrong tomorrow, and the hands will have to be altered every day, or at least very often; but my companion would not have it. No, it is *a la Franga* which alters: *a la Turka* is always the same—twelve o'clock is sunset. My Turkish was not equal to so subtle a discussion, so I let it go; but I fear that the *a la Turka* system, a genuine relic of ancient days, cannot be destined to survive very long. The radio is quickly spreading even to the remote places, and time-signals are given *a la Franga*.

In contrast to our previous night's experience, the beds at Bafa were "clean," but our reception was cooler. This was my fault, as guests are not expected to arrive after dark; there was some delay before the village room was opened for us, and we crept away at daybreak without the usual farewells.

On returning to our boat at Mersinet, we found that our party had received an accession in the person of a Turk of uncertain extraction, of the vagabond type which caddges its way from place to place, and lives upon what it can beg, borrow, steal or find. Our man at first made some attempt to justify his presence by helping to sail the boat: but he was soon requested to desist, and finally paid for his passage with a Turkish song which I, for one, would willingly have foregone. With a variable south breeze we made the return journey in three hours.

Back in Serçin we indulged in a shave, and that night, to the amused curiosity of the villagers, I brought out my pyjamas: Rüstern Bey would not consent to make himself so ridiculous. I cannot say that I slept any the better. Next morning, true to his appointment, Hasan was outside with the *araba* at eight o'clock.

Our route now lay among the familiar sites, the show-places of Ionia, Didyma and Priene. For a tour of this kind a cab is no bad conveyance; it is comfortable, you can see the country, and, above all, it does not go too fast. But you need a fair and not too hilly road. If you like pomegranates, and they happen to be in season, take one with you: the finicking operation of picking out the edible parts passes the time pleasantly, and the pips go conveniently into the road; but one is quite enough. We passed by Dalian, where the fish of Bafa Gölü are efficiently but rather ignobly snared in a wicker-work contraption barring the stream which flows out of the lake; we bought two or three, still gasping, and had one of them for lunch: Rüstern Bey cooked it on an improvised grill of split cane under the walls of the theatre at Miletus. This trick also he learnt on his military service.

The theatre of Miletus is superb. Go to Priene and see what a pure Greek theatre of the Macedonian period was like; then cross the river to Miletus, and see what it grew into when the solid and grandiose genius of Rome was blended with the artistry of Greece. These two theatres, facing each other across the Mæander valley, are the finest extant examples of their respective types. In the upper gallery of the Miletus theatre is an inscription recording a strike by the workmen, and its settlement by appeal to the neighbouring oracle of Apollo at Didyma. The response, in hexameters, is recorded on the stone, couched in appropriately vague terms: "Use wisdom and skill and the advice of a man clever with his hands; and sacrifice to Athena and Heracles." Rather unhelpful counsel, it might appear, but presumably it served its purpose, or it would hardly have been engraved for posterity to read.

Inscriptions of this sort are out of the ordinary. On any Greek city site, or at least on any that has been dug, inscriptions are generally plentiful; but ninety per cent. of them are either honorary, dedicatory or funerary. "The Council and the People honoured so-and-so with a golden crown and a statue of bronze," or with immunity from taxes and a front seat in the theatre; "So-and-so, son of so-and-so, dedicated the column to Apollo," or the proscenium to Dionysus, or the stoa to the Emperor and the People. Thousands of names, women as well as men, but hardly one known to history. The funeral stelæ—that is, tombstones—are also confined to a few recurrent types, but they are far from uninteresting. The commonest type is blunt and practical: "This tomb is the property of so-and-so; if anyone injures it, or buries anyone else in it, let him be accursed in the sight of the gods above and the gods below, and pay 2,000 drachmæ to the city treasury." Or, "So-and-so built this tomb for himself and his family and anyone else whom he has admitted. He lives." This last clause is not the equivalent of our "not lost but gone before"; it means what it says: the owner is alive and will take proceedings against any usurpation. Sentimentality of any kind is quite foreign to the classical period; "Here lies so-and-so"—dearly beloved son, naturally, but the stone does not say so; only late, and under Christian influence, "Here sleeps" is substituted. Sometimes the epitaph is in verse, an address to the wayfarer, of a type often seen in our own churchyards: "Laugh and be gay, O passer-by, seeing that you too must die." But the most pleasing is the conversation between the wayfarer and the dead man, and the more appropriate as ancient tombs were normally placed at the roadside. The style is generally colloquial; here is the sort of thing—an epitaph on a Greek boy, now in the museum at Bursa: "A tomb, I see. Whose, I wonder?—Cladus was the name.—Your father, now, who was he?—Menophilus; but, you see, I died. . . .—How was that?—I caught a chill.—And your age?—Thirteen.—A scholar, eh?—Well, no, not exactly. In fact, I never made much of my schooling." And so forth: there is more on the stone, but it is now illegible.

There is much else at Miletus besides the theatre, but in comparison with that giant the rest seems a little tame, and of interest chiefly to the specialist. You must keep reminding yourself that the city was a port, the mother of a hundred colonies, and that the now distant sea then washed the foot of the hill. The harbour was guarded by two marble lions, emblem of the city and normal type on her coins; we found one of the two lying forlorn and sadly battered among the bushes where the harbour once was; we looked for the other but did not find it. A little to the west a low hill rises from the plain; it is strange to realize that this is the famous island of Lade, which in 494 B.C. saw the naval defeat of the Greeks by the Persians, and the final collapse of the ill-starred Ionian Revolt. That revolt was the earliest of many attempts to free the Greek cities of Asia from the dominion of Persia: it failed partly owing to the defection of the Athenian allies, but much more, one suspects from Herodotus' account, because the cities themselves had no real zest for the business. Freedom was always an attractive ideal, but the Ionians had little heart to fight for it. They seem to have been, on the whole, quite happy under the Persians. A little later Athens succeeded in "liberating" them for a time, but their gratitude was not enthusiastic. After Lade, Miletus, whose governor Aristagoras had been the instigator of the revolt, met with such punishment from the Persians that in a century and a half she barely recovered in time to resist the final "liberator," Alexander, and be destroyed again. Again she recovered, and in the Roman period was still a flourishing city: witness the mighty theatre, the baths and other monuments: but little by little the sea withdrew, the harbour filled up, and Miletus saw her livelihood slipping from her. For a long time, all through the Middle Ages, indeed, she kept going with the help of a scala on the receding seashore; only under the Ottoman Turks was her commerce with the West finally broken, and she quickly sank to the little inland village, riddled with malaria, which occupies the site today.

From Miletus we drove to Didyma by the delightful coast-road, past the little harbour of Panormus, where the pilgrims used to land, but now looking sadly desolate, and up the line of the Sacred Way to the temple itself. The temple of Didyma is generally reckoned the most spectacular monument in Ionia. Like the Olympieum at Athens, it is so large that it was never quite finished: it was begun about 300 B.C.,

and four hundred years later the Roman Emperors were still at work on it. The faces of many of the blocks are still rough, with the masons' lettering still visible on them, and a number of the columns, over a hundred in all, were never fluted. There was an earlier temple on the site, destroyed by the Persians after the battle of Lade. Every visitor looks with interest at the central chamber of the temple, for here was the famous oracle of Apollo, whose ministry was hereditary in the family of the Branchidæ—the second oracle in celebrity, perhaps, of the ancient world. There was a moment in history when it might have become the first. Cræsus, king of Lydia, had it in mind to attack the Persian Empire; being doubtful of his chances, he thought it wise to consult the oracle first. But which oracle? Only the best would do, and that only if its reliability were proved in advance. He accordingly prepared a kind of qualifying test, a trial question, to be submitted simultaneously to the leading oracles of the world: "What is King Cræsus doing at this moment?" To make it really hard, he resolved to be boiling a lamb and a tortoise in a cauldron. The oracles, rather to our surprise (but Cræsus was rich as well as powerful), swallowed the insult and did their best. Delphi got it right, and Cræsus, after making a handsome presentation, put his momentous question there. He was rewarded with the celebrated masterpiece of ambiguity that led him to destruction. The responses of the unsuccessful candidates are not recorded, so we do not know how near the Branchidæ got; but the Asiatic Apollo lost a great chance of ascendancy over his Delphic counterpart. The story is familiar, and raises in an acute form that perpetually tantalising question, how did the oracles do it? How did they manage to satisfy their clients century after century? Various reasons have been suggested: judicious obscurity, mesmerism, a worldwide Intelligence Service, even genuine inspiration; but perhaps there is really nothing to explain. Human nature is curiously willing to be deceived, and one success will make up for many failures; Old Moore still has his public. If it be asked, how Delphi knew about the lamb and the tortoise, I have always suspected that the king, full of his ingenious plan, was unable to keep it to himself, and let it out one evening, after his envoys had left. At Delphi, we are told, the Pythia gave her answer (in hexameters too) even before the question was put, which seems perhaps suspiciously prompt.

Didyma was our furthest point, and we returned through Miletus to Priene and Sôke, crossing the Mæander by a species of "grind" that put one in mind of the Cam. Our vagabond friend made a sudden reappearance at Miletus, and began to angle for another free ride, but he got no encouragement. Priene is reasonably accessible to travellers, being less than two hours from Sôke, and is often visited. When next you go, give yourself time, and, if you have a fair head for heights, make the ascent of the acropolis. Priene is quoted as the clearest example of the lay-out of an ancient town, and from the cliff above you can see it to perfection. Long parallel streets lined with houses, short stepped cross-streets up and down the hillside, and the public buildings grouped in the centre. A deep gutter runs down the middle of the High Street. You can feel almost at home in Priene; here is a real town, not just an assortment of ruins. Wander among the houses; you can walk over the threshold-stone, and pass from room to room; visit the gymnasium, and notice the pupils' names carved on the wall; sit in the theatre, and you have (*pace* Dörpfeld) a real stage before your eyes. No one easily forgets a visit to Priene.

From Sôke a five-hour train journey took us to Sultanhisar for Nysa-ad-Mæandrum, the last site on our programme. The visible remains here are less impressive, largely because the site has been very little excavated; but the place has a peculiar interest, since the geographer Strabo, who studied here in the time of Augustus, has left us a short description of the town as he knew it. His account can still be followed on the spot, but the monuments have suffered with time. The best preserved is the Hall of the Elders, with a council chamber resembling a small theatre; but the most remarkable is the amphitheatre. The town was divided in the middle by a deep ravine with a stream at the bottom. The banks of the stream are perpendicular to a considerable height, and the space between them, some 100 feet wide, was bridged over for a distance of perhaps 250 yards to form the arena; the seats were on the steep slopes of the ravine above. A few of the seats are still visible, but the rest of this colossal work has almost entirely disappeared, having presumably collapsed into the

stream and been carried away. But for Strabo's description it would require a bold effort of the imagination to reconstruct it. The conception, however, is not unique; it is paralleled at Pergamum, Cyzicus and elsewhere. Nysa, though very easily accessible, is little known to European travellers; before long, we may hope, it will be properly excavated, and will certainly well repay the slight trouble of a visit.

Our tour was now at an end, and we parted finally on the station platform at Ephesus, our business satisfactorily concluded. If you are contemplating a similar tour, see that your shoes are really good and stout; but razor and pyjamas can be left at home.

ASIA PRESENTED

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

I.—ASIA ON THE AIR

As the war with Japan increases in intensity more and more radio time is taken up with authoritative talks on strategy—land, sea and air. Two of these talks to Home Service listeners during the last quarter were of special interest—"Half-way to Tokio," by Lieut. Frank Rounds, and "Future Strategy in the Pacific," by the famous U.S. Naval commentator, Paul Schubert.

Lieut. Rounds' dramatic opening, "Ten million square miles retaken in the Pacific! Ten million square miles to go!" led him to describe the fantastically complicated problems of logistics this bounding from island to island and archipelago to archipelago on the part of the Allies involves. "In Pacific warfare nearly 10 tons of cargo, equipment and supplies must be landed for every single soldier who hits the beach. These supplies include seven hundred thousand different items from buttons and needles and thread to tanks and planes and railway locomotives. To land a quarter of a million men on an enemy beach in the Pacific the Navy must unload at the same time over one and a half million tons of supplies. And to keep those men there for only thirty days almost half a million more tons must be supplied."

But the choice and amount of the supplies needed are only the beginning of the difficulties involved. "There are no ready-made ports such as Cherbourg and Antwerp; no storehouses, magazines, oil tanks or refrigerator facilities. When landings are made on jungle beaches these millions of tons of supplies have to be handled by methods as crude as those Robinson Crusoe had to use to get his stuff out of the wreck. And there are hurricanes there that beat down on men as they struggle with the equipment on their bare backs. And the tropical climate to do its work of deterioration."

To those people who incautiously express the opinion that Japan will crack easily once the European war is over and the Allies can turn their full attention to the task of defeating her it must have been salutary to hear from this authoritative speaker that "The second ten million miles to go to Tokio are likely to be even tougher than the first. Today it is estimated that Japan has an army of four million men and a normal replacement of nearly a quarter of a million men a year. She can still increase her production in war equipment and supplies. She has been conserving her air power and improving her aircraft. Her planes of every type today have greater fire power, armament, range, load capacity and high speed than ever before. Aircraft of the U.S. Navy no longer have such a technical advantage as they had a few months ago."

Paul Schubert also stressed the importance of the Japanese Army. "Not only is it the instrument of Japanese aggression, but also the controlling factor in Japanese political and domestic life. . . . The Japanese Navy is the servant of the Army . . . intended to keep supply lines open and to prevent hostile armies from coming up in sufficient strength to challenge the Japanese Army. For the ultimate defeat of

Japan many observers think it will be necessary to challenge the Army on Chinese soil, and that the simple invasion—even conquest—of the home islands will not be enough. But in planning either invasion the Philippines will unquestionably play much the same rôle that the British Islands did in building up the assault on Germany: a large off-shore base protected by our sea and air power in which invasion troops can be equipped and trained and from which large-scale bombing can be carried out."

American radio commentators are already speculating on the possibility of Russia entering the Far-Eastern war when her non-aggression pact with Japan expires at midnight on April 24th. But they also point out that whether she renews the pact for another five years or not, "the Russian front ties up hundreds of thousands of first-class Japanese troops," which in itself is a great advantage to the Allies.

In purely human terms the talk which had the sharpest impact was by Drummer H. F. Wilson on his own treatment and experiences during two and a half years as a prisoner of war in Japanese hands. "Don't worry too much," he said; "our greatest wish was for you not to worry. . . . The Japanese ill-treated us only if they caught us not working. . . . If a fellow is ever slapped by a Japanese it's not usually because he wants to be cruel or to torture you. It's the fact that they've always been used to be beaten themselves. They punish their own soldiers by slapping them, and they think we should be punished in the same way."

Rest day—*Yasumi* day—is Thursday, and the prisoners used to organize cricket or football matches and concerts in the evening. They worked too hard and were too self-reliant to be bored; but the worst was, he said, "to wake up in the morning after dreaming of home." That depressed men, as there was no chance of escaping. "When I got a letter—I had twenty-seven from the wife in my two and a half years, in two batches—I felt I couldn't eat for a week. I was so excited. I read it over and over again and put it under my pillow. You do things like that."

The greatest hardship this prisoner experienced was one particular march—eighty-five miles in six days. "One day at Kanburi one man dropped dead with exhaustion. . . . Our C.O. said to the Japanese Commandant: 'They're not in a condition to march; they're all exhausted and have got blisters on their feet.' The Japanese said: 'Do you know I can have you shot for refusing to march?' And our officer said: 'You'd better shoot me, then, because they're not marching.' And we didn't march. He was a very good man. Lieut.-Colonel Lilley. Everybody knows him from one end of Thailand to the other. He was a man that even the Japanese looked up to."

While at Tamowan, the lowest camp in Thailand, the prisoners were told that three thousand of the fittest were wanted for Japan. It was not stated what for. "You should see how they dolled us up for this trip. They dished us out with cotton pants of every colour—green, lemon, pink, pale mauve and bright blue—and ankle socks and a green coat. The green trousers they gave us to match the coat wouldn't fit a child of twelve; we couldn't get our legs in them, and so we had to do with the cotton pants. All on parade, we marched to the station in this new gear—all colours of the rainbow." And so they arrived in Singapore.

While in convoy, Drummer Wilson's ship was torpedoed, and five days later he was picked up on a raft and eventually came home to tell his tale.

Sir Sultan Ahmed made a constructive contribution to the vexed problem of India's future in his talk in the Home Service. "After the war," he said, "India will have to decide whether to associate freely with the other partners of the British Commonwealth or to launch upon total independence." The "indivisible" world of the post-war period will be guided by three great powers—Russia, America and Great Britain, and of these India has most links with the British Commonwealth. "She is drawn towards this group by something deeper than politics. We share common ideals, common tasks and common standards, without leaving off one iota of our own traditions and characteristics. . . . We have a common legal system and a conception of justice which includes the great principle of civil liberty—our liberty of the subject."

Having made his plea for joining the free association of the Commonwealth group of nations, Sir Ahmed puts the case for a "permanent Commonwealth

Advisory Council with a Secretariat. Diplomatic exchanges would proceed continuously, but the Council should meet for regular sessions in rotation in the various Dominion capitals. . . . Periodically a British Commonwealth Congress, which would take the place of the old Imperial Conference, would meet to consider major problems." The B.B.C. is to be congratulated on giving a forum to such constructive thinking on post-war affairs.

Lastly, Francis Merton, relief worker with the Friends Ambulance Unit, told a fascinating traveller's tale of the "Country of the Panda," the little-known borderland west of Chunking, home of the Ch'iangs, who live poor but happy lives in smoke-blackened flat-roofed houses crowded together and perched precariously on the sides of the mist-towering mountains where the panda and other wild animals live. Among the flat roofs of the houses are narrow, tapering watch-towers, looking in the distance like factory chimneys, and something like the towers of San Gimignano, now razed by the Germans. These towers are merely historic relics today, but in the time of the Border wars the people would climb up them by means of a notched stick—women, children, animals and all—and stay there above the fighting until the soldiers went away.

The people live on the maize and buckwheat they grow, and the older members of the community spin and weave flax and make clothes for the others. "The Chinese people are gradually bringing all this Border region under their control. All the children who can, go to school and learn to read and write Chinese. But in the old Ch'iang villages where there is still little Chinese influence life is very simple, pleasures are simple, and they are a very happy people." Long may they remain so in this present world of conflict and suffering.

II.—ASIA AND THE CINEMA

The new edition of "The March of Time," "Inside China Today," has some magnificent scenes, taken by cameramen on the spot, of life in that war-torn, economic-ravaged country. Politically the film skates over the thin ice of the relationship between the Communist North and the democratic ideals claimed by the Government of the Generalissimo. On the whole it gives the Generalissimo the benefit of the doubt, and makes the most of the Committee's statement that, "although the dictatorship of the Kuomintang has been necessary under the pressure of war, the Committee regards itself as the trustee of China's democratic future and has promised to put a new constitution into effect after the war's end."

It gives some interesting facts and figures about the reformed Hsien system which the National Government has developed during the last two years in her two thousand counties. This reformed Hsien system, a Chinese version of the Hindu panchayat, or local government on a wide scale, is in operation in 80 per cent. of Free China. Out of this system may well grow a new democratic ideal in the China of the post-war world.

The difficulties of waging war on a modern scale in China are greater than most people realize here. For instance, as the film commentator points out, her lack of modern transportation is crippling; her roads only total fifty thousand miles, and her railways less than a thousand—and this in a country whose size is fabulous.

The most interesting section of the film, because few cameramen go there to record it, is that dealing with the Communist North. Here thousands of square miles are controlled by Mao Tsetung and his Communist armies of half a million troops, many of them seasoned and skilful warriors. Eighty million people come under Mao's jurisdiction, which he holds in defiance of the Kuomintang. Here the press is controlled and a strict censorship of news and views is in operation. They do all their own printing and have their own money.

But in spite of the somewhat superficial handling of the delicate political situation in China, pictorially the film is one of the best "The March of Time" have made recently. Unforgettable are many of the shots of the patient, long-suffering and hard-working peasants and workers in the dispersed war industries, and the commentary pays warm tributes to the Chinese peasant, voicing the feelings of admiration and sympathy which most of us feel towards him.

Among the short films the Ministry of Information is making about the Far-Eastern war is the delightful "Fijian Return." Some of the bravest soldiers of the battle of the Solomons were volunteers from the Fiji Islands, magnificent specimens of their race. Side by side with the Australians they took part in the bloodiest of the fighting, and in the film they can be seen returning in triumph to their people.

"Burma Magazine" is a compilation film of life and conditions on the Burmese Front. Made especially for the Ministry's non-theatrical circuit, it is designed for relations of the men serving there. "The Forgotten Army" is no longer forgotten these days.

Among long films "The Story of Dr. Wassell" is the most memorable, and worth mentioning here. Based on the true story of an Arkansas doctor, Dr. Corydon Wassell, who spent years in China doing special research work on the germ of plague, and who joined the American Navy as ship's doctor on the cruiser *Marblehead*, one of the casualties of the gallant battle of the Java Seas, the film shows him taking charge of the wounded survivors with the utmost devotion, caring for them through pitiless Japanese bombing, and, against superior orders, finally getting them embarked for home when Java fell.

In spite of the slightly oleographic effect of the Technicolour tropics and the crude attempts to insert comedy for the sake of that ubiquitous god of the cinema, the box-office, the film does pay high tribute to the courage and devotion of the Dutch and of the Javanese. The Javanese nurses, although so trim and exquisite that they look as though they were ready for a New York revue chorus, are portrayed as properly trained, quiet, efficient nurses, whose courage and sense of duty to the wounded in their charge never fail in spite of the terrible ordeals they go through. And the Dutch—"there will be a special place in heaven for the Dutch," says Dr. Wassell, saying farewell to the Dutch Lieutenant, Dirk, who has helped him to get his wounded sailors finally embarked for home, and leaving him to make with quiet dignity and typically Dutch restraint a last forlorn stand against the overwhelming forces of the invading enemy.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA

CHINESE SENTENCE SERIES. By W. Simon, PH.D., and C. H. Lu, PH.D. (*Arthur Probsthain*.) Part I. 8s. 6d.; Part II. 10s. 6d. net; Chinese-English Vocabulary, 3s. 6d. net; interleaved, 4s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by E. M. GULL.)

These volumes, of which Part II is the Chinese text of Part I, together with the vocabulary accompanying them, represent an important change in the teaching of Chinese in England, a change correlative to recent linguistic development in China. Dr. Simon, to whose enterprise and industry the change is mainly due, is Reader in Chinese in the University of London. In compiling these sentences he had the co-operation of Dr. C. H. Lu, formerly Lecturer in the University's School of Oriental and African Studies, and, in producing a Chinese text, that of Mr. Tsui Chi, who is responsible for the script. The first draft of the vocabulary was made by Mrs. H. M. Wright, temporary lecturer in Chinese at the school.

To explain the significance of their work a prefatory word or two about Chinese as a language is necessary. Spoken Chinese has remarkably few sound-groups or syllables. There used long ago to be more than there are today, but now, apart from differing intonations with which words are pronounced, there are little more than 400. Very many words having quite different meanings are distinguishable from one another in speech only by intonation, while not a few with different meanings are not distinguishable either by pronunciation or intonation.

In North China there are four distinct intonations, or tones, comparable with those in which our word *dead* is spoken when used unemotionally in a statement of fact; when expressed as a question; when used with the prolongation of astonishment blended with incredulity, or when used with tragic-like acceptance of finality. Other parts of China have more than four intonations, while the Chinese spoken in Shanghai and innumerable other places, mostly south-east of the Yangtze, differs in pronunciation from northern Chinese so much as to be, aurally speaking, a different language.

When written, words are not represented by letters, for there is no alphabet, but by symbols, which are in part pictographic, in part ideographic. These symbols, generally called characters, have a very long history, their original forms differing greatly from the present ones, which date only from the beginning of our era. There are many thousands of characters, those most frequently used in ancient and modern literature, however, numbering between four and five thousand only. In correlation with the spoken language, some characters have more than one intonation, their meanings differing therewith, while many with only one intonation also have different meanings, or different shades of the same meaning. Conversely, not a few characters, having when spoken exactly the same sound, are written differently and have different meanings, the various *lo*, for example, in the second and fourth tones, or the various *shên* in the third tone. Every spoken word has a corresponding character, but Chinese written in literary style employs characters embodying words, and still more often phrases, seldom, in some cases never, used in ordinary colloquial. Indeed, literary and spoken Chinese differ from one another as much as the spoken Chinese of North China differs from that of the South. On the other hand, written Chinese has the same meaning all over China, so that a literate Pekingese and a literate Cantonese, though often, if not generally, quite unable to understand one another's speech, can always understand one another's written communications. As disunited as Europe as far as speech is concerned, China is much more united than Europe in, and by, her script.

These characteristics make Chinese seem, perhaps, a clumsy language. One has, indeed, heard it so described, but generally by persons not markedly proficient in its use. Actually, as far as the expression of ideas is concerned, Chinese is a not less efficient, and a more delicate, instrument than our own, in addition to which it is incomparably more artistic from a calligraphic point of view. Written with a fine brush it has many of the qualities of painting. Indeed, beautifully written Chinese scrolls are highly decorative, and are used and treasured as we use and treasure pictures.

But Chinese undoubtedly suffers from practical disabilities, or penalties perhaps one should say. Instantaneous recognition of some four or five thousand symbols is not acquired without considerable labour, while familiarity with the many combinations in which they are used demands still longer study. The fact that about seventy-five per cent. of Chinese are illiterate is largely, though by no means wholly, due to that fact. Dissimilarity between literary and spoken Chinese is another handicap. Symbols, or characters, cannot be telegraphed. The only alternative to giving each symbol a number and telegraphing the latter (which with so many symbols means a great deal of coding and decoding) is to give them some form of romanization. But romanization has to confront the difficulty of distinguishing between large numbers of words which sound either very much, or exactly, alike.

For some years past the Chinese have been trying to remedy these disabilities. As far as the script is concerned they are now using increasingly the characters which embody the words and expressions of everyday life. Also, they are trying to reduce the number of characters, and have selected as the most often used some 1,200. Instantaneous recognition of which enables a man to read a good deal of what is printed. Hence they are described, somewhat metaphorically, as basic characters. Dr. Simon, it may be noted in passing, has recently produced an excellent volume about them.

As regards spoken Chinese, after various experiments the Ministry of Education in 1928 promulgated a standardized romanization of Northern Chinese, which is now called the national language, and which it is hoped to get the whole country to use.

It is in this new romanization that Dr. Simon's *Chinese Sentence Series* is pub-

lished, students at the School of Oriental and African Studies being now taught both to speak and to read the language by means of it.

Hitherto Chinese has been taught at the school and elsewhere in England, and in China in the case of British Consular students, missionaries and foreign employees of the Chinese Customs, through a system of romanization devised in the fifties of last century by Sir Thomas Wade. All our dictionaries and textbooks have been compiled according to his system, which has undoubtedly given good results. All our best speakers of Chinese have been trained on his lines. The virtual abandonment of his system by the School of Oriental and African studies is, therefore, a considerable revolution.

The two systems are by no means mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the basic romanizations in both systems are very similar, the changes involved being largely a matter of initial consonants merely. Thus unaspirated initial consonants like *p*, *t* and *ch*, which in the Wade system are pronounced *b*, *d* and *j*, are in the new system written *b*, *d* and *j*, an appropriate change. Where these consonants are aspirated in the Wade system, an inverted comma is inserted between them and the vowel following, as in the romanization of the Chinese word for tea, *ch'a*. In the new system the *ch* is allowed itself to express the aspirate sound, as it does in our word *chat*. Other changes in initial consonants are less realistic, but no more difficult; for example, *ua* for *wa*, and *ia* for *ya*.

It is in respect of the intonations referred to above, illustrated by the different ways in which the word *dead* may be articulated, that the new system departs wholly from the Wade system. The latter indicated the four differing intonations of Northern Chinese—the four tones as they are called—by numerals, the numerals being used on the right-hand side, and a little above, the sound romanized. Thus the different intonations which a Pekingese gives to the monosyllabic word *ch'ang* when he is speaking of prostitutes, or length, or a factory or happiness are indicated in the Wade system thus: *ch'ang*¹, *ch'ang*², and *ch'ang*³ and *ch'ang*⁴—*ch'ang*, that is to say, in the first, second, third or fourth tones.

The new system represents these tones by changes in the spelling of what is called the basic form—the romanization, that is to say, adopted for the sound of the word when spoken in the first, and in certain cases in the second, tone. Thus *ch'ang*¹, *ch'ang*², *ch'ang*³ and *ch'ang*⁴ become *chang*, *charng*, *chaang* and *chanq*. Similarly, *sou*¹ (to search for), *sou*² (to shake) and *sou*⁴ (to rinse) become *sou*, *soou* and *sow*, while *t'ou*¹ (to steal), *t'ou*² (the head) and *t'ou*⁴ (to pass through) become *tou*, *tour* and *tow*. These orthographic changes are made, of course, in accordance with certain rules, and it is claimed for them that, once the rules have been grasped, the reader comes to remember the tones through the visual shape of the words, and that he does so much more easily in this way than by the use of numbers, commas and other extraneous signs.

The fact that the Chinese think this, too, is obviously a strong argument in support of the opinion, and having heard one of Dr. Simon's classes read aloud from the new romanization (the Chinese text of what they were reading being before me) I, who was brought up on the Wade system, can testify to the effectiveness of the new method. That is not, however, to testify to its superiority. Whether a different class, taught in accordance with the Wade system, would not acquit itself equally well is another matter. Has that test, one wonders, been employed? After all, there is no great difficulty, after practice, in distinguishing between the second and third tones, or in distinguishing either from the first and fourth. It is in distinguishing between the two latter that the main difficulty lies, while in speaking rhythm counts almost as much as tone. Correct intonation does not, on the face of it, appear to be rendered easier by writing, for example, *peng* and *penq* instead of *p'eng*¹ and *p'eng*⁴, or *pin* and *pinn* instead of *p'in*¹ and *p'in*⁴.

However, in this matter, as in so many others, the proof of the pudding is the eating, and, as already stated, Dr. Simon is being very successful in teaching colloquial Chinese through this new romanization. The statement, however, that the tones are "inherent" in it "as they are inherent in the spoken word" (p. 15) is apt to be misleading, for it suggests that there is a similarity in sound between the word as romanized and as spoken. In many instances this is emphatically not the

case. There is no sound in Northern Chinese containing in it a final *q*, nor has it any sounds corresponding with such spellings as *yng*, *jye*, *jour*, *koet*, *leeng*, *tour*, *tzoei*, or *tzyy*. The statement quoted means only that certain conventional indications of the intonations with which words should be spoken are included in the romanization instead of being shown extraneously as they are in the Wade system. In a second edition the statement might well be reworded.

In a second edition, also, something explanatory might with advantage be included in respect of words of which both pronunciation and intonation are precisely the same while their meanings are entirely different. The point is of more importance in respect of written than of spoken Chinese, and this textbook deals primarily and mainly with the latter. Nevertheless, the point is worth illustrating. For instance, *tai⁴ shu¹* (Wade romanization) may mean an attorney or to carry letters. In the new romanization *tai⁴ shu¹* becomes *day shu*, which does not, apparently, distinguish between the two meanings any more than Wade's romanization does. Again, *tan¹ li¹* (Wade's romanization) may mean simple interest or with the whole energy. So, too, apparently, does *dan lih* (the new romanization). Again, *tou⁴-tzü* (Wade's romanization) may mean beans or it may mean smallpox. May not the new romanization of beans, *dowtz* (or is it *dowtzyy*?), also mean smallpox?

In the script, of course, the different meanings are conveyed by different characters. Dr. Simon appears to think (p. 14) that this new romanization may some day take the place of the script. So an explanatory word or two in a second edition about the examples given above—there are many more—would be welcome.

Dr. Simon also appears to think (see p. 19) that learning the script is a hindrance to learning to speak—"for some considerable time." In the experience of others, my own included, the reverse is the case. And I would frankly describe as disappointing the view that "in many cases speaking and understanding may be all that will ever be required of the student during his stay in China." It may indeed—but only if the student is content with the status of an ignoramus.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA. By Penderel Moon. Pp. 66, large octavo, 16 pp. photographs. (*The Pilot Press*.) 5s.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD.)

The Editorial Board under whose auspices Mr. Moon produced this interesting book consists of Sir William Beveridge, Professor Julian Huxley and Sir Julian Boyd Orr, with Mr. Charles Madge as Editor. Presumably, therefore, they must take some responsibility for the scope of Mr. Moon's study.

He starts with the economic problem, which he succinctly illustrates by asserting that the Indian has 1s. for the Englishman's £1. He deals with the backwardness of agriculture and assigns causes for it without failing to recognize the achievements of the Government in respect of research and fine works of engineering skill in its Irrigation Department.

He then discusses the political framework of India, the Muslims and the Pakistan proposal, the Cripps plan and the Indian States. His brief appreciation of the position of the Indian States is not unfair, and he recognizes that the idea of eliminating them is impracticable. It is unfortunate that he mentions the theory that the States constitute obstacles to India's freedom without attempting to refute it. After all, the introduction of the idea of federation into the practical discussion of India's future stands to the credit of the Indian Rulers, as those who recall the first Round-Table Conference will agree.

The latter part of the brochure discusses a "Target for India," putting the extension of irrigation as first priority, but he does not make the mistake of other planners by ignoring the comparatively limited area still remaining for the operation of new irrigation works. Whether his suggestion that the aim should be to double the irrigated area (58 million acres) in the course of twenty years is feasible remains to be seen. His next priority is the increase in communications by road building,

and his third priority is the improvement and collectivization of agriculture, the latter based ultimately on the formation of village co-operative associations. He agrees that here ruthless compulsion such as was applied in Russia would be impracticable. His last priority is for the planning of industrial development not only in heavy industries but in light and cottage industries, with social services marked for considerable expansion.

His main point is that success in carrying out this planning must depend on the creation of a Government which has the support of the people to which it belongs. That, of course, is merely stating the basis on which the constitutional changes in India intensified since 1921 have been designed by Parliament.

Mr. Moon regards British rule in India as sterile, and therefore handicaps the reader by omitting to explain exactly how far in the last twenty years or more the transfer of power has gone. This surely is a most important historical guide to the possibility of avoiding that anarchy which Mr. Moon wants to see removed from the nightmare of the future.

His book would have been more satisfactory if he had been able to include in it some appreciation of the way in which India will ensure that security from external aggression which has been so important a factor in enabling her to assume the mantle of a Dominion-designate. Incidentally, his shrewd judgment of Indian psychology has good scope, and he courageously appeals for greater attention to the need for making "the literate leaders." This, he rightly says, is even more pressing than plans for making the illiterate literate.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

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Vol. XLII, No. 4, October-December, 1944

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S WAR EFFORT

BY GENERAL SIR MOSLEY MAYNE, K.C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., A.D.C.

WHEN I came home to England at the close of last year I was told by interested persons that there was crass ignorance amongst the British public about India's war effort, and the part which Indian troops had played, and were still playing, in theatres of war all over the world.

As regards India's war effort as a whole, I feel that, from the general public, India has not yet been given half the credit she deserves; but as regards the contribution made by her fighting forces, and their prowess in battle, I feel that the British public is now beginning to learn the truth, and to hear high praise, from thousands of the best type of impartial witness—the British soldier, sailor and airman returning to these shores, who have fought side by side with the Indian Services in Europe and in the Middle and Far East.

Even before the outbreak of war with Germany, India had already made a substantial contribution of troops to safeguard our Imperial communications against the threat which loomed ahead. In the summer of 1939 an Indian Infantry Brigade was sent to reinforce the peace-time garrison of Singapore; and the 4th Indian Division went to Egypt.

When war with Germany broke out, and Italy and Japan remained neutral, India had no further overseas commitments, immediate or impending, to meet. She nevertheless mobilized her Army, set about the task of raising a number of new divisions, and prepared for the defence of her Western Frontier against the indefinite, but yet conceivable, contingency of attack from that quarter by a first-class Power. That threat increased, then receded, and then grew again as the German Armies swept eastwards across Russia and southwards to the Caucasus, near the borders of Persia, and the danger remained a real one until the late summer of 1942, when the Russians, after their historic stand at Stalingrad, swept the German Armies back from the Caspian to the Black Sea.

During that early period, 1940 and 1941, India, despite her domestic commitments, was pouring out her resources of men and material. As soon as Italy ranged herself against us the 5th Indian Division and a number of garrison and administrative units went to the Middle East. The 4th Indian Division, having already spent a year in the Middle East, took the leading part in the first important battle in the Western Desert—the battle of Sidi Barrani. The 5th Indian Division, starting from the Sudan, initiated the British offensive against Italian East Africa in the early autumn of 1940 and, joined later by its sister division, the 4th, won a series of battles which, in conjunction with the offensive from Kenya, brought about the total capitulation of the Italian forces in East Africa. Meanwhile, the 8th, 10th and 6th Indian Divisions fought the campaigns in Iraq, Syria and Persia, and further Indian reinforcements, including armoured formations and units, were sent to the Middle East.

I am still speaking of 1940 and 1941 and of the forces which India sent to the Middle East. But her contribution amounted to very much more than that. She

tore up her railway tracks and sent them, together with locomotives and wagons, to Persia, Iraq and Egypt. She developed her industries and her war-time arsenals with the utmost speed and to the maximum capacity, all for the purpose of supplying British forces at war outside India. This was quite right and proper. The war in the Far East had not started, and what mattered most at that time was the war in Europe and the Middle East. So India denuded herself of material and resources which she was going to want very badly during the succeeding years to keep the enemy at bay beyond her own frontiers.

AFTER THE JAPANESE ATTACK

Then, while India was still looking and planning westwards, with her administrative layout for war purposes sited in the West of India, Japan attacked from the East, and India was compelled to turn about and face in that direction too. Although her immediate task was now the defence of Malaya, of Burma, and very soon of her own Eastern Frontier, India still maintained at full strength her military contribution to the Middle East. She never relaxed for a moment. During that summer of 1942 three Indian divisions and a brigade of the Indian Armoured Corps were fighting in the Western Desert; Indian troops were garrisoning Cyprus and other places in the Levant; three Indian divisions, including one of armour, were deployed in Persia to help meet the very real threat of a German advance through the Caucasus and Central Persia against the oilfields in Iraq and Khuzestan, and even against the Western Frontier of India itself.

Taking into account the fact that those divisions in the Middle East, and in what came to be known as Paiforce, were the cream of the Army in India; that individual units and administrative services in very considerable quantity were in the Middle East too; and that India had lost, and had to write off, a very large number of units in Malaya, it was a wonderful performance for her to hold the hitherto victorious Japanese on the Indo-Burma Frontier, and, at the same time, raise, equip and train the numerous fresh formations which are winning the war in the Far East to-day. I feel there are few people at home who realize the extent and complexity of India's war effort, and her sacrifices at that critical period.

The Japanese invasion was held on the borders of India throughout the years 1942 and 1943. In the late spring of 1944 we took the offensive in real earnest, and now we have retaken Rangoon and most of Burma. Why was our counter-offensive not started sooner? Why did we let the Japanese threaten Indian soil, and even take the initiative in a series of attempted invasions, for a period of eighteen months or more before we finally turned the tables on her and put her on the run? I have heard people ask that question and criticize India for lack of effort and initiative.

LONG PREPARATION FOR BURMA

Let me give you in a few words an outline of the military preparations which India had to make in order to transform herself into the main base, and North-Eastern India into the main lines of communication, for the vast forces, land and air, which have driven the Japanese, with enormous losses, out of most of Burma and which are going to drive them very much further still. Remember that she has continued to maintain at full strength a number of divisions which have taken a leading part in our victories at Alamein, in Tunisia and in Italy and has continued to provide other formations, too, for expeditions such as the occupation of the Ægean Islands and Greece and for garrison duties throughout the Middle East.

The reasons why we were unable to undertake a full counter offensive against the Japanese in 1942 or 1943 were essentially administrative. As I have already said, India had organized her administrative layout to meet her obligations in the West, and had denuded herself of material and resources which were now badly needed to organize a base and lines of communication for a war in the East. The main physical difficulties which she had to face were:

The lack of through routes from India to Burma capable of maintaining large forces; the limited capacity of the Bengal-Assam Railway, which is narrow gauge and

smaller than the trunk routes which feed it; the obstacle of the Bramaputra River, which has no bridges; and monsoon wash-outs and land slides.

Confronted with those difficulties and with much reduced stocks of equipment to meet them, the immediate problem in 1942 was the reception of a million refugees from Burma; the withdrawal of battle-worn troops for rest, reorganization and re-equipment; and the establishment of a battle front to stop a further Japanese advance into Assam and India. The successful accomplishment of those tasks was a triumph of improvisation, since little assistance was forthcoming from the U.K. or U.S.A., where the needs of other theatres of war were given higher priority.

Meanwhile, a long-term programme was put in hand and developed as resources became available. The capacity of the Bengal-Assam Railway was quadrupled by additional construction, by the improvement of ferry and transshipment points, and by the provision of American operating personnel; numbers of advance bases were developed and depôts stocked for the maintenance of forces larger than the whole of the B.E.F. in France in 1940; new roads were constructed over some of the most difficult country imaginable; scores of all-weather airfields were built; and oil pipelines were laid from Calcutta and Chittagong to Assam and beyond.

Concurrently with the development of the forward lines of communication, the expansion of the Indian base to deal with some 2½ million troops had been in progress—sailors, soldiers and airmen; British, Indian, American, African and Chinese. This vast project involved the construction of complete bases with covered accommodation for every type of equipment, stores and supplies; the building of airfields, hospitals, camps, barracks and training areas and, in addition, the expansion of the capacity of railways and ports. I will give you a few figures to show what had been achieved up to the end of 1944: Accommodation built for 1,320,000 men; 70 training establishments built to hold 470,000 men: 130 hospitals, providing 94,000 beds; 42 million square feet of covered storage; 360 airfields.

THE INDUSTRIAL EFFORT

Now a few words about India's industrial war effort. It has involved the creation of new industries, the expansion of existing ones and the conversion of others to war purposes. The Tata Steel Works, the largest in the British Empire, have greatly increased their pre-war production of 2 million tons of pig iron and a million tons of steel, and in addition have perfected many new types of steel including armour plate. Every engineering workshop in the country is making munitions in some form or other, while the great new ordnance factories and the railway workshops are turning out guns, shells, mines, grenades in very large quantities. India also makes sufficient H.E. for her own use.

India has a virtual monopoly of jute, and has produced sandbags by the hundred million for use on every fighting front, in addition to gunny bags, hessian and other jute products. She supplied 90 per cent. of the stores used in N. Africa before American supplies began to arrive, including locomotives and rolling stock, pipelines, etc. She has been the main source of supply for the overland route to Russia via Persia. Here again she provided a large part of the skilled personnel as well as rolling stock, engines and transport.

India has been the principal supplier of tropical uniforms, made from cloth woven in her 300 cotton mills. Her clothing factories turn out 7 million items a month and use 215 million yards of cloth a year. She has produced 50 million pairs of footwear for the forces; and the great majority of the tents used by the Allied Armies are made in India. She has also supplied 1½ million tons of timber and 60 million feet of plywood a year.

Cottage industries in remote villages have made millions of yards of camouflage netting and millions of hand-woven blankets. Her survey department has produced 300 million maps for the Army; and the parachutes used in the Burma theatre were all of Indian supply and manufacture.

THE TOTAL EFFECT

This has been a very sketchy review, and, owing to lack of time, I have had to leave unsaid a great deal that could and should be said. Let me finish with a brief

summary. Since the start of the war India's Army has increased over elevenfold! her Navy to fifteen times and her Air Force to ten times their pre-war strength—all by voluntary enlistment. Her divisions have played a leading part in all the theatres of war from Persia in the north, to Italy in the west, to Abyssinia in the south, and to Burma in the East. Her Navy has taken part in operations in the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, Atlantic, Mediterranean and Far East. Her Air Forces have taken over full responsibility for air commitments on the North-West Frontier and are playing an important part in the S.E.A.C. operations.

Meanwhile, India has transformed herself into a colossal military base for the South-East Asia Command. She has done so largely by indigenous effort and improvisation, since until now she has stood so low in the order of priority for assistance from home and elsewhere. And, last but not least, she has achieved remarkable results in the expansion of her industries and their conversion to war production. For over five years she has given everything she has had to give.

And finally, unlike some Allied nations, India is not able to relax, even a little, now that the war in Europe is over. She is still in top gear and at top speed at the end of the sixth year of her war effort.

POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN THE STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA

BY SIR WILLIAM BARTON, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.

THE Indian States cover over a third of India, with a population of over 100 millions. There are some hundreds of them, but only twenty or so are of any importance. Of the latter the majority are succession States of the Mughal empire, last of the great Muslim dynasties that ruled India for seven centuries. The majority of the States are Hindu Rajput; the origin of many of them is veiled in the mists of antiquity. The relations of most of the States with the British Crown are governed by treaty or agreement; all acknowledge British suzerainty.

In most of the States the administration is based on the age-old traditions of personal rule; in the last fifty or sixty years, however, it has been modelled in the most important States on the system in force in British India. Of recent years much has been done to associate the people with the working of government. In States like Mysore, Baroda, and Travancore government is very much on the lines of constitutional monarchy. In race, religion, language and social customs there is little to differentiate the people of the States from the inhabitants of the adjoining British Indian Provinces.

THE PREMIER STATE

The Muslim State of Hyderabad is the most important of the Indian States. 82,000 square miles in area, it has a population of over 17 million, of whom the great majority are Hindu. Established over two centuries ago, it carries on the traditions of the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan or South India, which had flourished for nearly four centuries previously, in almost complete isolation from the Muslim empires of the North, based on Delhi. Its Ruler is known as his Exalted Highness the Nizam, Faithful Ally of the British Empire.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the collapse of the Mughal empire led to widespread anarchy in India. The Marathas—a sturdy Hindu people of the South, under skilful leadership—were striving to obliterate Muslim rule. They threatened the great Muslim Kingdom of Hyderabad with extinction. The Nizam turned for help to the British, who by this time were in power in Bengal. A military alliance was concluded between the two powers, with the result that the Maratha confederacy was finally overthrown. Relations between the British and the Nizam

developed into a British military protectorate, as a corollary of which the Nizam recognized the paramountcy of the British Crown. By treaty the British are pledged to maintain a force of 10,000 men in Hyderabad.

The State is administered on modern lines, conforming to a large extent to the system prevailing in British India. A well-trained Civil Service is building up traditions of efficiency and integrity. The executive is separated from the judiciary; at the head of the Law Courts is the High Court; the Chief Justice is usually a well-trained lawyer from British India. The aristocracy, Hindu and Muslim, is highly educated; the middle class is growing in importance. There is a flourishing university; primary education is free; the Hyderabad Government have recently adopted the policy of providing a school in every village of 1,000 inhabitants.

Finance is on a sound basis. Taxation is comparatively light. There is no income tax; customs, excise, the land tax and railways are the main sources of revenue. Budgets have for many years shown substantial surpluses, much of which has been applied to nation-building projects.

Hyderabad has its own currency system, coins its own rupees, issues paper currency. A State Bank has been established recently which handles the currency system. Treasury bills are issued, and generally the scheme of public finance follows modern lines.

The State owns 1,360 miles of railway, which provide a substantial contribution to the revenue. There is a strong British element in the railway staff. Much has been done for the comfort of the poorer class of passengers. A scheme of road-rail co-ordination has been evolved. A lorry and bus service owned and operated by the State carries goods and passengers over 4,000 miles of road.

The economic life of the State is centred in the countryside. Before the war there had been little industrial development. Cement was manufactured on an appreciable scale; some textile factories were working, also some minor industries. There are extensive coalfields, but the coal is not of sufficiently good quality for coking. The mines were till recently worked by a British company. The Nizam's Government has now bought it out with a view to stimulating output. There is a plentiful supply of iron ore in the vicinity of the coalfields. Gold has been mined in the past and with cheap electric power it might be worth while to reopen some of the old workings. Marble, limestone, fireclay are among other minerals found in the State.

The capital of Hyderabad has a population of half a million. Much has been done to make it a model city. There are many fine public buildings. Slum clearance has been carried out on a large scale, and several thousand houses of modern design have been built for the benefit of the poorer classes. There are many miles of cement roads, a good drainage system and water supply and modern lighting. A stock exchange has been recently instituted.

On the outbreak of the war the Hyderabad Government placed its resources at the service of the King-Emperor. The strength of the army was increased from 7,000 to 12,000 men; eight units are now serving outside the State; all charges are borne by the Hyderabad Government. Over £40 million has been invested in Indian Government loans. Two squadrons of the R.A.F. have been provided; also a corvette for the Royal Navy. Industry has been placed on a war basis; to encourage private enterprise an Industrial Development Corporation has been set up, partly financed by Government, for the large scale manufacture of heavy chemicals, sheet-glass and glassware, starch, casein and other plastics. A number of industrial works have already been started under this scheme—e.g., the Allwyn Metal Works, the Hyderabad Starch Products, the Hyderabad Chemicals and Fertilizers. Railway workshops and the Mint are producing components of gun-carriages, pressed sheet-ings, castings, weldings, etc. A machine-tools factory has been started and many other articles of military necessity are being produced. There has been a great increase in the growth of food crops; the Hyderabad Government has loyally supported the Indian Government in the fight against inflation. Small investors have been encouraged; the State has raised loans of £70 million at 2½ per cent. As a substitute for income tax a Compulsory Savings Ordinance makes compulsory the investment in Government loan of income above £350 per annum on a scale varying from 4 per cent to 12½ per cent.

The State Budget has increased from £8 million pre-war to nearly £13 million, with no fresh taxation except the excess profits tax. The State aerodrome built as part of a programme of linking a civil aviation service with the State railway has been utilized as a training centre for Indian Air Force pilots. Several thousand mechanics and motor drivers have been trained and passed on to the Indian Army. Beyond question Hyderabad in its war effort has proved its loyalty to the British Commonwealth.

PRODUCTION PLANS

I pass on now to the State programme of post-war development. The war effort, one may comment, has done much to prepare the ground. The dominant motive is to raise the standard of living of the common man; to find employment for all. Many new factories have been started as a result of the stimulus of the war, helped in some cases from the Industrial Fund. The Sirpur Mills, to give an example, are producing 5,000 tons of paper a year, a valuable contribution to an understocked market. Big new cigarette, soap and oil factories are working.

The policy adopted puts the improvement of agriculture in the foreground. The responsible authorities realize that the expansion of industry depends on the prosperity of the countryside. What is necessary in the villages is a great increase in the outturn of the crops; more money crops—e.g., castor, sugar cane, groundnut—should be grown; an improvement in the quality of the village livestock is essential. The value of applied science to agriculture is recognized, and to assure that it is available an agricultural college has been established as well as a school of animal husbandry. An adequate supply of fertilizers is to be produced.

To produce chemical fertilizers requires electric power in great quantities. Power, too, is wanted for industry generally and in the villages. The natural features of the country offer excellent opportunities for its production by means of water storage; it is the policy of the Hyderabad Government to utilize the opportunities as a basis of agricultural and industrial development. A beginning is to be made in setting up a hydro-electric plant in the Nizam Sagar, an immense reservoir built at a cost of £2½ million to irrigate 250,000 acres of land. Other schemes combine irrigation with the production of power; for example, the Tungabadhra project, which will irrigate some 800,000 acres, at the same time producing some 100,000 k.w. of electric power; the Godavari scheme will bring water to nearly a million acres and produce over 50,000 k.w. The addition of nearly two million acres to the irrigated area will mean a great increase in the agricultural wealth of the country.

As regards industry, it is recognized that the first essential is technical training. To promote this a technical department has been added to the Osmania University; an industrial laboratory has been provided; Hyderabad looks to Britain to provide facilities for the training of its students abroad. To ensure the co-operation of the people generally in economic endeavour a higher standard of intelligence is required. Accordingly the Hyderabad Government have included an elaborate scheme of educational progress in their post-war planning. An economic service of officers is to be instituted. Its members will be drawn from the ranks of economists, scientists and engineers. Another important element in their plans is a great extension of medical facilities with a view to improving the physique of the masses.

The general policy of industrial development aims at utilizing local raw material for the production of consumption goods for the people of the State. Cheap power will be provided at convenient centres. An elaborate scheme has been evolved for the setting up of an industrial city on the Godavari River near the coalfields, iron-ore and other mineral deposits. A huge reservoir will be formed a few miles above stream by throwing a dam across the river. The scheme will, as already noted, provide 50,000 k.w. of electric power, as well as bring nearly a million acres under irrigation. A thermal power station to produce 50,000 k.w., based on the coalfields, will be set up in the first instance. The industries it is proposed to develop are steel, coal carbonization and other by-products of coal, cement, textiles, vegetable oils, rayon, calcium carbide, fertilizers, plastics. Later on it is intended to produce textile and other machinery and machine tools and electrical appliances generally. The Godavari system of electrical power production will supply the northern area of the

State, the Tangabhadra scheme the South. The two systems will ultimately be combined in a grid covering the whole State. This should make possible the electrification of every village. Power can be used in the countryside for a variety of purposes: for pumping water from tanks and wells; for village industries, especially weaving; and for agricultural produce—e.g., crushing oil seeds and sugar cane. Doubtless efforts will be made to link the industries of the towns with the villages—a system that has been so successful in Japan.

Hyderabad is landlocked. The new Manchester will need an outlet to the sea. Suggestions have been made that a direct railway route to the port of Vizagapatam should be constructed, traversing the State of Bastar, which incidentally it would help to develop. To start the new city on its career some £18 million will be required. For the State as a whole development planning, including schemes for promoting educational public health, road and railway construction, slum clearance, the forecast is for some £180 million.

To finance the programme special reserves will be available; budget surpluses will contribute to capital outlay, though much of the surplus will be required for the increase in running expenditure; there will be no difficulty in raising loans. It is expected that much private capital will be invested.

MYSORE'S PROGRESS

Next in importance to Hyderabad among Indian States is Mysore. From the middle of the eighteenth century the State was in the grip of the Muslim military adventurer, Hydar, and later of his son, Tipu Sultan. It was rescued from Muslim thralldom by the British towards the end of the century and handed back to the Hindu dynasty, which had ruled it for generations. Misgovernment led to a popular rising, with the result that in 1831 the country was taken over by the British and administered for the next fifty years by a picked British Civil Service. It was restored to Hindu rule in 1881. The Mysore Civil Service has kept before it the ideal of the standard set up by their British predecessors.

Mysore is generally regarded as the model State of India, and there is much to be said in support of this view. 30,000 square miles in area, it has a population of over 7 millions. Situated on the Southern Indian plateau, it has a temperate climate throughout most of the year. The country has the benefit of the south-western and north-eastern monsoons. Even with this irrigation is necessary over a considerable area—a necessity met to some extent from tanks and wells. The undulating and broken nature of the terrain makes irrigation from canals difficult; pumping by means of electric power avoids the difficulty in many cases. As in Hyderabad the possibilities of developing much power on a large scale by hydro-electric installations are widespread. Much has been done already to utilize these natural advantages, and the big power plants at Sivasamudaram on the Cauvery and on the Shimsha develop some 60,000 kw. The important gold-mining industry at Kolar depends entirely on current produced from the Cauvery. It may be noted that in the last fifty years or so 102 million pounds worth of gold have been produced from these mines. In 1943 the output realized four million pounds sterling, of which over a million went to the State in duty and royalty. One may remark in passing that the Mysore Government are considering the advisability of capitalizing at least part of this mining revenue. The mines are worked by British companies and employ 25,000 people.

Other uses to which electric current is put are the supply of power to textile mills, silk and cotton and other factories and to the steel works at Bhadravati. 221 towns and villages have been electrified. Power is used in village industries and for pumping water from wells and tanks. Coffee growing is an important industry; tea and tobacco are also produced. Seri-culture is widely practised, and provides a livelihood for 150,000 families. Apart from gold, manganese and iron-ore are the principal minerals; asbestos and kaolin are also found. There is no coal.

Politically Mysore has made great progress. More than half a century ago a popular body known as the Representative Assembly was established on a broad franchise which reflected the opinion of the countryside. By its means the Government was kept in touch with the people, and it is commonly said that Government

rarely went against the considered views of the Assembly. The Legislative Assembly based on popular suffrage to-day passes legislation and the Budget; two of its members serve on the Executive Council which runs the administration. As in Hyderabad, the administration is organized on the lines of British India; the High Court usually has a retired British High Court Judge as Chief Justice. The State has its own University. Bangalore, the administrative capital, is an attractive city and a popular residential area, both for Indians and British. Mysore is a garden city with very fine public buildings.

Financially, the State is prosperous. The revenue has expanded enormously during the war years. It now stands at £6 million. There was a surplus of over a million in 1943-44. The assets of the State, including investments in railways (£7 million), in industry and in electric enterprise—electricity is a State subject—exceed £15 million.

Mysore pays a military subsidy of £200,000 and for that reason limits its military budget. An infantry battalion has been sent overseas. A squadron has been given to the R.A.F.; industry has been rapidly expanded; some £7 million worth of military stores and equipment, especially silk for parachutes, has been produced; 1,750 technicians have been trained at the various engineering colleges and workshops and in the iron and steel works at Bhadravati. Most of these technicians have been absorbed in the Indian Army, Navy or Air Force. The entire output of the iron and steel works has been placed at the disposal of the Indian Supply Department, 24,000 tons of steel being produced annually. The works have been expanded by the installation of an additional open hearth furnace and a rod and strip mill. An electric furnace for the manufacture of steel has also been added. Electric transformers, levelling instruments, plastics, steel helmets are among the many articles supplied for war purposes. Help has been given in the manufacture of explosives. Some pioneer work has been done in aircraft production. Britain has every reason to be grateful for the help and the moral support she has received from Mysore in the war effort.

A CORRECT BALANCE NEEDED

Even before the war there had been considerable industrial progress in Mysore and the post-war development plans are, in point of fact, a continuation of a process that has been going on for a quarter of a century or more. The estimated cost of the new schemes is put at £150 million, to be spread over ten years. The main elements in the plan are the improvement of agriculture, a great expansion of industry, the development of roads and of electric power. On the social side educational facilities are to be extended; a broad policy of medical relief and public health is to be carried out; 10,000 houses are to be built in Bangalore for the upper and lower middle classes; £3 million is to be spent on roads; a programme of railway electrification is being considered. There is a proposal to build an industrial suburb to Bangalore. Another great electrical project in the extreme N.W. of the State, known as the Jog Falls scheme, is under construction. It will ultimately produce 125,000 kw. More power is urgently required, especially in the iron and steel works, and priority is being allowed by the Government of India for the import of the necessary plant. It may be expected that a great industrial centre will be developed round this source of immense power. Much of it is expected to be used for electro-chemical and metallurgical processes, also for the production of inorganic fertilizers. A good deal of material for export should be produced at this centre and at the Bhadravati Iron and Steel Works, and easy access to the sea would be an advantage. It is the ambition of the Mysore Government to be allowed to develop the harbour of Bhatkal, belonging to Bombay, which lies on the west coast at a short distance from the Jog Falls. There seems no reason why this privilege should not be accorded. The development of an up-to-date port at Bhatkal should be of benefit to Bombay, especially if they take a large block of power from Jog to be utilized in industry.

The Mysore planners hope in a few years after the war, as a result of the economic drive, to raise the average income from Rs. 65 per head (£5 roughly) to Rs. 84, an increase of some 30 shillings, which would raise the purchasing power of the country by nearly £10 million. Judged by Western standards, even the increased income

seems deplorably low. It must, however, be remarked that in the warm climate of Mysore only light clothing is needed. Artificial heating for warmth is unnecessary; a light diet is adequate. If the planners achieve their main object of doubling the average income in ten years the ordinary individual should be comfortably off.

In Mysore, as in India generally, the main problem is to establish a correct balance between town and countryside. Seventy per cent. of the people live on the land; it will be many years before industry can appreciably affect the labour market. The problem of the land presents fewer difficulties in Mysore than in most parts of India. Holdings are larger; in many villages all the available land is not under cultivation. Better methods of cultivation, fertilizers and irrigation are necessary. Several millions of pounds are to be spent on irrigation from wells, tanks and canals; five model farms are to be set up each year in the five-year period.

The fertile but unhealthy tract of country known as the Malnad in the west is to be developed. Success will depend largely on improving health conditions. An intensive campaign of development in this part of the State territory would add greatly to the wealth of the community.

There are to-day 605 large industrial establishments in the State employing 77,000 persons. Many of these have been brought into being by the demands of war. For further development there are schemes for starting a big rayon industry, for the production of vegetable dyestuffs, calcium, carbide, the manufacture of radio sets, bicycles, tractors, plastics, crockery on a cottage industry scale. A 5 h.p. motor is already in production. Other types of electrical accessories generally will be produced. The plan provides specially for the development of cottage industries which will be co-ordinated where possible with the big industrial establishments of the towns. Much will be done in the field of mechanical engineering, especially in the manufacture of textile machinery. £35 million will be spent in the first five years after the war.

Seventeen per cent. of State revenue is spent on education, producing only 13 per cent. of literacy. The plan aims at doubling the number of children attending school in the next five years. This will mean doubling the cost of education from one rupee per head to two rupees per annum (about 5s. 10d.) a head. In ten years the expenditure is to be trebled. Vocational, industrial and technical schools are to be increased tenfold.

In the matter of public health and medical relief it is hoped to work up to an expenditure of £1½ million by 1950.

As regards finance, about £8 million can be mobilized from depreciation, special and development funds. The rest will be provided by loans. The credit of the Mysore Government stands high and large scale borrowing should present no difficulties. There is no lack of ability and drive in the men at the head of affairs, and the next five years should see great improvements in the economic life of Mysore.

TRAVANCORE

Travancore, situated at the tip of the peninsula, is about the size of Wales. Shut off from Southern India by the great mountain barrier of the Western Ghats, it lived for centuries in isolation from the rest of India. Formed by an agglomeration of small fiefs in the seventeenth century, it was threatened with destruction by Tipu Sultan towards the end of the eighteenth century. An alliance with the British ward off the danger. Most of the country is mountainous with dense tropical forests; only a very small area comprised in a narrow strip between the foothills and the sea is capable of cultivation. The population—now 6 millions—is crowded into this narrow strip, the density reaching over 2,000 to the square mile of cultivation. The result is that the country is far from self-supporting in the matter of food, and huge quantities of rice have to be imported. This has to be paid for in exports, which consist chiefly of plantation produce, copra, tea, rubber, pepper and spices and coir products. Mineral resources are of no great consequence. There is no coal or iron ore. The sand of the beaches produces monazite, zirkon, ilmenite and molybdenum; these contribute to the export trade. A good quality of china clay provides the raw material of a flourishing ceramic industry.

The urgent necessity of raising the standard of living can only be achieved by the

development of industries. Much has been done in the industrial field already, especially in the setting up of textile industries, mostly coir matting. British co-operation in this form of enterprise and in the plantation industries has been of great value, and is undoubtedly appreciated.

The development of hydro-electric power on a large scale is an important element in the post-war policy of the Travancore Government. The country lends itself to such development with its heavy rainfall and the feasibility of building huge reservoirs in the mountain gorges. Already a large installation known as the Pallavasal Power Station is working. Other schemes are under consideration. There is a growing demand for power, both for industry and on the tea plantations.

The Travancore Government follows the example of Hyderabad and of the Government of India in putting the increased productivity of the soil in the foreground of their planning. Electric power will be used for de-watering waterlogged lands and for lift irrigation; also for producing fertilizers, from the use of which it is expected to double the output of rice per acre. A company known as Fertilizers and Chemicals (Travancore), Ltd., has been formed to produce artificial manures. The machinery, estimated to cost £750,000, is to be imported from the United States.

Another important enterprise involving the use of electric power on a large scale is the production of aluminium. Here again much of the machinery is to be imported from America.

The policy the Travancore Government have in view aims at all-round industrialization. Apart from expanding existing industries—*e.g.*, textiles (coir, cotton), rubber products, ceramics—it is proposed to manufacture plywood, paper, rayon, plastics, etc. It is expected that the export of such products will help to pay for the coal and iron the new industries will require. There is scope for fruit canning—*e.g.*, for pineapples. Other elements in Travancore planning aim at the improvement of facilities for sea-borne traffic, for which purpose a Steam Navigation Company is to be formed. All trunk roads are to be cemented; a factory is to be set up at an early date to produce the necessary cement. There has been a good deal of unemployment in Travancore, especially in the early years of the war. Lack of shipping for the export trade was the principal cause. By now there should have been a considerable improvement in that respect. It is interesting to note that in Travancore there is considerable competition for women in the labour market, explained to a great extent by the spread of education. Some 15 per cent. of women are employed in the Civil Services. One of the District Judges is a woman; another is head of the Health Department.

A first-class port has been developed in recent years at Cochin to the north of Travancore. The facilities it offers should help to stimulate Travancore overseas trade. The port is shared equally between Travancore, the neighbouring State of Cochin and the Indian Government. It handled £10 million worth of trade in 1939.

Travancore has sent 80,000 men for war service. Much has been done to stimulate the output of rubber, of which Travancore produces about 76 per cent. of Indian production. More than half the area under rubber is owned by small growers. The coir and textile industries have done useful service. Owing to the lack of engineering facilities there has not been much scope for producing mechanical equipment for military use.

OTHER SOUTHERN STATES

Cochin, a small State to the north of Travancore, resembles its neighbour in many ways, in the physical aspects of the country and in the political and social fields. The population of over a million and a half presses even more heavily on the soil than in Travancore. Like the latter, Cochin must export and so buy food, or perish. Post-war planning includes a big hydro-electric scheme, the power to be utilized in expanding textile and other industries in Ernakulam, the capital of the State, which lies in close proximity to the new Cochin port. Paper will be produced from the bamboo, of which there are ample supplies. This small State has played an outstanding part in the war effort. It has recruited several labour units and enlisted over 10,000 men for the Army, and also sent a strong Naval contingent. Many technicians have been trained.

The Kolhapur State, though small in area, is politically of importance as a national centre of the great Maratha people of the Deccan. With a population of about a million, of whom half are Marathas, it occupies some 3,000 square miles of broken upland and mountainous country with no great economic possibilities. Nevertheless, the State Government has an ambitious plan of post-war development. As in the other States dealt with in this paper a big scheme of hydro-electric development is the main element, power to be used in the setting up of new industries and for lifting water for irrigation purposes. Roads are to be developed, and there is an elaborate programme for improving health services, irrigation, for exploiting the State forests, and for the exploitation of minerals. There should be possibilities of producing aluminium and chemical fertilizers on a large scale. The finances of the State have been carefully handled, and there is no reason why its hopes of better economic life should not be realized.

Within its limited resources Kolhapur has contributed to the war effort. Of its small armed force a battalion of Rifles is serving overseas. Much has been done to encourage recruiting among the Marathas generally.

The Simon Commission noted that as a result of the 1919 Reforms in British India and of the Fiscal Convention of 1921, one-fourth of the population of India—viz., the people of the States—had been placed in economic subjection to their British Indian neighbours. Without a voice in tariff policy the people of the States had been compelled to contribute millions of pounds to the British Indian Treasury in the shape of customs duties on imported goods. Over and above this heavy impost, import duty on plant and machinery hampered to some extent the expansion of industry. Nevertheless, Sir Theodore Gregory, Economic Adviser to the Viceroy, notes in his memorandum on the location of industry that there has been in recent years a pronounced tendency for industry to be attracted to the States. One reason for this is, he thinks, that the States Governments offer special inducements to encourage enterprise; another is lighter taxation and low manufacturing costs. Nearly 33 per cent. of the expansion of industry of recent years has occurred in the States, in Hyderabad, Baroda, Mysore, Kashmir and the Central Indian States.

Federation would have enabled the States to influence fiscal policy. That prospect has receded into the background. The States are now expected to conform to the new economic policy of the Indian Government. It is obvious enough that if they chose to stand aside they might form a serious obstacle to economic progress in India, though they would do so at the risk of retaliation. The States Governments are only too ready to co-operate, though it is believed that some of the leading States do not subscribe whole-heartedly to the economic nationalism prevalent in powerful sections of the Indian business world. The States generally will look to Britain for the supply of the equipment and technique they will need in carrying out their industrial programmes, and they would be reluctant to conclude with British India an agreement that might in any way impede British co-operation.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A joint meeting of the Association and the Royal Society of Arts was held at the Royal Society of Arts on Thursday, May 17, 1945, with Sir HARRY HAIG, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., in the chair. After the reading of the foregoing paper,

The CHAIRMAN said: I am sure we have all been greatly interested in the paper, from which we have derived a much clearer appreciation of the powerful support which the States of Southern India have afforded to the war effort and the very far-reaching plans they have for the economic improvement after the war of their own large populations.

This paper takes me back to one aspect of my own more superficial experience of Indian States thirty years ago when, for three years, I worked in one Indian State and was in touch with many others. I had a feeling at that time that the

Indian States went in for planning much more than we did in British India. It seemed to me, however, that their plans were not always entirely wise or successful—although many of them were—but they did show an initiative which was, perhaps, a little lacking in British India. If that is so, they led the way. Now we have all become planners. Some people may think that it is very natural that the rulers of Indian States should be among the foremost planners, for some of us—though I do not say that I agree—are inclined to think that a planner is something of an autocrat. In these days, however, we are all agreed that far-reaching plans are needed.

India is full of plans, and its Government has put forward an ambitious programme. The Provinces have been invited to prepare their own very extensive plans for the new world, an invitation to which they have responded. I think we may feel reassured that the great States of India are also planning and thinking ahead on parallel lines. There can be no doubt that if these plans can be carried out they will have a most valuable effect upon the lives of the people.

Looking through these plans as a whole, I seem to see two main ideas in which for some time I myself have been a convinced believer. One is that side by side with the development of industry we must raise the prosperity of the rural classes, who represent the vast majority of the people of India. It will not do merely to develop industry in a lop-sided way, leaving the rural classes behind. The second is the importance of electricity. It is clear from these schemes that electricity can benefit the rural classes very strikingly in two different ways. In the first place it will increase the facilities for irrigation, and, secondly, by providing electricity in the rural areas we shall encourage the small rural industries and the processing of crops. That is, in fact, a policy of rural industrialization. I dwell on these two points because they were certainly uppermost in my mind when I was in the United Provinces between 1934 and 1939. We brought into force then a most ingenious and successful scheme on these lines by harnessing the falls of the Ganges canal and developing electricity capacity of 28,000 kw. and distributing the supply over a large area by grid. Out of that about half was devoted to ordinary domestic purposes and industrial demands and the other half was used for the pumping up of water from 1,500 tube wells which irrigated 600,000 acres.

I mention this because that scheme was due to the imagination, initiative and drive of one man, Sir William Stampe, who is now adviser to the Government of India on these hydro-electric projects. I cannot help thinking that some of the projects which we have heard about today and many others owe something to Sir William and bear the impress of his skill and imagination.

SIR THEODORE TASKER : May I make three general points based on long experience in the Hyderabad State? My first is that post-war planning in the State is not a mere following of fashion or a competition with other States. More than a decade ago Hyderabad had set aside the policy of *laissez-faire* in industry, and in 1929 laid the foundations of planning by creating an industrial trust fund of a crore of rupees. By the outbreak of the war that fund had brought into existence a large sugar factory, a paper factory and also a commercial alcohol factory, all the most modern of their kind in India.

In the Government of India plan for industry there are three items which Hyderabad can claim to have put into effect more than ten years ago : assisting industry by subscribing capital, taking legislative power to license factories in respect of location, and the co-ordination of different forms of transport. The State takes shares in enterprises, but it does not control them on bureaucratic lines, being satisfied with one or two seats on the directorate and otherwise leaving the companies to be run by business men.

As regards co-ordination of traffic, Hyderabad has taken a leaf out of the book of the Union of South Africa. Not only did it acquire the whole of the railway system, but it set up a road transport department of the railway, which controls practically the whole of the bus services and runs them in conjunction with train timings, and just prior to the war this was extended to air services.

Thus planning had begun long before the war, but the war has given it all-round impetus. Two other planning items may be added to the lecturer's list. The State

set up a Road Board fifteen years before the war which controlled road development and has now produced a comprehensive scheme for a road system throughout the State. Then there is the planning of town and village extensions. The State has had, for seven or eight years now, a town-planning officer, trained in this country; he has prepared not only several hundred plans for up-country, but also a master plan for the extension of Hyderabad city.

There have been observations in certain quarters about the flight of capital to the States owing to their low taxation. So far as Hyderabad is concerned that is definitely not so. Of the 29 registered companies in existence 89 per cent. of their capital of 629 lakhs is subscribed by the people of the State and the 11 per cent. which comes from outside is outweighed by the Hyderabad Government's investments in British Indian enterprises, not to mention the very considerable investments made by Hyderabad subjects in British India. The trend has been all the other way.

My second general point is the very great internal political value of planning. Hyderabad has some fourteen committees working on post-war problems under the main Planning Board, and of the 102 members as many as 49 are non-officials. Economic planning can be taken outside the sphere of political and communal controversy, and is thus a very valuable approach to political understanding. Then it is an excellent thing that the younger men should see visions and dream dreams. Hyderabad recently held its seventh annual Economic Conference and Industrial Exhibition, a movement promoted by the Graduates Association, all young men.

Lastly, India is learning that industrial enterprise cannot brook political boundaries, which must now give place to the conception of the economic region. One example of this was when Southern India set up a sugar industry which came into competition with that of the United Provinces, and this led to consultation regarding markets. Consultation between the different units of India governed the movement of food grains during the war. So with irrigation. We no longer think in terms of one bank of a river but in terms of the whole river basin. In 1908 the Madras Government shelved a scheme for a Tunga Chandra dam on financial grounds; and rightly so, because the scheme was unilateral, being entirely for irrigation on the Madras bank. Much water has flowed down the river since, and on February 28 of this year H.H. the Prince of Berar inaugurated a joint project to irrigate one million acres by unveiling a pylon "dedicated to the enduring goodwill and friendship of the two Governments and peoples of Madras and Hyderabad." Is it too much to hope that economic planning will do for the unity of India what political discussions have so far failed to achieve?

Lieut.-Colonel D. DE M. S. FRASER: An aircraft factory has been working in Bangalore for the last four years. The establishment of this factory was due entirely to the private enterprise of an American, William Pawley, a man well known in China. He got in touch with certain industrialists and then put a scheme to the Government for building aeroplanes in India. The site chosen was in Mysore because of the fact that there was electric power and because of the climate. The Government of India, Mr. Pawley himself and another industrialist shared the capital in equal proportions. Owing to the fact that one of Mr. Pawley's factories in Lashio was bombed and destroyed, he had at his disposal a large expert American technical staff. These were all employed in Bangalore. The arrangements were completed in 1940, and exactly a year later this big factory started work, which was a wonderful example of American-Indian hustle. As the war progressed the Government bought out the Mysore Government, Mr. Pawley and the other industrialist, so that it is now completely Government owned. Owing to the fact that this big factory is in Mysore territory the Mysore Government still has an interest in it, to use it or buy it, after the war. It has made only a very few aeroplanes of an obsolete type, but its main work is in maintenance, and the factory is now run by the American Army administratively. It gives employment to 12,000 men from Bangalore city and it will form a very big and important factory for the future after the war.

This factory has now, and has had for some time, a special branch to work out plans for transforming various plants to make things such as bicycles, sewing machines, and so on.

Sir William stated that there is a proposal to build an industrial suburb to Bangalore. Here the Mysore Government is fortunate because six miles outside Bangalore was the biggest Italian prisoner-of-war camp, numbering some 24,000 to 25,000 prisoners. Those prisoners all left last year, and I think it is no secret now to say that this camp has been converted into a hospital town. When this is no longer used for that purpose after the war the Mysore Government will then have a large area already equipped with excellent buildings, excellent drainage, roads, and electricity—almost a ready-made industrial suburb.

SIR FREDERICK JAMES : I have greatly enjoyed Sir William Barton's lecture. I have had no official connection with any of the States which he has mentioned, for I belong to that class of the population of India which is known as non-official. I have, however, visited all those States except one quite recently and am therefore able to appreciate the lecturer's remarks on the advances which are being made in all those States.

I do not willingly share Sir William Barton's optimism as to the financial position of Hyderabad, although I speak in the presence of one of its most distinguished administrators. The lecturer suggested that the finances of Hyderabad are on a sound basis, and pointed out that there is no income-tax, but I do not agree with the theory that the absence of income-tax denotes the soundness of the financial system. I think that Hyderabad will have to follow the wise example of Mysore in imposing a well-graded form of income-tax if she is really to implement the schemes which are now before the State for raising the standard of well-being among the masses generally.

The lecturer touched somewhat lightly upon the small but not unimportant State of Cochin. Here I should like to say that within the territorial jurisdiction of Cochin there is one of the finest examples of federal co-operation—namely, the port of Cochin, which is already, and will be increasingly, of importance to the whole economy of southern India. Cochin has also made great strides in the matter of communications, and is assisting in the work of driving roads through the hills to the great plain districts of British India.

The last paragraph of the paper suggests that perhaps the States are in a somewhat unfavourable position *vis-à-vis* British India under the present economic conditions. I am not quite sure whether that is fully justified. It is true that there has been a flight of industry into some of the States—not, I think, the States under review this afternoon, but certainly some of the States where the taxation burden is less onerous than in British India. Indeed, that flight has been so considerable that the Government of India has been obliged to prohibit the raising, by companies in the Indian States, of capital from British India, unless the Government is satisfied that the taxation system in those States is reasonably approximate to the taxation system in British India. It is certainly true, as Sir Theodore Tasker has said, that there is a good deal of capital going from the Indian States into British India, and anyone who has been associated with the raising of capital for industrial enterprise in British India knows that that flight from the Indian States is sometimes a matter of considerable embarrassment.

The lecturer states in his paper that some of the leading States do not subscribe whole-heartedly to the economic nationalism prevalent in powerful sections of the Indian business world. That may be true. On the other hand, the policy of some of the Indian States, among whom are certainly two of those which form the subject of the address, has given considerable uneasiness and disquiet to the authorities of British India because of its intense economic nationalism. There is a tendency on the part of some Indian States, in trying to make up leeway in the matter of industrial enterprise and progress, for them to embark on policies which reveal a most intense economic nationalism and a certain unwillingness to admit the existence of other units or to accept policies which have been drawn up by their neighbours. That is just as wrong as the tendency in certain Indian business quarters. One can only hope that after the war the economic pressure of events will get rid of these narrow nationalistic tendencies and that India will move forward as one single economic unit whose members, by means of agricultural and industrial development, will bring the masses of the country away from their present deplorable level.

Sir CLAUDE GIDNEY : I have recently received a copy of the Hyderabad post-war reconstruction scheme, but I have not had time to study it in detail, and I am also handicapped by the fact that it is marked "for official use only." There are, however, certain salient features in it which struck me on a first reading and which I should like to mention. First, the thoroughness, the comprehensiveness and the balance of the whole scheme, and, I may add, the expensiveness of it. It is a scheme which compares favourably with the many other schemes which have been prepared in India. Then, again, Hyderabad has not so far been industrialized, and for this reason one might have expected to find in a scheme of this nature a tendency to over-stress the industrial side of post-war development. This, however, is not the case. The Hyderabad Government, on the contrary, fully appreciates the importance of rural prosperity, which, after all, is the foundation of the prosperity of the whole of India. It has, therefore, devoted a good deal of its planning as well as a good deal of the proposed expenditure to rural reconstruction. The Hyderabad Government also realizes that it is impossible to develop economically unless the health of the people is at the same time improved, and I am glad to see that it is proposed, as I have said, to devote a large portion of the proposed expenditure to social services in the rural areas. It realizes too that you must have a contented as well as a healthy population, and, like other Governments, it is alive to the fact that large numbers of soldiers will be returning to the countryside, where they will expect better conditions of living and more amenities. This is a problem which the Government is prepared to tackle, and I see that it is planning to have radios installed in a large number of villages, and there are other plans for improving village life in general.

Education too is to bulk largely in the proposed expenditure, and I think I may tell you that the Hyderabad Government aims at making 33 per cent. of the population literate and that it has also under consideration a scheme of partial compulsory education. The Government is also taking great care in its reconstruction scheme that a fair balance should be maintained as between the needs of town and country. For example, in drawing up its scheme for a large expansion of hospitals it has been careful to see that the towns do not get too large a share of hospitals and other health-giving amenities. Then, too, great attention is to be given to the development of cottage industries and to industries subsidiary to agriculture. There are, for instance, schemes for the development of fisheries, poultry, and brush-making, and I am interested to see that there is a plan for organizing locally the tanning industry and the manufacture of boots and shoes by village chamars. Arrangements for the training of the latter are to be made and centres set up for the purpose.

Sir Frederick James has referred to the fact that there is no income-tax in Hyderabad. That is true. Hyderabad has had the good fortune to see its national revenue almost doubled during these years of war without the imposition of any new taxation except for the Excess Profits Tax. But a great deal of money will be required to finance the post-war reconstruction scheme, estimated to cost anything up to 200 crores. And so I am prepared to bet that it will not be very long before an income-tax is imposed—a tax that will widen more fairly the basis of taxation. But apart from financial difficulties there will be others to overcome. The State is, as you know, divided into different areas, one of which may be called the Jagirdari area, and if the post-war reconstruction scheme is to be successful and to embrace fairly and equally the whole State, all the areas, the Jagirdari area included, will have to pay their fair share. But I believe the Hyderabad Government has the efficiency and the capability to surmount these difficulties.

Sir WILLIAM BARTON : It is very gratifying to me that my paper has provoked such an excellent discussion, and I think you will agree that what has been said has helped to clarify the subject. I have been asked to give my opinion as to whether the Southern Indian States endorse the Bombay Plan. I have no definite views on the point, but I take it that it is a fact that the States have been influenced by that Plan. As I have already said, I do not think they entirely agreed with the view that British co-operation should be invited only on terms which would put British enterprise in a subordinate position. If British enterprise is to come in it must come in on equal terms.

With regard to the question of income-tax, the Hyderabad Government has a customs system which realizes almost as much as ordinary income-tax, and that is why it has not so far been necessary to impose such a tax in that country.

I agree entirely with Sir Claude Gidney about the Jagirdars. People in privileged positions will have to pay their share of the cost of these big development schemes. That can be done by means of an agricultural income-tax or by some other system of contribution. It will be agreed that this question of the economic development of the Indian States will have an important bearing on the economic development of Southern India generally.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE : I think it will be agreed that we have had a most interesting afternoon. The paper was highly informative, and I have myself learnt a great deal from it of which I was previously ignorant, and the speeches made in the course of the discussion have also contributed to our knowledge and information, particularly the statement made regarding the aircraft factory.

There have been a great many comparisons made regarding the conditions in the Indian States and those of British India. Having had a great deal to do with questions concerning industrial development in British India, I have always thought that the Indian States had a great advantage in past decades in not being under the influence of the *laissez-faire* policy which prevailed in British India until a few years ago. That policy, it is said, has not been in force in recent years, but I venture to think that the Government of India could have spent, if it wished, more money on the development of Indian industries than it actually did, just as the States were able to do.

In the second place in the States there was nothing like the bondage imposed on British India by the difficulties between the Central and Provincial Governments. I think Sir Frank Noyce will bear me out when I say that the struggle between the two led to neither doing very much in the way of industrial development.

SIR FRANK NOYCE : I agree.

SIR ATUL CHATTERJEE : To an Indian like myself it is very gratifying to have listened to the statement made by the lecturer about the progress which is being made in Southern India, and I hope that it will be permanent and progressive.

I should like to take this opportunity of proposing a hearty vote of thanks to Sir William Barton for his excellent lecture and also to our Chairman, who has not only contributed very largely to the discussion today from his wide experience and excellent judgment, but has given a good deal of his valuable time to come to this meeting.

HOW TO RAISE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN INDIA

BY DR. PAREKUNNEL J. THOMAS

THE economic development of India has lately attracted considerable attention outside India. This is no wonder, seeing that any improvement in the economic welfare of the 400 million people of India is bound to give a fillip to economic activity in other countries by a steadily growing demand for imports from them. The economic backwardness of India is a serious impediment to the active functioning of mass production in the highly industrialized countries of the West, and is, as it were, a drag on the stability of world economy. An economically developed India might have prevented the great depression of the early thirties; it certainly would have been a more valuable asset to the United Nations in the critical days of 1941 and 1942, and this would perhaps have helped in crushing Nazism much earlier than has been possible. India can also be a large factor in meeting the United Kingdom's need for export

markets after the war. Today, owing to meagreness of purchasing power, India's effective demand for imports is limited, but if the earning capacity of the Indian masses can be increased by a few pence a day, not only will this enhance the happiness of a large population, but will also greatly help in solving the United Kingdom's thorny problem of finding export markets, and perhaps in lightening the worries of other industrial nations also. World economy may thus come to function more harmoniously, resulting in full employment and higher living standards all over the world. Viewed in this light, India's economic development must be a matter of wide concern. Hence the importance of the subject before us.

It is now proposed to carry out the economic development of India by launching a long-term plan. The principal objective of any such plan must be to increase the economic welfare of the people as a whole. How is economic welfare measured? Indeed it is usual to measure economic progress in terms of *per capita* income, but figures of income per head can be misleading, especially in the case of a large country like India with wide variations in wealth and income, between classes and between regions. Even in more homogeneous countries like Great Britain, while the total national income increased many times, the working classes remained poor. That the position in India is much worse is clear from what has happened in the past. Accumulations of wealth have been confined to certain small sections of the community who obtain large incomes from their easy labours, whilst the toiling masses have remained miserably poor. Our income-tax statistics bear ample testimony to this: in a country with 400 million people, only 300,000 persons (in 1940) had (non-agricultural) incomes above Rs. 2,000 per annum. Under such conditions a doubling of the national income can happen without any tangible addition to the income of vast numbers who are outside the orbit of big business.

A more reasonable criterion is the standard of living. In other words, how much of food, clothing, shelter, and social amenities do people actually obtain? What really matters is not the total or even *per capita* supplies of food, clothing, etc.; we must know how much is going to, or within the reach of, the common man, and whether he or she is able to live in reasonable comfort. This is not merely humanitarian sentiment. A country where more than 60 per cent. of the population have not even the bare requirements of food and clothing cannot be a growing market for the products of its industry. Nor can such people be good neighbours, because malnutrition will cause ill-health, and ill-health cannot be segregated within a class or locality.

LOW LIVING STANDARDS

Without going into elaborate statistical analysis, it is possible for the most cursory onlooker to see that the living standards of the common people in India are low, in some places miserably low. Nor is this true of villages only; there is appalling poverty even in big industrial centres like Bombay. The dingy hovels which house large numbers of ill-clad, unkempt and semi-starved people cannot escape the notice of anyone. Poor living conditions necessarily are a serious drag on productivity. Nor can a people living under them have high moral or cultural standards. Poverty begets not only physical misery but moral degradation.

The raising of living standards must be the central objective of any plan. But how is this to be carried out? Some think that public health and popular education must be taken up first. But the large public funds needed for these are not now available; nor can such ventures be financed by loans. Further, for availing themselves of such services the masses must have fuller stomachs and higher purchasing power. It is true that in the absence of refined tastes, enhanced incomes may be (have been) used for hoarding gold and silver, or, worse still, for drink and drugs. Similarly, good health is itself an essential condition for efficient labour. But at the present low levels of incomes in India rapid advances in health and education are not feasible, and therefore, without neglecting these pivotal social services even at the start, we have to concentrate on the increase of production and income, so that at the later stages of the plan there may be ample resources for providing full social security for all on the lines now being attempted in the United Kingdom.

INCOMES AND POPULATION

First, then, comes income. That the incomes of working classes, including the numerous cultivators, are exceedingly low, has been proved by economic surveys all over the country. The average annual income of the agricultural population was hardly Rs. 50 before the war. Perhaps this is an under-estimate; but even if it were 50 per cent. higher it must be considered inadequate for a reasonable living standard. Why are incomes so low? In the case of wage-earners it may be true that the smallness of the income is due to the low wages inevitable in a country where the "Iron Law" of Ricardo holds good, many labourers having to compete amongst themselves for the scanty employment available. But this cannot be said of the cultivators who work their own holdings. Their incomes are also extremely low. No doubt this is partly due to their uneconomic holdings. But by employing a different technique of production, or mode of organization, large additions to production can be made and thus incomes increased, as has been done elsewhere.

Some may interpose here the familiar problem of over-population: when incomes increase there will be also more mouths to feed. But the more pertinent question to ask is, Has not India adequate resources to maintain in reasonable comfort the present and even a larger population? Cannot the teeming millions of India be made a valuable asset if the large labour force can be properly utilized? When Malthus raised the bogey of over-population in England conditions there were nearly the same as in India now, but economic development soon overtook population increase, and with the rise of living standards the rate of population increase slowed down. The same can be the trend of India also, and what is needed is to raise the living standards by making full use of the large natural resources available. A great deal of labour is now wasted, and this is the root cause of the trouble. When labour is fully employed national income will increase, living standards can be raised and the threat of over-population will vanish. Full employment is therefore the remedy, and the emphasis on it at the San Francisco Conference is indicative of a welcome change in outlook.

FULL EMPLOYMENT

The term "full employment" has to be used with caution. In the economist's jargon it means the ironing out of cyclical fluctuations in employment. Unemployment in the industrialized Western countries is largely of a cyclical character. In India, too, such phenomena have appeared in recent times, and we had a bitter taste of it ten years ago. But our major problem is the perennial unemployment or under-employment resulting from the fact that especially in rural tracts there is no work for nearly half the year. This is particularly true of areas like Bengal, where, according to a recent estimate, nearly a third of the rural population have little employment even normally. It means that large numbers of adults are living on the labour of others. According to one account, there are 40 million people unemployed in India. This may be an over-estimate if it takes note only of the fully unemployed; it can only be an under-estimate if the inadequately employed also are included. Whatever it be, it is certain that a large part of the human and material resources of India are unemployed, and this must be the fundamental cause of the scanty production and meagre incomes. The remedy for this is more fully to employ the idle labour so that there may be more goods in the country, and to see that large shares of the goods come into the hands of the working classes. Fuller employment is the only way to higher national income, which is the first step in raising living standards.

How can employment be increased? The method usually suggested is to transfer the superfluous rural workers to industry and thus bring about a more balanced economy. By rapid industrialization the Bombay Plan envisages a doubling of the national income in fifteen years. From the enhanced national income ample funds will be drawn for providing the whole country with the essential social services—education, public health, water supply, roads, housing, etc.

In the present circumstances of India a quickening of industrialization is indeed essential, not only as a means of strengthening the military defences of the country, but also for producing our essential requirements of ordinary finished goods for which

external dependence is not advisable, for increasing our internal demand for our primary products, and not least for a rapid accumulation of taxable income, by which alone the much-desired expansion of social services in the country could be financed. In fact, even for the improvement of Indian agriculture, a more rapid industrial development has become essential in many ways, and therefore there is no essential rivalry between the interests of agriculture and of industry.

But to expect that industrialization will cure unemployment is futile. An essential characteristic of modern power-driven industry is the meagre demand for labour which it creates. Mass production needs much capital but little human labour. This is particularly true of industries involving complicated technical processes and requiring elaborate machinery. All our basic industries together may not require more than 100,000 labourers for some time to come. India needs a large quantity of fertilizers for its extensive agricultural acreage, but the amount now required can be produced by employing about 2,000 workers. We may need only about 3 or 4 million workers to produce nearly all our present requirements of capital and consumption goods, and even this number will be much too superfluous if our production per man-hour attains anything like the American or even the Japanese level.

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT

So far, industrialization in India has only aggravated unemployment. Of the 15 million workers engaged in industry (1931 census), 13 millions pursue handicrafts. The advance of power-driven industry has robbed these handicrafts of their markets and of their employment. One example would suffice. Even before the war the mills had come to supply more than 60 per cent. of the cotton textiles required in the country, leaving to the handlooms only about 25 per cent. of the market (the remainder being supplied by imports). While the mills thus came to employ about 400,000 persons, unemployment has been the result to the 6 million persons engaged in the hand-weaving industry and utter misery to the 4 million women and children dependent on them. This, let us remember, happened in spite of the active support of handicrafts by the most powerful political party in the country.

The Bombay Plan proposes to encourage small-scale industries also; if by "small scale" is meant handicrafts, considerable employment can be maintained, but wages cannot be adequate and sweating will be the result. The plight of hand spinners is well known. It is generally recognized that the use of hydro-electric power is desirable for enabling the worker to turn out a reasonable output. If this is done—and one cannot see how it can be prevented—the numbers now engaged in handicrafts will become altogether superfluous and there will be considerable unemployment. The substitution of power looms for hand looms has enabled the cottage worker to produce five times the output; but it has also caused widespread unemployment among hand weavers (*e.g.*, the Bombay Province). The wide use of cheap electrical power will produce the same results all over the country and unemployment will become widespread. If at least the comparatively few workers now engaged in handicrafts cannot be maintained in industrial occupations, how can industry be expected to draw surplus labour from rural areas?

In spite of this the Bombay Plan raises the hope that within fifteen years the proportion of people engaged in industrial occupations can be raised to 26 per cent. (*i.e.*, more than doubled). I see no ground for sharing this optimism. Japan, which has been producing heavily for export, largely using small-scale methods too, could provide employment for only 15.5 per cent. of its workers in industry (including building). A highly industrialized country like the U.S.A. has only 27 per cent. of its workers engaged in industry. And India, where industry has to face serious obstacles, where hardly 2 per cent. of the total workers have so far found employment in organized industries, is expected to give industrial employment to 26 per cent. of its workers within a few years! This looks a little too ambitious, at any rate on the plan proposed.

If the chances of increasing employment in industry are so meagre, one wonders how the living standards envisaged in the Bombay Plan could be realized. It is true that several countries in Europe—not only the United Kingdom, but Sweden, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark—have industrialized themselves on the basis of export

markets and have thereby been able to obtain essential imports on favourable terms, thus raising their living standards. India, with her low technical skill and her serious deficiencies in regard to key raw materials and capital supplies, may not be able to pursue such a policy. In war-time India has had all its internal market and some external markets too, but when the high industrial potential developed in the West during war-time is switched on to peace-time production, imports may become available at such low prices that even our internal markets may become difficult to maintain without raising sky-high tariff walls.

The expectation of some well-meaning persons is that by having a few big industries, national income can be so raised as to provide large public funds for being spent on the social services needed for raising living standards. But they forget that without fuller employment and widespread purchasing power among the masses the industrialization they desire is not practicable in the conditions of India. A few industries may be started, some business men will make large profits, and a few more labourers may be employed, but the full employment and higher living standards envisaged in the plan will not materialize and widespread social discontent may be the result. The fact is that in the peculiar conditions of India industrialization cannot be successfully carried out by itself, but only as part of a comprehensive plan of economic development. In such a plan the improvement of the agriculturists' purchasing power and the provision of essential public utilities are integral parts.

AGRICULTURE AND EMPLOYMENT

The raising of the living standards of agriculturists is of the utmost importance, because, as more than 70 per cent. of the population is connected with agriculture, only by raising their purchasing power can the extension of the internal market desired by Indian (as also Western) industrialists be carried out. The great majority of agriculturists are small cultivators or landless labourers. The lowness of agricultural incomes is not due merely to uneconomic holdings and unscientific methods, but also to the large slices of the produce going to the landholder and the money-lender under the prevailing systems of tenure and credit. For raising the agriculturists' incomes, therefore, a great deal of radical reform has to be carried out, reform which will affect vested interests of landowners, moneylenders and a long chain of middlemen. This can only be carried out by a strong Government in whom the people have full confidence. It also calls for a long-period policy, if non-revolutionary methods are preferred. A plan for agricultural improvement has lately been devised by Government, and one hopes that it will be launched at an early date.

But the most successful efforts at agricultural improvement will not enable all the present rural workers to obtain full employment in agriculture. In fact, under a more scientific system of agriculture a smaller number of workers will be able to raise a much larger production than now, and therefore rural unemployment may only be aggravated by agricultural improvement. No modern economy can maintain as many as 72 per cent. of the workers in agriculture. In Soviet Russia, with much larger supplies of fertile virgin land to draw upon, agricultural employment had been maintained at a high level, but even there it has lately fallen.

There are, however, two avenues for increased employment in agricultural areas. For occupying agriculturists in their idle months and days and for supplementing their meagre incomes, subsidiary employment can be provided by a carefully planned system of small-scale industries, especially handicrafts, worked on a co-operative basis. Another large source of employment is in irrigation works, big and small, which will be required all over the country if farming is to become less dependent on rainfall. No doubt some of the rivers have been dammed and their water is now available for agricultural use. But even now much the greater part of the rain water is wasted; by impounding such water in suitable reservoirs more lands can be brought under cultivation and more crops can be grown on existing land. The construction of such irrigation works would give large employment, not only at the initial stages but subsequently for repairs and maintenance also. Irrigation is of basic importance, and it deserves a high priority in the plan.

All this may give employment to some more of the rural labourers; but, even so, more than 50 per cent. of the total number of workers may not find gainful occupa-

tion in agriculture. As shown above, the chances of industry absorbing any large numbers are not great. Where, then, should they turn for full employment?

TERTIARY OCCUPATIONS

The answer to this has to be found in trade, transport, services and other tertiary occupations. This is the experience of the thickly populated countries of the West, where large proportions of the workers are employed in tertiary occupations. The proportion is as high as 50 per cent. in the United Kingdom and 54 per cent. in the U.S.A. (In advanced parts of the U.S.A.—*e.g.*, California—the proportion is above 60 per cent.) It is also significant that while the proportions of workers engaged in agriculture and even industry have been steadily falling, the proportion of those engaged in trade, transport and services has been increasing. Thus in Japan only 10 per cent. of the workers in 1872 were engaged in tertiary occupations, but by 1930 the proportion rose to 30 per cent. India's proportion of workers (1931) in tertiary occupations—*i.e.*, 13 per cent.—is rather exaggerated owing to the inclusion of 2 million persons engaged in unproductive occupations and numerous married women who are wrongly returned as engaged in domestic service. The Bombay Plan proposes to raise the proportion to only 16 per cent. after fifteen years. There is, it appears to me, a serious lack of perspective in this. It is not possible to relieve rural unemployment in India without greatly increasing the number of workers engaged in trade, transport and the various services. Nor is this impracticable; in fact, in the conditions of India it is much easier to increase employment in trade and transport than in industry. As for services, no rise in living standards is possible without greatly increasing the number of persons providing the numerous services required for refined living. Strange as it may appear, while the Bombay Plan aims at raising the living standards of the masses, and makes provision for health agencies, schools, and various public amenities, it does not envisage any substantial increase in the number of persons supplying these services. How, then, does the Bombay Plan propose to raise living standards?

It is true that as the more refined social needs can be met only after a sufficient rise in incomes, the employment in services will only rise slowly, but this is not true in regard to transport and trade, and the creation of the various public utilities required for industrial development as well as for improved living. The first step in the economic development of any country is to provide an efficient system of communications—roads, railways, waterways, airways—and to supply the various public utilities—electric power, water supply, housing—which are essential for industrial and agricultural improvement. These also provide large openings for employment, first in constructing them and later in their maintenance and upkeep. With the expansion of roads and railways the movement of goods and persons will increase, and the vehicles and other appurtenances required will give vast employment. In recent years a striking increase has taken place in the number of transport workers, but we have no accurate figures, as the occupational data of the 1941 census have not been tabulated. With the expansion of transport, trade will increase, especially distributive trade. Markets will then become active, new shopping areas will spring up, banking and financial agencies will arise. A great increase in employment will result from all this, and the effects will be cumulative. Not only unskilled labourers but technicians of all kinds will be required, and intellectual workers too for management and clerical work.

ROADS AND HOUSING

The effects on employment of a road-making programme are tremendous, especially if the roads are made in rural areas. Even in the U.S.A., where much machinery is used in road-making, it is found that 81 per cent. of the expenditure incurred on roads went to employment—29 per cent. on direct employment on the road and 52 per cent. on labour employed in producing and transporting materials for construction. Of course the position in India must be more favourable for employment, especially of unskilled workers. In this light the 450-crores road programme recently made in India cannot be regarded as extravagant; it may give a great fillip to economic improvement in many directions, especially if village communications are taken up.

An essential basis for the raising of living standards is the supply of clean and

adequate house room. Thus an extensive programme of slum clearance and building construction can simultaneously secure two important objectives—namely, improvement of public health and higher living standards. It can also produce another important result—fuller employment. Building construction provides the largest employment in most civilized countries; it also leads to much secondary and tertiary employment, as it involves a great demand for goods like iron and steel, timber, bricks, pottery, water fittings, electrical goods, etc.

Any plan of economic development in India must therefore give an important place to irrigation works, roads, buildings and other structures, and public utilities generally. It is no wonder that in highly developed countries like the U.S.A. these items account for not less than a third of the total productive capital invested. Only by pursuing the same policy can India carry out a stable economic development. There is no better road to full employment and higher living standards.

A BALANCED OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

If a plan of this kind can be pushed through, the present unbalanced occupational structure of India can be modified to suit a modernized economy, and the pathetic dependence on agriculture can be toned down by employing larger numbers in tertiary occupations. India's occupational structure at the end of the planning period may be somewhat as follows :

	<i>Pre-War.</i> (<i>Per Cent.</i>)	<i>After 15 Years.</i> (<i>Per Cent.</i>)
Agriculture	72	50
Industry	15	20
Trade, transport, services ...	13	30
	<hr/> 100	<hr/> 100

The advance in industry looks small, because the present proportion of workers is rather exaggerated by the inclusion of the numerous under-employed craftsmen, but with a change in the technique, production can treble or even quintuple without any great addition to the proportion of workers engaged in industry. If by fuller employment on the plan sketched above, living standards rise rapidly, the pace of industrial development can be greatly quickened and the proportion of workers in industry will increase.

A FOUR-PRONGED DRIVE

Our plan must make provision for simultaneous advance in many directions. Without going into detail, a four-pronged drive somewhat on the following lines may be suggested :

- (1) *Basic industries*—especially machine tools, agricultural implements, basic chemicals, hydro-electric works, etc.
- (2) *Industries and activities for raising economic equipment*—irrigation works, roads, railways, waterways, slum clearance, building construction, etc.
- (3) *Agricultural improvement*, especially such activity as would lead to the enhancement of rural purchasing power.
- (4) *Consumption goods industries*, mostly to be pursued on a small scale without the use of elaborate machinery.

The crux of the planning problem is priorities. Our capital resources are limited, and as financial jugglery will not ultimately pay, we have to make careful use of our resources and must carry out our development without impinging too much on current consumption. The prime consideration must be the addition to employment and purchasing power, because only by fully employing more and more of the population could living standards be raised and thus only could stable foundations for any rapid industrial advance be laid. In this light the allotment of funds proposed in the Bombay Plan calls for considerable modification. For instance, in the first five-year period 35 per cent. of the total amount (*i.e.*, Rs. 480 crores) is to be spent on basic industries. But very little of it would go into the hands of the working classes. On the other hand, the provision made for items mentioned under (2) above is meagre.

It is too small having regard to their great importance in adding to economic equipment and providing essential employment, especially during a period in which depression and unemployment are likely to arise. The success of the plan depends on wise investment, both in the public sector and in the private. There will be demands for investment in many directions, but our resources being limited the available supply will have to be distributed among the alternative channels, keeping in view the central objective of expanding mass purchasing power and raising living standards.

What has been said above applies not only to the long-priced plan but to the tackling of the economic maladjustments that may arise immediately after the war, when the large expenditure now incurred for war purposes will be more than halved rather abruptly. If at that juncture adequate private outlay will come forth to replace war expenditure, there may not be much trouble. As this is not likely, the State will have to carry out schemes of investment on essential public works which have been held up during war-time, selecting in particular such works as will give the maximum employment and add to essential economic equipment. This is a most urgent problem, and it is hoped that this will be properly attended to. The maintenance of rural purchasing power by preventing a post-war slump in the prices of primary products is another matter calling for urgent action. Only if the transition from war to peace is carefully carried out could the long-term plan be safely initiated at an early date.

CONCLUSION

I shall now recapitulate. The raising of living standards should be the central objective of any long-period plan, and this can only be secured by fuller employment of the labour and natural resources now lying idle. While industrial development and agricultural improvement are both essential, neither of them will give adequate employment to India's unemployed millions. No doubt small-scale methods will give some extra employment, and this seems reasonable if pursued without unduly impairing efficiency, but the only proper solution is the diversion of a much larger number of labourers to transport, trade and services which in advanced countries form the sheet-anchor of full employment. With this aim in view a comprehensive plan of national development must be launched, with special emphasis on public utilities. This will provide vast employment, and will also pave the way for a rise in living standards. Then, and not till then, can industrialization go forward and absorb large numbers of labourers. Not only will this increase the economic welfare of India's teeming millions, but external trade will greatly expand and India will be able to take her proper place in world economy.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Thursday, June 28, 1945, at the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, with Sir SAMUEL RUNGANADHAN presiding. The paper prepared by Professor P. J. THOMAS, Economic Adviser to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations Conference, was read in his absence at San Francisco by Dr. M. QURESHI.

The CHAIRMAN said that owing to the prolongation of the San Francisco conference Dr. Thomas was unable to be present, but Dr. Qureshi, a scientist, and one who was interested in agricultural development in India, particularly in the State of Hyderabad, had kindly undertaken to read the paper for him. Dr. Thomas was a well-known economist and was Professor of Economics in the University of Madras. During the war he had been adviser to several Government Departments; he was also the author of several works on economics, and his researches included a comprehensive survey of the textile industry in India. Lately he had made a survey of wartime development of industries in India. He was a leading member of the old Syrian Church of South

India. He was member for nine years of the Madras Legislative Assembly and was thus well qualified to write upon the subject under consideration.

After the reading of the paper,

The CHAIRMAN said that the writer, unlike most professional economists, had treated his subject in quite simple language and with great lucidity and had developed his thesis fairly convincingly. That thesis was that if the raising of the standards of living of the great masses in India was the first and greatest objective of all economic planning for India, then industrialization should become part of a comprehensive whole, and in that comprehensive planning the improvement of the agriculturist's purchasing power and the provision of essential public utilities should form integral parts. There was great unanimity of opinion on this point; all were agreed that India's greatest evil was poverty and that a nation-wide co-operative effort was needed to fight against want and disease.

The writer of the paper had spoken somewhat deprecatingly of statistics, but the average annual income per head in India had been shown to be under £5; that should be compared with the figure in Great Britain of £75, or the figure in the United States of £105, and some idea of the appalling poverty would be gained. Even this figure of £5 per annum per head gave no indication of the millions of landless labourers who received barely 3d. per day or of the millions who were perennially unemployed or mostly under-employed and could not get even one square meal a day.

Dr. Thomas had made various criticisms of the Bombay Plan, which showed that he had approached the whole problem of economic planning for India from a somewhat different angle. The Bombay Plan, as he rightly said, gave special emphasis and special priority to basic industries because it was believed that the whole economic development of India rested upon those industries. The authors of the Bombay Plan believed that the period of dependence on foreign countries and on foreign help should be shortened as far as possible. Dr. Thomas, while not denying the importance of the development of basic industries, was of the opinion that in the initial stages consideration should be given to ways of increasing employment and of strengthening the purchasing power of the average man, and that larger sums than those provided for in the Plan should be spent on irrigation works, communications, housing, and all the other things which would provide tertiary occupations for the large masses of the people. He had specially in mind the transition period from war to peace, when millions of people, including $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions of demobilized soldiers and millions working in war factories, would be out of employment, and when the purchasing power artificially created by the demand for war industries would come to an end, and he was most anxious that during this period there should be a smooth working of the economic plan and no great suffering or want.

To the speaker's mind it was largely a question of priorities. In a scheme so vast and complex there were bound to be differing views as to the best method of achieving the common end of raising the standard of living of the great masses of India. The Government of India was desirous of evolving machinery which would enable an agreed policy to be implemented in a spirit of friendly co-operation on the part of all parties in India. It was fully aware of the need for a forward policy for maintaining employment in India at the highest possible level. It had made it clear that the available capital resources of India should be used in such a way as to ensure a balanced plan of industrial, agricultural and other developments in India, and that within the field of manufactured goods a balance should be maintained between capital goods and consumer goods. Projects for public works development, including roads and communications, were receiving the fullest consideration. The Government of India's plans for road and rail developments were estimated to cost about Rs. 450 crores.

If the standard of living of the people of India was to be raised effectively a big and sustained effort was needed both on the part of the Government, of private industry and the general public, and there should be such a co-ordination of the various plans for economic development now in the field as would bring the most satisfactory results in as short a time as possible.

Sir HUGH HOOD said that he found himself in general agreement with most of what Dr. Thomas had said, and he had brought out the point, to which the Chairman had referred, of the necessity for a balanced development. It was necessary to develop both industries and agriculture, but the development of agriculture, for instance, was not just a matter for the Agricultural Department—the Public Health Department came into it—there must be better communications; in fact, every department of Government was more or less concerned. Up to the present the various provincial governments had produced plans for post-war development. Those plans were presumably primarily intended to raise the standard of living, but they were a large series of individual schemes; there did not appear to be any single plan, so that there was a great deal of work to be done on these plans if there was not to be a scramble between the different sections for the biggest share of whatever money was available.

He had been concerned in the early stages of formulating a number of these plans, and the difficulty was that nobody knew exactly how much money would be available, and without that knowledge it was not possible to make very specific plans. The Bombay Plan said that so much money would be required and how it would be raised, but not everyone was convinced that it was possible to raise that amount of money, or to spend it, within the time contemplated. It was necessary to have a plan indicating not only what schemes were to be carried out but what share of the money available was to be allocated to each scheme or department. It was still necessary to produce a fully articulated plan, and it was probable that the Governments were working on that at the moment.

Mr. R. W. BROCK (formerly Editor of *Capital*), while in broad agreement with the lecturer's analysis, stated that one of his comments which needed to be supplemented was with regard to the volume of employment created or provided by mechanized industry. For example, Dr. Thomas asserted that the cotton mills employed 400,000 workers and left it to be assumed that that was the total volume of employment the mechanized manufacture of cotton goods had established. This, however, was not the whole of the story inasmuch as it ignored the much larger volume of indirect employment so made available, comprising the growers of the raw material (25 million acres being devoted to cotton cultivation, and the mills taking the larger part of the crop), the traders and transport workers engaged in moving the crop from the fields to the factories, and finally the distribution throughout India, and to many oversea markets, of the five thousand million yards of cotton goods the mills produced. The same line of reasoning applied to the jute mills, which consumed about 60 to 70 per cent. of Bengal's most profitable crop, as well as to the steel works, the sugar mills, and other industries consuming Indian raw materials. Furthermore, the fact that Indian manufacturing industries absorbed so large a percentage of Indian primary products emphasized the close interdependence of agriculture and industry in India. It was true that, according to the latest figures, the number of factory workers was only $2\frac{3}{4}$ millions, compared with an annual increase in the total population of 5 millions, but, in view of the factor of indirect employment already stressed, this did not imply that further development of mechanized manufacture was not essential; on the contrary, it was never more necessary.

There was, however, one vital prerequisite to full industrial development. Dr. Thomas might have laid heavier emphasis on the extent to which moneylending represented a hindrance to full expansion. Mass production, the essential foundation of mechanized manufacture, necessitated the highest attainable level of mass consumption, and this was not possible so long as the moneylenders retained their present stranglehold on the rural population. A small amount of headway had been made by the development of the co-operative movement, but there were still only $5\frac{1}{2}$ million members with a working capital of £75 millions, compared with about £750 millions owed by cultivators to the moneylenders, who, moreover, were in many cases the purchasers of the cultivators' produce and fixed the prices at which they bought the crops. The death of usury must precede the rebirth of agriculture in the modern incarnation essential equally to rural and industrial progress. Finally, as an indication of increasing industrialization and self-sufficiency in India, Mr. Brock quoted

figures showing that, in the last year for which official calculations were available, India's exports of manufactured goods represented 47 per cent. of her total shipments, while of her total imports only 55 per cent. were in the same category: imports and exports of finished goods therefore being now almost equal.

Sir LANCELOT GRAHAM believed that the path of development would be much more difficult than the planners indicated. He had been connected with a Province which was poor and backward in many ways (Sind), and he had suffered many disillusionments in his efforts to help its progress. He remembered opening a factory which intended to spin yarn and weave fine shirting from the cottons of Sind, and it seemed to be obvious that it was bound to succeed, but the factory went into liquidation before it started weaving. It could not sell its yarn; it could not compete with the Bombay yarn. It never began to weave. The same was true of schemes of irrigation; it was said that if the water was provided the crops were bound to grow. Growing crops under irrigation was more difficult than growing them under a fairly regular rainfall. The Agricultural Department spent a great deal of time trying to persuade cultivators to grow with less and less water, but the idea of the average cultivator was that the more water he got the better his crops would be. On the contrary, the best cultivator in Sind, who had been trained in Madras and seen agricultural service in Mesopotamia, used as little water as possible, but the zamindars did not believe it nor would they go to his estate to see the crops he was producing. There was a time when every zamindar said he was being ruined by the barrage because of the limit on consumption imposed by the modules. The modules were a beneficent form of rationing water, and if one was not careful the Zamindar would put in a pipe and get too much water. An enormous amount could be done for agriculture by the agricultural department, but not if the members of the department sat in the headquarters of the district; they must go and work in the villages and grow good crops beside the indifferent crops of the villagers and demonstrate that agriculture was not a mystery and a question of getting extra water on the soil from the Government, but of hard work with a modicum of intelligence.

It had been said that the cultivator was only employed for six months in the year. He did not know how that applied in other parts of India, but in Sind, if full advantage was to be drawn from the barrage, the cultivator should be working twelve months in the year and very often twelve hours in the day. He had to take his water in his turn, and it might be the middle of the night! He had to grow two crops, and in between he had to clean his land and watercourses so that no water was wasted. It was a twelve months' job for the cultivator of irrigated land to do the best with his land and to reach those increased standards of production envisaged by the planners.

Nothing had been said about the immense handicap to agriculture of malaria nor about land tenures. He did not believe that anywhere in the whole of India was the land tenure more ungenerous than in Sind, where the great mass of cultivators were tenants on an annual tenure with no right to cultivate for a second year, or certainty that they would not be switched to another piece of land or turned out altogether. There was undoubtedly a great deal to be done in the way of improving land tenures, thereby giving confidence to the cultivators.

Among other things needing attention was nutrition. The ignorance in India of what was good to eat was perfectly appalling, and that ignorance was not confined to the uneducated. The classes in India which suffered most from a diet consisting exclusively of polished rice were the most highly educated class in Bengal and Madras. There was an immense task ahead in endeavouring to get the people to change their habits, and it had not been mentioned in any of the plans.

Dr. Wrench, a private medical practitioner in Karachi, had envisaged a plan for improving the cultivation of India, and it was contained in the one word "compost," a form of manure. Compost was one of the big things in the development of agriculture in India, and was worth far more than any chemical manure. The cultivator could make it for himself. Dr. Wrench was entirely unable to persuade the Corporation of Karachi to compost the waste of that considerable city with a view to selling it to the neighbouring farmers for growing vegetables. The battle with

ignorance was not only with the poor but also with the rich and comparatively educated.

There was no royal road; there were many paths which had to be trod over and over again, and all these wonderful plans would fail unless some of the simplest principles which were now neglected in India were effectively applied.

SIR ALFRED WATSON said that such warnings as Dr. Thomas had given were very necessary, because unless there was care there would be enormous waste and very serious financial loss in the execution of the various plans for India. Dr. Thomas had said that the market must be provided for the products of industrialization. This could only be done by raising the level of the agriculturist in India. During the war that level had been raised. The income of India had multiplied by two or three times, but the effect had been disguised by the lack of consumer goods. There had been considerable inflation, and one of the first tasks of the Government of the future would be to gradually reduce that inflation.

It was more than twenty years ago since he had calculated that if the income of the Indian people was raised by one rupee per annum the purchasing power of India would be raised by £20 million sterling. If incomes were increased by 1 rupee per week the purchasing power would be raised to astronomical figures. Dr. Thomas was right in saying that the calculation of the Bombay Plan that 26 per cent. of the population could be employed in large-scale industry was wrong, for it would give a working force in India greater than that of the United States, Great Britain and Germany combined. The world would be flooded with a glut of goods. It was not necessary that India should have anything like that number of people employed in industry or if they were so employed that they should work full hours. The words "full employment" were used very vaguely; he would regard himself as fully employed if he could earn in two hours a day enough to live upon. If India by adding to the industrial production of the world could reduce the hours of working throughout the world she would make a marked contribution to world welfare.

DR. QURESHI said that he was not replying for Dr. Thomas, although he would like to add to the discussion. Dr. Thomas had rightly pointed out that the central objective must be the raising of the standard of living of the masses of the people. The income *per capita*, which was an arithmetical average, could be doubled without any corresponding actual increase in the income of the vast majority of the population. An economic plan for India had, therefore, to deal not only with the question of production but also with the question of distribution. The Bombay planners had dealt exclusively with distribution in the second part of their plan. There had been many plans; he had been through them all, and there were many points of similarity between them. Dr. Thomas said that the question of full employment could not be solved by an increase in industrial expansion. That had been discussed in the second part of the Bombay plan. It was a question of figures, and he would say that planning was not an exact science, and it was difficult to say whether 26 per cent. or 13 per cent. was correct.

As an instance, Dr. Thomas had said that fertilizers were very much needed for the improvement of the land, but that the whole demand could be met by factories employing a few thousand workers. Here was an example of how difficult it was to calculate. He himself was connected with the fertilizer industry. The total demand was about 2 million tons per year. The Government was starting a factory which would produce 350,000 tons, and for that factory alone at least 2,000 skilled and unskilled labourers would be needed, leaving aside the many people who would get employment as distributors and transporters.

He agreed that the Bombay planners had under-estimated the number of workers who would be absorbed by the public services. While Dr. Thomas thought that they would increase up to 30 per cent. of the total working population, the Bombay Plan put the figure at 16 per cent. This was, however, purely an academic question and did not prevent them going forward upon the principles of the Bombay Plan.

Referring to the question of compost raised by a member during discussion, he said that the utilization of municipal waste was a difficult question. The waste of

London, for instance, was not being used for fertilizers. These things would be tried, but it did not solve the problem of the lack of artificial fertilizers. In principles Dr. Thomas's Plan and the Bombay Plan did not differ; Dr. Thomas had put emphasis on the utility services, transport, building of roads, etc., and said that they should be taken up first. The speaker did not think that India could invest a large amount of money on these utility services without simultaneously spending some money on industry. The roads, railways, ships and planes would be built, but where were the goods and persons to move? All these things were important, but there must be other things too. The whole plan must be a co-ordinated one, and one could not expect to have one thing first and wait for a long time for another.

Sir HENRY SHARP voiced the thanks of the meeting to Dr. Thomas, in his absence, for the paper he had so admirably prepared on a problem which gave all great heart-searchings. Secondly, he would express thanks to the reader of the paper, and, finally, to Sir Samuel Runganadhan for sparing the time to preside over the meeting and for his valuable contribution to the discussion.

Dr. P. J. THOMAS has sent us the following remarks :

My great disappointment at my inability to be present at the meeting was, I must confess, somewhat relieved by the rather favourable reception of my paper by those present. A few of the comments, however, call for reply.

Mr. Brock disapproves of my views regarding the meagreness of employment provided by mechanized industry. He says that in estimating the total employment provided by cotton mills we must take account of the number of agriculturists who produce the crop, the number of traders dealing in raw cotton, the number of transport workers, etc. This, one fears, is beside the point; because whether the cotton is spun and woven by hand-workers or by mills, all the work on the raw material will be going on. My point is that the total number of labourers required for working up raw cotton into cloth falls drastically when spinning and weaving are done by machinery. The remedy is not to abolish the mills, but to provide some other work for hand-spinners and weavers, or to safeguard hand-spinning and weaving in fields specially demarcated for them.

Mr. Brock thinks also that I should have laid heavier emphasis on the evils of indebtedness among agriculturists, and he still quotes the old large figures of such indebtedness. Perhaps he does not know that nearly all the agricultural debt has been wiped out during the last four years as a result of high war-time prices of farm products. The evil may still lift its head, and steps must indeed be taken to scotch it. In any case there was no point in my dealing with this subject, however important it may be otherwise, in a paper dealing with problems of fuller employment and higher standards of living.

As a scientist Dr. Qureshi naturally places production in the forefront, but production, in the present conditions of India, has to wait on distribution. In a country where nearly all the workers are under-employed and many millions normally unemployed, adequate purchasing power will not be forthcoming for making rapid industrial production possible, unless other action is also taken to stimulate employment and incomes. No doubt the second part of the Bombay Plan deals with distribution, but the problems raised in it have to be pursued much further if planning in India is to result in the raising of living standards. The points I raise are not merely regarding a few figures, as Dr. Qureshi thinks; they go much beyond, as is clear from the paper. It is too often thought that rural unemployment in India could be remedied by industrialization. The Bombay Plan and even the Government reports on planning have not helped very much in dispelling this unsatisfactory notion. Neither industry nor agriculture could give adequate employment to India's teeming millions. Transport and trade and services must expand, and the first step to this is to have more roads, railways, hydro-electric works and other public utilities. In the course of their construction employment can also be considerably increased. The Bombay Plan indeed has a place for roads and other utilities, but does not give them the importance they deserve. The Bombay Plan has done a great service in placing Indian planning on the map, and is a good foundation to work

on. But it has to be elaborated and many obscurities have to be clarified. My remarks are only intended for this purpose and not for detracting from its value.

Finally I must express my sincere thanks to the Association for arranging a discussion on the paper.

INDIAN HEALTH PROBLEMS: SOME RECENT VOLUNTARY EFFORTS

I

LESSONS OF THE BENGAL FAMINE

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL I. M. ORR, O.B.E., M.D., CH.M., F.R.C.S., R.A.M.C. (RETIRED)

THE tragedy of the famine in Bengal in 1943 brought into sharp relief the woeful inadequacy of existing medical services. Famine conditions were followed by disease which threatened to assume epidemic proportions. In five months in the latter part of 1943, 87,845 cholera deaths were reported. The possibility of an epidemic spreading from Bengal throughout India became serious, and the effect on the war effort would have been great indeed, as eastern Bengal was the base and main line of communication for the operations in Burma. In short, the problem of famine relief, and in particular medical relief, became not merely a humanitarian project, but a political and military concern of the highest consequence.

As the famine dragged on more and more people required hospital treatment, but normal peace-time services were quite inadequate for the purpose. In November, 1943, there were in Bengal, with its population of 60,000,000, only 7,400 hospital beds. A large proportion of these beds were in well-equipped modern hospitals in Calcutta, which meant that in the rural areas, where the need was greatest, there was 1 bed per 8,000 of the population, and in many cases these beds existed on paper only.

One hospital in a large town, the headquarters of a district, and serving an area of over a million people, had 47 beds on paper, but, in fact, there were no beds. Such people as cared to seek its shelter lay on the floor; the equipment was almost nil, and though there was a small X-ray plant, its use was restricted to those who could afford to pay fees far beyond the means of the ordinary villager. Nursing facilities were in keeping with the equipment. On enquiry being made as to why the facilities were so meagre, the reply was that the people of that district did not come to hospitals, they did not believe in them. They preferred to die a natural death!

The civil administration sought to rectify the position by the erection of famine hospitals, and by December 13,000 additional beds were made available. 128 doctors, 550 sanitary inspectors, and over 1,000 health assistants were trained and put into the field.

HELP OF THE ARMY

The demands made on the health services were so great and so urgent that a complete breakdown might have occurred unless help were forthcoming immediately, and the Viceroy requested the Commander-in-Chief to second military hospitals to the area. Eight deputy directors of hygiene were appointed, and 52 junior officers of the I.A.M.C. were given training in preventive work and appointed as sub-divisional health officers. Many of these young officers had to work for months on end in isolated and disease-stricken areas, often with public opinion against them. Some were set upon and beaten by mobs, and some went down with malaria.

In order to combat the wholesale outbreak of epidemic cholera and smallpox, a mass inoculation and vaccination campaign was organized with a target of 8,000,000 vaccinations and inoculations in three months.

The public feared the inoculations, and Japanese propaganda was not slow to exploit the situation. When a team arrived in a village, after perhaps two hours'

tramping in the sun, carrying their equipment, the village would be found empty of inhabitants, and much time and energy had to be spent in winning local confidence before any mass preventive measures could be undertaken. It became obvious that the target of 8,000,000 protected people could not be obtained in the time with the resources available, and medical students from Calcutta were asked to volunteer for the work.

These young men were organized into teams, working as mobile treatment centres, and so successful was the combined effort that in three months 10,000,000 people were protected, and by the end of a seven-months campaign 17,000,000 people were protected against cholera, and 30,000,000 against smallpox. The hospitals were quickly filled. Hunger, despair and the extremity of suffering soon broke down the antipathy of the simple villager to hospital treatment. Anglo-Indian and Indian nurses in the military hospitals rose to the occasion, and trained local village women and boys as ward attendants. The beds were provided with mattresses, sheets, pillows and mosquito nets, and for the first time in rural Bengal the public turned freely to hospitals for treatment.

If the famine leaves behind it a public willing for good preventive and curative medicine, and a Government ready to supply it, the suffering and loss will not have been entirely in vain.

SOME OBSTACLES TO PROGRESS

After ten years' surgical experience in one of the most advanced Indian States it came as rather a shock to find how appallingly backward medicine, surgery and public health matters were in a part of India for whose welfare the Empire is still responsible. No doubt there are other parts of India as backward; certainly there are other parts much better, but, taken all round, the question of medical service in rural India remains a problem and a challenge which must be met so long as India is a part of our Empire.

The reasons for this state of affairs are not simply to be found in questions of expense, lack of doctors and difficulties of communications, though these factors all operate against a solution. There are certain fundamental obstacles inherent in the very life and structure of India itself.

(1) There is the difficulty of getting a sufficient number of Indian girls to train in the profession of nursing. Family and religious traditions frown on such a departure from the proprieties.

(2) The reluctance of the common people to receive new ideas, and to change the way of life which has obtained for centuries; particularly if that change is imposed from without, and emanates from a source from which come taxes, policemen and other encumbrances of village life.

(3) There is the difficulty of getting highly trained and well-educated medical men to segregate themselves in lonely districts among backward people, and deprive themselves of social life and educational facilities for their families.

Until some answers can be found to these three problems the best planned scheme of medical development, backed by unlimited funds, is bound to fail. A few personal observations made during twelve years' work in different parts of India may shed some light on the situation.

(1) *Nursing*.—In twenty years in rural Indian hospitals the only women available for training as nurses were middle-aged widows, the counterpart of Sarah Gamp in England. Of more recent years several hospitals, notably the larger mission institutions, have flouted tradition by training young, unmarried girls as nurses. Even so, they have only been available for work in the women's wards. Young men had to be trained as nursing orderlies in the men's wards.

Today so fast are things changing that these same young women are to be found as nursing sisters in military hospitals, controlling wards of 36 Punjabi and Gurkha soldiers, and directing the work of I.A.M.C. orderlies. The Indian Nursing Council sets an examination standard comparable to that in England. More girls must be given the opportunities to train, as their services are urgently required in child-welfare work, as sisters in hospitals and as sister tutors, to train and develop the profession all over India.

(2) *Village Traditions*.—The entrenched conservatism of village populations can be invaded, not by a direct assault, but by fifth column activity from within. Again and again in the inoculation campaign during the famine, when the representatives of the Government were blocked in their efforts or even received with hostility, a couple of smiling young Bengali medical students, living among the people, mixing with them and getting to know them, would effect a complete change of attitude, and enlist co-operation and goodwill.

So many of the changes that must come in village life affect the very root and core of tradition, that these changes must be initiated and led by medical men who spring from these very traditions themselves.

One has seen amazing developments in village communities, but always there has been strong indigenous leadership. One house-surgeon under me was asked what career he intended to follow. Instead of a consulting practice in the town he elected to return to live and work among the village community from which he had sprung. Such a life cannot but influence and develop the community.

LEADERSHIP

(3) *The Finding and Training of Suitable Leadership*.—This again is a matter for delicate and skilled handling. Attempts have been made in India to provide medical men for the villages by having two standards of medical education: (1) The university graduate who enters private practice in the towns and cities, or the higher ranks of Government service; and (2) a lower standard, recruiting a poorer quality of candidate and giving him a shorter training.

Many of these licentiates have done remarkably well, especially when working in association with senior and better qualified colleagues, but the work in the villages involves much more than general practice. It demands qualities of personality and leadership, the gift for propaganda, and the capacity to persuade people to change the habits of centuries in relation to diet and sanitation. At the same time he must have a mind trained for research based on direct observation of the life and habits of the community. A tall order for a young doctor perhaps, but not impossible. For such a career the best education, not the minimum, is required.

There are Indian doctors living that sort of life, and doing that sort of work. They are too few, and have too little backing. How can the right type of man be attracted to such a field of service? The offer of high pay will not bring him forward—only those with a spirit of service, with vision and devotion, will “stick it” and make good. They require special training to fit them for the task. A training of high academic standard, with emphasis on preventive work and opportunities for a practical training during their student days.

Above all, having selected the candidates for training because of their idealism, the environment during the student years must be such as will stimulate this spirit of service. Such an environment may be found in the Christian Medical College to be described by one of the other speakers today. Such a college must be staffed by professors who have, in addition to the highest qualifications, this same spirit of service, and a willingness to sacrifice material gain.

The contribution of a Christian Medical College for India would not only help dispel the ignorance and suffering of village life, but would be a gesture from the West, appreciated and understood by all.

II

MEDICAL MISSIONS

BY HOWARD SOMERVELL, M.A., F.R.C.S.

THE shortage of qualified doctors in India to which reference has been made is gradually being relieved by a great increase in the medical education that is occurring, and is proposed, by Government medical colleges. But, considering the immense size of India, the number of colleges is still, and will continue to be, very

small. That is one reason for the need of Christian medical colleges. But there are far more important considerations.

There is, quite rightly, nowadays a tendency to devolve more and more responsibility in mission and other Christian institutions on Indian leadership. The existing mission hospitals will require an ever increasing staff of fully qualified Indian medical men and women.

It is very probable that admission to medical colleges will in future be largely on a communal basis. This means that, as Christians only constitute about 2 per cent. of the population of India, it will be next to impossible for Christians to gain admission to medical colleges in proportion to the numbers who apply. One of the chief works of missions in India is education, and a very high proportion of Christians are educated, in some parts higher than in any other class of the whole community. Indian Christian boys seek admission to medical colleges to the extent of far more than the 2 per cent. which represents the strength of the Christian community.

THE WAR AND MISSIONARY EFFORT

For the Christian missionary enterprise this war has been a terrible disaster in that it has convinced many Hindus and others that, seeing that the so-called Christian nations are the ones engaged in warfare, India should avoid Christianity as likely to lead her into war. At a meeting called to bid farewell to me recently on my retirement from twenty-two years' service in India, one of the speakers said that, "While we are very grateful to our doctor for his philanthropic work, we must realize that we do not all share this opinion of his religious activities. Christianity means war; and if India accepts Christianity it will involve her in these wars which are so characteristic of the Christian nations nowadays."

Another event of recent history still further increases the suspicion that of late has attached itself to the Christian missionary. This is the imprisonment without trial of so many of the political leaders of India. In my opinion the Government was quite right to send these men to gaol at the time they did so. But neither the ordinary man in the village in India nor I myself can see that the continued incarceration of these people is anything but a sin and a blot on the fair name of Britain. Whether that view is right or no, it is a fact that the blame which attaches to Britain for this action is reflected, by the Indians as a whole, on to the religion which Indians associate with Britain. There has recently sprung up a deep and widespread resentment on the part of many Indians with Christianity. Medical missions remain the chief branch of Christian activity which is still accepted by the people with open arms, and which is free from this feeling of resentment. Together with the running of village industries, and with some parts of the educational work, medical mission work is nowadays the main Christian enterprise that is not viewed with suspicion.

LOW STANDARDS

Good as is the teaching in many of the medical colleges run by the Government, there is a regrettable standard of medical ethics all too often practised by doctors and nurses, etc., on the staffs of these institutions. The tendency of doctors to look at their patients simply from the money-making point of view leads some of them to exploit their patients in various ways, which acts as a very bad example to the budding doctors under their care, whose ideals are in the formative stage. For instance, some doctors will lay hold on the wealthier patients for their own wards, or even divert them from the wards of other doctors. Tips are required for nursing services, such as "one anna for a drink of water, two annas for a bedpan," which I know to be the rule in several leading hospitals, and some form of which I have been told is almost universal in India. Both doctors and nurses in some hospitals have the reputation of treating patients who don't pay them something "on the side" with disfavour. There is therefore a supreme need of a medical college—several if possible—run by a Christian staff, who will make it part of their teaching, as well as their outlook, to consider all patients alike as a trust from God, and to do their best indiscriminately for all in His name. Only the ethics of Jesus Christ, broadcast all over India by being practised here and there by men and women who have been educated

at a Christian medical college, can hope to raise the standard of medical ethics in this immense country.

On these four counts, of which I put the last one first in order of importance, it is very necessary to have in India at least one medical college which is Christian in its methods and teaching, and which is open to all classes, but which gives some preferential treatment as regards admissions to Christian students. I consider this question the most urgent of all missionary needs in India at the present time.

MEDICAL SCHOOLS

There have been hitherto several medical schools, in India, which give training up to the standard of sub-assistant surgeons. This is a standard which represents one year less at the medical school or hospital, and a lower educational standard for admission, than that of an M.B. The resulting doctor is, in my opinion, a very useful person, and eminently suitable for many of the jobs available for doctors in India, especially in the country districts. But most of the Provincial Governments in India have recently declared that in future there will be no such qualifications given, and the minimum standard for a doctor in future will be the M.B., B.S. degree of an Indian University.

The medical schools now existing have therefore only two alternatives open to them : either to close down or to expand both staff, buildings, and work to attain a higher standard, so that the Government will recognize them as fitted to train students for the M.B. degree. It would be an ideal thing if all the existing medical schools at present run under Christian auspices could expand in this way; still better, perhaps, would be the building and staffing of an entirely new medical college at some big centre of population, such as Allahabad. But the cost of these schemes is very large, especially if it is to include endowment. So the Christian Medical Association, which represents the opinion of medical missionaries of all denominations from all over India, as well as that of leading Indian Christian doctors in Government or private jobs, has decided, as the most practicable and the minimum desirable measure, to expand one of the existing medical schools, that hitherto has been for women only, at Vellore, into a college capable of giving the full M.B., B.S. training to students of both sexes. Dr. McGilvray will give you more detailed information about this scheme; in the meantime may I repeat that I consider that the scheme as at present envisaged represents the absolute minimum that Christian England ought to do at this critical hour of India's history. The starting and financing of this scheme is, I believe, a debt which Britain owes to India, a country which has in the past done such a lot for the trade and prosperity of Britain.

III

THE VELLORE COLLEGE TRAINING PLAN

BY THE REV. J. C. MCGILVRAY, B.A.
(Bursar of the Vellore Christian Medical College)

THERE is in India today an increasing recognition of the necessity of providing adequate health facilities for the peoples of that land. Health is a basic human right. This must be accepted as an axiom in any scheme which aims at promoting the welfare, social and economic uplift of a people. At present the most serious handicap to any scheme for the promotion of health lies in the dearth of trained medical personnel. For a population of nearly 400,000,000 there are 42,000 doctors, many of whom are licensed medical practitioners, and have not received the benefit of a University grade medical education. Thus there is one doctor for every 10,000 persons as compared with a ratio of one doctor to every 1,000 obtaining in Britain and America. There is one nurse for every 56,000 persons in India today. There are only 75 fully qualified pharmacists, or one for every 3,000,000 of the population. Nor do these statistics alone provide a true picture of India's needs, for most of the doctors and nurses are to be found in the cities and towns where so few of her people live.

The health needs of India's villages are usually left to the Public Health officer, who is provided with a totally inadequate staff.

The contribution of medical missions to the medical aid and health of India is far and away beyond any basis of comparison indicated by the proportion of Christians to the other communities. They have established more than 350 hospitals and sanatoria and more than 600 dispensaries at which 7,000,000 treatments are given annually. In their 62 leprosy sanatoria they do the major share of the treatment of that disease. They provide one-third of all the beds available for the treatment of tuberculosis. More than 75 per cent. of India's nurses are Christians.

And what of the future? Christian enterprise in medical work has always been determined by two main considerations. Firstly, its belief that in medicine it has a distinctive contribution to make through an adequate appreciation of the human being and not only of the human body. Secondly, it must be ready to give where there is the greatest need. For some years the Christian Medical Association of India has believed that its greatest contribution would be in the establishment of a University grade medical training centre which would be thoroughly Christian and of the highest professional order. The aim is not merely to reproduce the functions of a normal Government medical school, but rather to specialize along certain lines of development which need emphasis in India today.

A beginning was made in 1942 at Vellore,* about 90 miles west of Madras, using as a foundation the excellent lower grade medical school which had already established a reputation for its scholarship. Several new buildings have to be constructed and the main hospital enlarged to accommodate 650 patients. At present there is accommodation for 400. The primary requirement in any medical school is to have a first-class faculty, and Vellore has been fortunate in attracting several doctors with the highest professional qualifications and one of whom has already an international reputation in his own speciality. There are more to be found. As part of their planning the school authorities are laying special emphasis upon the following lines of development with anticipation that each will make a special contribution to medical services in India and beyond.

RURAL UNITS

There is to be established a chair of Rural Health. Vellore is situated in the midst of a large rural area, and its rural dispensary and roadside medical services have become well known. These services are now being developed still further and co-ordinated with rural medical units. Such a unit concentrates on a group of villages and brings to them an adequate medical, social and preventive programme. Here lies one of the greatest needs in India today, and it is hoped that Vellore's programme may become a model which will be used widely in that land. Medical students and nurses will be required to spend a period of study in these rural units, and we hope that thereby some of them will be led to serve in villages. An emphasis here on tropical diseases and public health will do much to remove that strange anomaly of Western medicine as taught in India today. For these diseases which make up so much of the daily work of an Indian doctor are now reserved for post-graduate study and diplomas.

OTHER PLANS

The study and treatment of leprosy is one of the most important developments which has an intrinsic part in this medical training scheme. The Mission to Lepers and the American Mission to Lepers are co-operating in this work. Within twenty miles of Vellore is an area with what is believed to be the highest recorded incidence of this disease. It is planned to develop a sanatorium concentrating on research and a detailed study of the disease, an infirmary with special emphasis upon rehabilitation, children's work and survey units.

Psychiatry is one of the specialities for which at present there is no teaching centre

* A beginning was made at Ludhiana in 1938, when the Christian Medical School there was affiliated to the Punjab University. Owing to war conditions full affiliation has been postponed.—[EDITOR.]

in India. As soon as building materials are made available a psychiatric teaching clinic with observation wards is to be constructed. It is hoped later to establish a hospital for the care and treatment of mental cases on a larger scale.

For many years Vellore has maintained one of the finest nursing schools in India. Its insistence on high standards has not only led to excellent results, but has also done much to improve the status of the nursing profession in India. There is a post-graduate school for nurses with hospital experience where they are trained as sister tutors and for administrative posts, which have been held previously only by European sisters. In July, 1946, this school may be affiliated to the University of Madras, which will award a degree of B.Sc. in nursing after four years' instruction. Post-graduate courses will be given in public health nursing, teaching and supervision and administration in schools of nursing and in public health; also in midwifery and teaching in midwifery.

RESEARCH

The study and teaching of tuberculosis will be given in the sanatorium at Arogyavaram, which is one of the finest institutions of its kind, and offers unrivalled facilities for teaching. It is a truism today that medical education must be conducted in an atmosphere of research. No school can maintain a standard of high efficiency unless its staff is not only encouraged but required to undertake research. Here again is a contribution which Vellore will make. It will seek to serve India not only through the training of doctors and nurses, but also in the training of teachers which is an even more pressing need. It has been suggested that the Government of India will establish many more medical schools at the close of the present hostilities. It is the faculty which makes a medical school—not the buildings nor the equipment.

And how is this development at Vellore being made possible? It is through the co-operation of thirty-eight missionary societies representing churches in Britain, the United States, Canada, Sweden, Denmark and Australia. Excellent support has come from friends in India, too. It is indeed a unique contribution to the people of India.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPERS

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Tuesday, June 19, 1945, at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, with Sir GEOFFREY BRACKEN presiding. Lord Erskine, who had promised to take the Chair, was represented by Lady MARJORIE ERSKINE. In opening the meeting she said that the speakers came from South India where she and Lord Erskine spent five and a half years. Lord Erskine was very busy in his part of the country owing to the General Election and could not be present. Sir Geoffrey Bracken was taking his place, and she would ask him to preside.

Sir GEOFFREY BRACKEN said that the three speakers were all connected with India. Lieut.-Colonel Orr had worked for a long time in Travancore, Mr. Howard Somervell had also been connected with Travancore, and the Rev. J. C. McGilvray was Bursar of the Vellore Medical School. Their work in medical research in South India was well known. Mr. Somervell was also interested in mountaineering and, as they knew, had tackled Mount Everest.

After the reading of the papers the CHAIRMAN said that the only point he would make was that political developments, especially those of the last week, were bound to affect the whole problem very much, and it seemed to him that the function of the Christian Medical Colleges in future would be not to take the lead but to set a standard which the Governments and Provinces might follow.

Dr. C. CHESTERMAN (Medical Secretary, Baptist Missionary Society) thanked the Association for giving this opportunity of setting forth the needs and one of the

solutions to India's medical problems. It was easy to feel one was an intruder in India; sometimes one was made to feel it by others, but it had been pointed out that the medical mission nurses and doctors need not feel it. In the few months which he spent in India before the war he made an effort to try to ascertain Indian opinions as to the continuation of medical missions. He suggested to one Hindu gentleman that the time had come for missionaries to withdraw and give Indian doctors, with all their talent and experience, an opportunity to run their own medical services. The reply was, "You are not right; in mission hospitals I have found more compassion and consideration." Compassion was the core of the Christian ethic, and more "consideration" meant that the patient did not have to pay for everything, even having a hot-water bottle filled.

When he saw Mr. Gandhi at his Ashram a few years back he talked to him at some length about the medical problems of India. He told him what the Hindu had said, and Mr. Gandhi replied that it was a good certificate for medical missions. He added: "Do not go into the towns; you should be the succourers of the villages where doctors are so few." Those words impressed themselves upon him because his own experience had been in Africa, in a rural area, running a medical mission for 100,000.

He was convinced that the programme set out at Vellore was the right one, and he was very glad that the foundations had been laid on which to build. He hoped a similar institution in North India would develop on the same lines.

DR. ALICE PENNELL (*née* Sorabji) said that her experience in her own country was in the north of India so that she had other opinions than those which had been expressed. There it was not possible to have a college for both men and women at the moment, although there was a Government college for training women doctors from every community in India, at Delhi, as well as the Mission College at Ludhiana. The part that women could play, women from other countries and Indian women, could not be surpassed, and unless the women were interested the position would remain where it was sixty years ago when only men gave treatment. It was important that there should be a better educational standard before people were trained as doctors, and she was glad to see that Vellore was giving up the lower standard. The sub-assistant surgeon's training was inadequate; they had not a good foundation, and they could not have a really good training. The people needed skilled treatment whether they lived in a village or town, and there should be a fully trained man or woman in charge of the work. Some of these semi-trained people were unable to recognize serious diseases, much less treat them.

Health visitors were needed. The Medical Women's Association of India started the idea of health visitors, and now they were being trained in Northern India and they helped the doctors who went to the villages. They lived in the village, doing all the extra work which had to be done by people who helped the doctor, and bringing health education into the homes of the villagers.

In Northern India there were men and women nurses; because of the communal feeling in a Muhammadan country women were not allowed in the men's part of the hospital. Men orderlies were trained, who did excellent work, and she saw no reason why they should not be used as in the Army to-day. There was no reason why a man should not do as good work as a woman. The men nurses were most sympathetic, kind and understanding.

Ethical standards were most important, and in no mission hospital was there ever the difficulty of people wanting to be paid for everything. The doctors and nurses, the British and Indian staff, were in real sympathy with the people; they were their friends, they went into their homes, and it was only when one had friends amongst the people that they could be treated adequately. Friendship was the basis of all medical treatment, whether it was given by doctors, nurses or health visitors.

Sir FREDERICK JAMES said that the only justification for his intervention in the discussion was that he was a member of the Health Survey and Development Committee of the Government of India under Sir Joseph Bore, which was studying the problem of the future development of health services. He was returning shortly to

what he hoped would be the concluding meeting at which the report would receive its final shape. He would ask the speakers their views on one aspect of the expansion of the health services to which his Committee had given considerable attention. The Committee had been impressed by the shortage of personnel and by the difficulties inherent in the rapid expansion of the health services throughout the country. Most valuable evidence had been given by a distinguished Russian surgeon who had said that one of the ways in which the Russians had tackled a similar deficiency was by creating a class of medical assistants who received a training of three years, and who were used, under the guidance of qualified medical practitioners, for a great deal of the public health and medical relief work in the villages. They were attached to central hospitals and under the expert guidance and assistance of qualified men. There was a very large number of such persons. He wondered whether that was one of the ways by which, for a period, this deficiency in the Indian medical services could be met.

He was deeply impressed by the appeal of Mr. Somervell for a great contribution from Christian England to medical relief, by way of a demonstration centre and laboratory of experience, to be established in Vellore. He knew something about their existing institutions, and was sure that the proposals outlined would be widely welcomed in India. The Bhore Committee foresaw the development of great national public health services. The old administrative distinction between public health and medical relief would go, and there would be provincial health services under the central direction of Health Ministries. If these plans materialized there would be a great drive in the direction of bringing all the resources of public health and medical relief to the villages.

This made it all the more necessary that there should be, here and there in that great country, centres where men were trained in an atmosphere of social service, particularly of Christian social service. Mr. Somervell was correct when he pointed out that buildings alone could not make a medical school. He would add that a Faculty alone could not make a medical school; it was the spirit in which the Faculty worked, and that would be found in the new centre. Britain could not give a finer gift to India at this stage in the history of the two countries, in which another turning point had been reached. It would strengthen those delicate and sensitive links which bound the two countries together, and which he hoped would continue to bind them in the years to come.

Dr. ORISSA TAYLOR thought that the tremendous opportunities open to the girls and men of this country were not realized by people who had time and money, and it should be laid upon them to see to it that these unique opportunities could be taken advantage of now. The letters "Ind. Imp." first appeared on our coins in 1876, and he often wondered whether they would still be there in 1976. At the moment there were supreme chances of work in India, but her greatest need was true friendship. Medical missionary work might be the only form of service which could be rendered, and we should give it in such spirit and way that if we had to leave India we should leave something worth while behind. "Heal and preach" was the mission in India, and through these methods the heart of India would be brought to the feet of Him knowledge of whom made all the difference to everyone.

Mr. CHINNA DURAI said that his mind had been working in a different way from that of the three speakers, and he wondered in view of the shortage of doctors, medical schools, medical colleges and medical missions how best the people of India could ease the burden for the doctors and others. He remembered a Brahmin lady who was ill and a doctor was about to be called in, and she asked that it should not be a Christian doctor because "He will ask me to drink some soup or prescribe an egg." That sort of thing was still there, and other customs were detrimental to health. For instance, the joint family system (which meant that people were crowded together under one roof, lacking facilities for fresh air and sanitation) or the child marriage system brought about many ills. There was the problem of birth control also. These were the things which could be tackled by legislation, by the people of India, and which would greatly ease the burden of the medical world in India.

Mr. HOWARD SOMERVELL, in reply to the discussion, said in response to Mr. Chinna Durai's intelligent suggestion that the Hindu family system, child marriages and birth control were three things which should be tackled, that the doing of this would engender great difficulties, because it was very hard to make any Indian modify his customs. Above all nations in the world, India was the slave of custom. It would be difficult to make them even modify the family system on which the social life of India was built. Indians in their families showed a touching and delightful loyalty to each other, which, however, sometimes led to very large households with an altogether inadequate cubic space for each individual. Several not very successful attempts had been made to make child marriages illegal in his own part of India, Travancore; but gradually a public opinion was being formed which was much more effective than legislation. The public health service when he went to Travancore in 1922 was bad, but since then it had improved so much that it was now very much better than in most parts of India. Anti-filarial and anti-malarial work had made a very good beginning, and had real experts at the head.

The nature of public health work varied tremendously from country to country and district to district, owing to the climate, diet, and other conditions. In Travancore it was fertile, and not very far away in the Deccan it was dry and arid. In the Punjab the people had one of the finest diets in the world because things were in the right proportion. The rice famine in India might in the end prove to have been very beneficial. When the supply of rice was stopped from Burma there were distressing conditions which were adjusted after a few months by the importation of millet and wheat into the rice-eating countries; and this meant the improvement of the vitamin A deficient diet. He hoped that as a result of the war the diet of Southern India and other rice-eating parts would be more varied and healthy. This would do a great deal to ease the task of the doctors in the country districts.

It was a tragedy that 90 per cent. of doctors were in the towns, where only 10 or 11 per cent. of the inhabitants lived; the more highly qualified doctors would hardly ever go into the country districts. He hoped that when Vellore got going it would make the rural bias a very strong point. He personally felt very privileged to have had the opportunity of giving twenty-two years' service entirely in a village district in India, far away from big towns. The population in the village districts was often very large in fertile areas. He believed that in several parts of India there were districts with half a million people who had no qualified doctor at all; that was certainly the case a few years ago.

He agreed very much with the remarks regarding the necessity for male nurses. In his own hospital the male patients were nursed by males, and females nursed by women nurses. When the war began the Army were only too thankful to find that there were a certain number of trained male nurses in India; and by far the greater number of the fully trained male nurses in the I.A.M.C. to-day came from mission hospitals. Indian young men often make extremely good nurses; they were usually said by the patients to be more gentle than the women nurses. This was probably because, being stronger, they were able to lift the patients without undue exertion. The men were more ready to take on real responsibility and were not always bound by routine, as the Indian women were so apt to be. Boys and girls of good education (matriculates) are now taking nursing as a profession.

He felt strongly that the right line was being followed at Vellore; the development of a medical school for men and women was a crying need and something which we should do for India. He hoped the members would try to persuade their friends to take an interest in the scheme, which was meeting with great support, but was in difficulties with regard to funds. It was largely a venture of faith, and must have the backing of the Indian-loving public behind it.

Mr. HAROLD HOOD proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the speakers and to Sir Geoffrey Bracken. He had listened to the papers with particular interest because he spent many happy years in Southern India and some time in Travancore. Later still he became honorary treasurer of a hospital at Karachi, and found great interest in the work.

THE BRITISH IN INDIA: THEIR PRESENT AND THEIR FUTURE

BY C. P. LAWSON, M.L.A.(CENTRAL)
(President of the European Association, Calcutta)

I AM here today to talk to you about my own folks in India; not so much about the Services, military and civil, that have done such magnificent work in administering the country in the past century, but about the non-official, the "box-wallah," if you will, who was there long before Britain undertook the administration of the country and whose history dates back to the year 1600, when Queen Elizabeth granted the first charter to the East India Company. We are a small community and, as I will presently show, the activities of the Nazis both in the West and in the East have made us smaller; but there is much in our history of which we are justly proud, and the last six years have added a page which fully justifies that pride.

Our publicity is poor, and for some reason or other, ever since the days of Clive and Hastings, it has been the custom, in certain newspapers and on certain platforms, to give publicity more to those statements, true or untrue, which are likely to discredit us than to those which do us credit. This is an attitude of mind which I have never been able to understand. A professional cricketer in India with an M.C.C. team has only to be seen entering a dressing-room separate from that of the amateurs and, whatever the English custom is elsewhere, there will be headlines in certain British papers, "Snobbery in India."

Let me give you another instance. In May, 1943, Mrs. Portal addressed you regarding "Individual Responsibility in India." It was a thoughtful address, if based more upon theory than upon wide experience; but in the course of it she said regarding our folks in India that "a diet of polo, mah jong and bridge is not very nourishing to ideas." This excerpt was used fully by the news agencies, and was published all over India. I saw no mention either in the British or Indian press of Mrs. Portal's earlier remarks on the other side, which included the following: "I have profound veneration for the magnificent administration given by us to India, for the justice and prosperity conferred by the Pax Britannica. I believe in the integrity of all those great Britons who, from Lord Lawrence onwards, have made it clear that they are working for India's ultimate self-government." Mrs. Portal's later strictures presumably applied to a certain minority with which she unfortunately came in contact, but it is easy to see which statement commended itself to publicity. Two speeches made recently by members of the House of Lords regarding the war effort of British women in India have been similarly used. I will shortly show how misinformed the speakers were, but the fact that they had bothered to approach none of our organizations for information or figures did not impede the publication of derogatory and misleading statements. I would ask all those who make statements or write about India to bear all this in mind, and I will now place before you certain facts.

NON-OFFICIAL EUROPEANS

Of the total British in India before the war roughly 30 per cent. were in trade, industry and commerce; 10 per cent. belonged to what the Census Report describes as "the professions and liberal arts" and 7 to 8 per cent. were planters. This non-official community has been treated as a minority under the Indian Constitution, since, of course, the Services are not permitted to take part in politics or to represent their community in the Legislatures. We have 68 British members in the Provincial Legislatures and 12 in the Central Legislature. In each political advance towards self-government in the last thirty years the British community has done its best to make each step a success. The Simon Commission in 1930 reported as follows: "The numbers of Europeans in India are no fair measure of the contribution they make to the country or to the influence they exercise. One of the best features of the operation of the reforms is the way in which European business men of standing and experience

have contributed to the public life of the country by their membership of the Legislatures."

The community has been in the forefront of Indian economic development for the past century. A vast system of irrigation and over 45,000 miles of railways have been built in the main by British engineers, frequently with British capital. The major ports owe much of their present size and efficiency to Port Trusts which raised their capital in Britain and until recently were predominantly British in management and control. The great industries of tea, jute, coal and banking owe their existence to the pioneering skill of British business men who have opened up the resources of the country and supplied employment for the people and taxation for the State. Fifty years ago only 800 factories were registered under the Indian Factories Act; today there are more than 10,000. Indians have now entered these fields, and many concerns once purely British in management and financial control now represent a high degree of Indo-British co-operation. We must also not underestimate the magnificent work done by generations of faithful missionaries from Britain whose influence has been widespread and beneficial.

BRITISH ENLISTMENT

This is but a short, inadequate picture of the background. I am anxious to tell you something of the more recent years, records of which cannot be found in reference books or histories. As early as 1938, after Munich, the European community in India realized fully that a serious outbreak of war was a present possibility, and at the council meeting of the European Association held at the end of that year it was decided to prepare lists of the male members of the community and to classify them in age groups and occupations so that as far as possible the obligations to military service should be equally distributed over the whole community. The Association had no doubts regarding the voluntary response which the community would make to a call for recruitment, but it was felt that some organization was necessary to avoid the inequalities, both to industrial and commercial concerns and to individuals, which had occurred during the war of 1914-18. In collaboration with the constituent Chambers comprising the membership of the Associated Chambers, some progress was made in the preparation of these lists during the early part of 1939, but when war became a certainty it was felt that a statutory background was necessary for the enforcement of the arrangements which the community clearly desired to come into force. The leaders of the community, therefore, approached the authorities, and in due course a National Service (European British Subjects) Ordinance was promulgated, and this in due course was followed by the National Service (European British Subjects) Act of 1940, which was passed by the Central Legislature in April of that year.

Before conscription came into force many British firms had already released considerable numbers of younger men for voluntary enlistment in the Services, either in India or in the U.K., and when conscription was applied to all male European British subjects between the ages of 18 and 50, every man who could possibly be spared was called up first in age groups and then for specialized purposes irrespective of age. Most firms were left with a bare minimum staff with no leave or casualty margin. The calling up was carried out by the competent military authority in each military district, but each such authority worked in consultation with a National Service Advisory Committee established under the Act and composed of local representatives of European non-official organizations. These N.S.A.C.s applied to all European concerns one strict criterion—namely, that each concern should be left only with the minimum European staff necessary for maintaining the business as such. All European concerns were thus reduced to the absolute minimum of European staff necessary for maintaining war production and for keeping their concerns alive.

A HEAVY STRAIN

With the extension of the war to the Far East the complexity and output of most British concerns have multiplied. Some of these are 100 per cent. on war production. This has greatly increased the strain upon those who are left, most of them being

over combatant age, and in many cases well over 50 years of age. In addition to their ordinary duties these men have also been and still are engaged, in any spare time they may have, on work in connection with civil defence auxiliary forces, special police, welfare for troops, etc.

Official figures now show that nearly 58 per cent. of our pre-war man-power has been taken into the Services, but this does not represent the full measure of the strain. During six years of war there have inevitably been many casualties on account of death, ill-health and compulsory retirement from a tropical country through age. A survey recently carried out reveals this latter wastage to have been 14 per cent. of our pre-war strength. So we are now in the position of facing the future with our man-power reduced by over 72 per cent. This is a war sacrifice which the British in India carry alone amongst the Indian communities. We alone are subject to compulsory service, at our own request. In the U.K., or in Canada or Australia, man-power is short, but at least everyone suffers equally. We are not complaining—indeed, we are proud of our part—but it is well that these facts should be known amongst those who may think that we in India have spent an easy time far away from the “Blitz” and from the discomforts of war-time Britain. We make no claim to be super-men; we have our drones like every other community all over the world, but this I claim, that we have marched with our folks in this country to the extent that our numbers permit and have borne with them the heat (certainly the heat) and burden of the day.

THE BRITISH WOMAN

Now let me deal with the war effort of our women—and here I must place on record how much we resent the continual “sniping” that appears from time to time in certain organs of the British press. The trouble is largely due to misunderstanding. Some of the British troops now in India seem to think that female companionship should be as easy to come by as it is in Britain. As a bachelor of some years’ standing I may assure them that this is not the case. In the whole of India only 14,300 women between 18-50 were registered under last year’s Ordinance, and even this figure is an over-estimate. 2,200 European British women have joined the W.A.C.I.s, and 9,224 are doing war work of some kind or another. Only 2,255 have not undertaken any war work without showing any reason for not doing so. But I would point out that these figures pay no regard to women with young children, who in this country are exempted from National Service. I may add that in certain up-country districts, notably in Assam, servants are now unobtainable and many women are now doing the housework and cooking. Amongst my personal friends I do not know a single woman who is not doing something, and when I see our womenfolk working in canteens on stations and elsewhere in temperatures up to 120 degrees, I wish that some of those who criticize might come and do a four-hour shift.

I know personally of three voluntary organizations, mainly run by our women, which together turn over £20,000 annually for troop amenities. These are only three of many, and all the money is voluntarily subscribed. I know several women whose health has broken down as a result of this work, and while I have avoided all mention of climatic conditions, it must be admitted that these are always present, and are to certain women a source of constant ill-health. Again, I do not claim 100 per cent. heroines; but perhaps if these facts were known there would be less “sniping.” Here I cannot do better than quote an extract from the communiqué issued by the Government of India: “This shows that European British women as a class have already made a substantial contribution to the war effort and welfare of the fighting forces. The Government of India and H.E. the C.-in-C. on behalf of the Forces wish to place on record their appreciation of the excellent work done by large numbers of women who are devoting their time and energy to voluntary service.”

A FAIR FIELD

And now of the future. The community to which I belong has assisted in every step towards Indian self-government, and we hope still to play our part when the goal is realized. We have contributed largely to the economic and social development

of India, and we have earned the right to continue to live and work there without discrimination. A fair field and no favour is all that we ask, and we desire no special treatment that an Indian in Great Britain could not expect. The fact that this war has reduced our numbers so seriously already prejudices the "fair field" to which history entitles us. If I call attention to this fact it is not because we wish to "swamp" Indian industry—indeed, we could not do so now, even if we held such an intention—but because I believe that the future of India will best be served by a continuation and strengthening of her association with Great Britain on terms of equal partnership. My community in India will be a link that will help to bind the two countries together, and the stronger the link the better for all concerned. There may be some in India or elsewhere who will take a cynical view of this belief of mine, and nationalist emotion is apt to obscure the fact that our personal relations with Indians are cordial and based on long association. But when the tumult and the shouting have died I think it will be found that such animus as now exists has died also, and I look forward to a future free of the political "hates" that have frequently obscured the benefits of mutual co-operation.

I do not believe that history can of itself be eliminated by a stroke of the pen or even by an Act of Parliament. India has a Constitution which marches forward on the lines of British democratic principles. Her excellent judiciary has been built up upon a British pattern. Her magnificent Army has been trained up to the most modern pitch by British officers and by British methods. The language most generally understood by literates is English; indeed, if in the Central Assembly in Delhi any speaker were to address the House in any Indian language a large portion of his listeners would not be able to understand him. I could name many other factors which should bind the two countries together for all time, but in practice it will be goodwill that will decide the issue.

In her present state of development India cannot do without assistance from abroad, and Britain must be ready to give that assistance and to help India in her forward march. This is no time, either in India or Great Britain, to take the short view. The effect of the present war may last for years, and artificial conditions will upset the most balanced economies. But when normal conditions return it will, I think, be found that the best economic balance for both countries will be achieved by the closest possible association. India will need Great Britain as much as Great Britain will need India, and it is to the realization of this goal that we should bend our best endeavours.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W. 1, on Friday, July 27, 1945, when Mr. C. P. Lawson read a paper on "The British in India: Their Present and their Future." The chair was taken by Sir KENNETH MEALING.

In introducing the reader of the paper the CHAIRMAN said that Mr. Charles Lawson had been a personal friend of his for many years, and he was in a position to testify to the time and thought that he had given to the affairs of the British community in India for a long time past. Mr. Lawson had held the position of President of the European Association in India for the past five years. He was also a sitting member in the Central Assembly at Delhi. These positions had undoubtedly made him one of the most knowledgeable men in Indian public life, both concerning the many problems of the European community and of India as a whole. His cheerful personality had endeared him to all classes and castes.

Mr. C. P. LAWSON then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that the British community in India had, of course, not been required to undergo the agonies and terrors which England had endured during the past six years, nor to bear the restrictions and privations which had been so cheerfully accepted at home. Against this must be set the fact that they had missed that great and uplifting spirit of unity and camaraderie which England experienced in the dark days of the war. Moreover, they well knew that if England fell it was also the end for them, and after Japan came into the war they in India might still fall as our kith and kin had fallen in Shanghai, Hongkong, Singapore, and Burma. In the first half of 1942 this was indeed a real possibility, so they were not without grave anxiety, and, as Mr. Lawson had so clearly stated, they had experienced a considerable degree of overwork and harassment which the burden of the war rendered unavoidable. There were not many communities without a few black sheep. In India the spotlight was rather focused upon the doings of the European, and the actions of a single black sheep when publicized became magnified to the detriment of his whole community. This might be unfair, and might be peculiar to India, but he believed it to be a fact, and it might be that what they had heard from Mr. Lawson that afternoon would help to put some of these matters into a truer and better perspective.

In inviting Mr. Amery to address the meeting the CHAIRMAN (speaking on the morrow of the results of the General Election) said that the House of Commons would be the poorer for the departure of this great parliamentary figure. In the storm and stress of the great Indian problem it was not given to any man to find an easy solution of what must not be allowed to be an insoluble problem, but they knew that Mr. Amery had made a strong and sincere effort to help to lead India on to that future which they all desired for that great country.

The Right Hon. L. S. AMERY, who was greeted with prolonged applause, said that they were greatly indebted to Mr. Lawson for a paper as wise and broadminded in its general outlook as it was shrewd and humorous in its defence of the great British community in India. That community had played its part in the life of India for the good of India, as well as of British trade, for something like 150 years before British administration spread out from its original nucleus of the East India Company to cover the whole of that great continent with its network. Through the subsequent 200 years also, as Mr. Lawson had reminded them, the British unofficial community continued side by side with the official community to play its part in the development of India and to create the India of today from the India of the seventeenth century. Certainly whatever tribute was paid in the quotations which Mr. Lawson had read should in all fairness be shared equally between the British official world and the British unofficial world, both of which, in co-operation with India's own people, had played their part in this history. In more recent years, as Mr. Lawson had again reminded them, that community had played a great part in the present struggle. It was the only community he knew of in the Empire which submitted to compulsory military service at its own special request, and did so under circumstances of strain almost unexampled in any other community in the Empire. They had been left with a mere skeleton mostly of older men to struggle on for six years under difficult climatic conditions, carrying an ever-added burden of work, while the younger men were playing their part in the Forces or serving the Government of India in various technical respects.

He was glad that Mr. Lawson had spoken a forthright word in defence of European women in India. In this country we accepted as a familiar fact the wonderful work done by the great majority of women, and overlooked the exceptions, but in the case of India undue stress was laid upon the very few who for one reason or another did not—or in other cases could not—help in the self-forgetting work of the great majority.

Mr. Lawson had also said a useful word about the part which the European business community, with its traditions of political life in this country, had played in the legislatures of India for the last 25 years. It had been work done with a genuine desire to help self-government forward in India. It had been done readily and in a spirit of whole-hearted sympathy with Indian aspirations. It was that spirit which would ensure the continued life of the British community in India and the continued

service which it could render to India, and it was because of that spirit of goodwill, of desire to help India forward to the fullest attainment of the ambitions which we shared with her, that he believed there would still be a valuable place for that community in the political and certainly in the economic life of India. They were true representatives of the spirit of this country, for this country wished India to take her rightful place as one of the great nations, not only of the British Commonwealth but of the wider family of nations.

As Britishers they felt it to be wrong that India should not be regarded as at least the equal of that other great Asiatic nation—China—in her place in the world and in the influence which she exercised upon the world both in herself and through the sources of strength which she could derive from partnership in the Commonwealth.

"This is, I imagine, as it happens," Mr. Amery concluded, "the last occasion on which I am likely to address any public audience as Secretary of State for India. Five years of very interesting, occasionally disappointing, but never really discouraging work lie behind me. I have no doubt that the work will be carried on in the same spirit, with the same goodwill, by my successor, whoever he may be, and that Lord Wavell will receive from the Government the same support in his sincere and unwearying efforts to find a solution, temporary it may be, or more permanent, whereby a great India will be brought towards her goal, free in herself, honoured among the nations, honoured also in the more intimate partnership of the British Commonwealth."

Mr. A. E. Foot (the Doon School, Dehra Dun) endorsed what Mr. Lawson had said about the war effort of British men and women in India. One difficulty which Mr. Lawson had not mentioned and which might be overlooked was that so far as entertainment was concerned for British people who were visiting India in the Services, the cost of living in India had multiplied by about three and a half times, whereas in England it had not multiplied by anything like that factor. Not only that, but the difficulty of getting the sort of provisions which hospitality demanded was a great one to be considered in the actual entertainment of people from overseas. But there was a much more important reason for what looked like an inhospitable reception. When American soldiers came to England they expected and received entertainment from the English people. But in India the absence of social contact and sympathy and understanding between the British and the Indian educated upper middle class was the cause of a certain feeling of dissatisfaction among people visiting India for the first time, as they were not welcomed by Indians. This absence of social contact did not apply to those who had taken a very active part in political life, in municipal life, and in such organizations as rotary clubs and Service associations throughout India, but there was or had been a very high percentage of Europeans living in India whose life there had been in a compartment quite separate from the people of the country. If in the past the Europeans living in India had felt it their primary purpose to become acclimatized to the social, cultural, and intellectual life of the people in the country in which they were living, there would have been created a deep and lasting friendship with Indians.

He believed the lesson to be learned from this—nothing very much could change the present situation—was that for the future it must be very clearly understood by those people who went out to India to earn their living there that their first thought must be that they would not be serving their business or other interests properly unless they made themselves really acceptable to the Indian people of the same class as that to which they themselves belonged. He believed that there was a clear understanding of that now amongst the firms who were engaging people to go out to India, and if their success or failure was judged by the number and sincerity of their Indian friendships, then such circumstances as existed at present would not exist in the future.

Mr. W. W. Wood (Principal of Delhi Polytechnic) said that as an architect and engineer he addressed the meeting as one of the 10 per cent. of representatives of what Mr. Lawson had called the professions and liberal arts. In that capacity he wanted to confine himself to an aspect of their relationship with India which had

perhaps not been stressed as it might have been. India was going ahead with a wonderful scheme of industrialization, but was very greatly lacking in technical personnel. He was in this country at the moment concerned in the placing of post-graduate students in the educational institutions here for the pursuit of higher technological studies. But there was still a link between the artisan and the executive to forge. He referred to the foreman class, and strongly advocated the provision of more technical high schools from which this class would be recruited. In this process of industrialization this country could help India in no uncertain manner. Young British technologists would find in India a wonderful field if they were prepared to go out there and do pioneer work and take an active part in the social life of the country. He thought that the scientist and technologist was beginning to come into his own in India.

He desired to add some support to what Mr. Foot had just said. He wanted to see more mixed clubs. In Delhi all their clubs were mixed, both as regards sex and race, and were all the better for it.

Mr. MICHAEL HIRTZEL said as a member of the European Association how very gratified his fellow-members would be when they received in India excerpts from this excellent paper. Certainly at times in India they felt that they were rather a forgotten community. That, of course, was inevitable, for this nation had a happy habit of forgetting its nationals scattered about in various parts of the world. But he could say that the British community in India were immensely heartened when the late Lord Craigmyle spoke on their behalf in the House of Lords two years ago. He was sure that, whatever criticism there might have been, all thinking people in their community realized that they had not in any sense forfeited the confidence of bodies such as this during the past five years out in India. It had meant much to them to be out there and to be doing what they felt to be their bit in the sum of things. Mr. Lawson had given some detailed facts and figures, but all the same it was difficult for those at home to appreciate the nature of the task. For instance, he had the good fortune to work for one of the larger firms in the Inchcape group who had been responsible *inter alia* for operating the river services over the whole of eastern India. That had been an enormous undertaking vitally connected with the war effort on the Burma front. But even in India itself far too little was known, even though it seemed that more could have been disclosed without damage to military interests, and here at home very few appreciated what the river services had contributed from the strategic point of view to the defence of India.

That was one of the instances where the British in India, greatly cut down in personnel, had been carrying on a vital task. It was the second time in thirty years, he supposed, that British concerns of that type had been called on to assist military activities. Exactly the same thing happened in Mesopotamia in the last war. The British nation could not afford, however much it might disregard or criticize its nationals from day to day, to see them shut out of various foreign countries and particularly out of the East. One did feel out there that it was very essential that they should continue to retain the support—silent it might be but very real—of Associations such as this.

One other respect in which bodies such as this could assist was in respect of the Administration. He was very glad Mr. Foot had referred to reconstruction after the war. They had all of them had brought to their notice frequently immense plans for the development of India. Those plans, so far as one could see, were likely to remain entirely paper plans unless something was done to improve the Administration. They had been fortunate in Bengal in having the advice of the Rowlands Committee, and there was some prospect when he left India of that Committee's recommendations being put into effect. It was of the utmost importance that attention should be concentrated on the Administration, whether manned by Indian or British. The civilian population all stood or fell by that. The Administration was now inevitably showing signs of the strain it had had to bear, and it was of great importance that it should be maintained at a reasonable level for the future because it was only so that the developments to which the British had contributed in the past could be continued in the future.

He wished to mention also a further point. It would be pleasing to that audience to know that they in Calcutta as well as in other centres had not lost sight of the question of amenities for Indian troops. They realized more than the public at home how much they owed to them and had done their best to help to provide amenities for Indian troops as well as British under the leadership of Lady Reid in particular.

Dr. RANJEE SHAHANI said that it so happened that not very long ago he went to see an English friend and his wife who asked him what he thought of the English. He told them, and then the lady said, "Surely you cannot have a good word to say about the Anglo-Indians. We despise them; we think they are a disgrace to us in India." That sort of feeling did exist in this country about the English in India, so that he was glad the speaker of the afternoon had taken advantage of Chinese wisdom and blown his own trumpet! There was not the slightest doubt that British men and women in India had done for the war effort what they could in the circumstances. But surely this was their plain duty. He was more interested in the fact that the British in India were not in any way a stumbling-block to Indian progress. They were on the whole progressive, and that was a very good sign. But they must begin to think of their place in the India of tomorrow. It all depended on themselves. As Mr. Foot had said, the British in India had to create friendships for themselves. This was not particularly difficult if they exercised their well-known powers of charm. Indeed, there was a fund of goodwill in India for the British. Even the advanced politicians over there had no hatred of the British as such. He remembered Colonel Lawrence once saying, "The less you know the British the better you like them." He was utterly wrong. When one saw the British for the first time one was not attracted by them; they were apt to seem stiff, aloof, or aggressive, but on getting to know them better one found how very human they were. "The place of the British in India is one they are able to make for themselves. Do not let the Americans run away with it."

Mr. EDWIN HAWARD said that they had heard from the author of the unfortunate emphasis laid on the "black sheep" in the British family abroad. Let them get down to actualities. The story was quite a short one. Extraordinarily inaccurate impressions were telegraphed about British men and women in the Far East. It was said that English women in Singapore would not give up their tennis and bridge for war work; yet to his knowledge the English women there worked hard for the Red Cross. General Jardine, Director of Army Welfare, gave an interview in which very direct attacks were made on the British women in India. The facts on which such critics based their attacks were not accurate. Action should be taken to deter people in responsible positions from making statements on imperfect bases of information. A friend of his had been writing for a world-famous newspaper which was taken as a guide by benighted editors abroad, and he was horrified to find that when in perfect good faith he made a misstatement of fact in a leading article and subsequently corrected it he could never track down the original inaccuracy. It was always ahead of him. He would find newspapers in South America or China or somewhere else repeating the mistake to which he had innocently given currency. The impressions Mr. Lawson had referred to would never have got abroad if the initial errors had not been made.

Sir LIONEL HAWORTH said that most of the speakers in that discussion had been in India recently. He himself went to India fifty years ago. He wanted to explain one thing Mr. Lawson said and to meet the objection which speakers had made on the subject of entertainment of Indian people. When he went to India—and he served thirty-five years out there—it was impossible for any white man to enter an Indian house and be received by the lady of the house. It was only during the last few years that entertainment such as would be given in England could be given in Indian homes. He himself had very great friends among Hindus, Prime Ministers of Indian States; he had been to their houses frequently, but had never met one of their wives. He used to play tennis constantly with an Indian maharaja, and when he got to know him very well indeed he was allowed to play tennis with his wife, but it was a very ex-

ceptional thing. The European community could not be blamed if they had been slow in responding. In Persia, where he had spent a large portion of his service, the purdah system had disappeared in the last fifteen to twenty years. Before he left Persia he went to lunch occasionally with a Persian lady, but it was a thing to be talked about. No Persian lady ever came to his house to see his wife if he was there.

The same was true of India. Therefore he did not think it was fair to blame the British community for want of entertainment when it was only during the last ten or fifteen years that there could be any reception in Indian houses. Previous speakers had said that those who went out for commercial houses should be instructed in these matters before they went. That was very right and proper, but only within the last fifteen years was it possible for them to make use of such instruction supposing it to have been given. The fact that social intercourse was now possible was one of the greatest tributes to British influence.

A second point he wanted to make turned upon Mr. Lawson's remark about the slightness of any reference in the newspapers to what the people in India had done for the Indian, the American, or the British troops who had been there on service. He himself occasionally wrote in the papers, and a short time ago the sub-editor of one of the leading papers told him, "You know, people in general are absolutely bored about India. They yawn at the mention of the word 'India,' and, to tell you the truth, I yawn too. If you could write anything that would interest me about India you may be sure I would publish it, because if it interests me it will interest the general public." "Anything about India makes them yawn." He thought that was why tit-bits were published. It was like the old story: if a dog bit a man it was not news, but if a man bit a dog it was. If women went to work for the Red Cross it was no news at all, but if a woman refused to work for the Red Cross it would stop people yawning.

The same complaint had been made, in a rather different way, about the Potsdam conference then sitting. Because no news of any value was available as to what was happening, the papers put in ridiculous items about the food the delegates ate and the sheets they slept in. It was news, and the ordinary person was interested to learn any triviality about the doings of Mr. Truman, though if it had been said that Mr. Truman was hard at work at the conference table he would have been bored. Anything amusing and, above all, anything personal was sure of being read. There had been some comment which, as Mr. Haward had said, was purely malicious.

Mr. LAWSON, in reply, first referred again to the paper read by Mrs. Portal to the Association in May, 1943. A copy of his own paper was sent to Mrs. Portal, who replied that she only took serious objection to one thing in his remarks about her paper—namely, that her observations had been based more on theory than on wide experience. He did not mean to imply that Mrs. Portal had not had wide experience of India; she had. What he wished to draw attention to was that he maintained that the British had been of practical good to the country, and no amount of theory would alter that fact. Nor would any amount of chat about social relations alter it. There were all over India memorials to the good that the British had done to the country. For that reason he did not intend to be drawn into any discussion about social relations. Much had been said—and he supposed it would go on being said—about the exclusive Britisher. His work was mainly carried out with Indians, and certainly during most of his time in Delhi he was sitting with and talking to Indians.

He admitted that there were faults on the British side. The British did not learn languages easily, and, of course, they were shy—shy rather than exclusive. But he sometimes asked himself why, in view of the fact that that criticism was always being put to him, he had never found himself in the position of putting the same criticism to Indians. One heard the criticism on the one side, but seldom on the other, and he thought in all fairness they must say with Sir Lionel Haworth that there was certainly another side to the story. Sir Lionel Haworth's remarks about news were equally true. Unless something striking happened it did not get much into the news, but the fact that only the "striking" things were published threw the whole picture out of balance.

He thanked his audience for the patience and kindness with which they had listened to him, and he hoped he had done something to redress what had hitherto been a very unfair balance of statement.

Sir HUBERT CARR conveyed the thanks of the meeting to Mr. Charles Lawson for his paper. He said that it was fifteen years since Mr. Lawson first came home to help their little team which was working on the Constitution eventually embodied in the 1935 Act. He had greatly enjoyed the paper, and if it had been something in the nature of a "cornet solo" he was all the more pleased, and he felt proud to belong to that community of which Mr. Lawson had spoken so eloquently.

The vote of thanks was accorded unanimously, and the meeting terminated.

THE SEVENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

FOR THE YEAR ENDING APRIL 30, 1945

WITHIN a week of the close of the year under report the war in Europe was ended by the unconditional surrender of the German armed forces. The difficulties of carrying on activities in London during more than five and a half years of war were in some respects intensified in recent months. In the summer and autumn flying bombs hurtled over some of our meetings, and finally there came the menace of the rockets, unheralded by siren warnings. Despite the handicaps of war-time, every announced arrangement for meetings was carried out.

The programme of the year was thoroughly topical. A foremost place was given to the vast contribution of India to the war effort. In October, with the valued assistance of Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth, then Secretary of the Military Department, India Office, three distinguished members of the Indian fighting services gave brief addresses on the respective contributions of those arms—Commander T. S. Hall, C.I.E., on the Royal Indian Navy; Major Sarabjit Singh Kalha, D.S.O., on the Indian Army; and Squadron-Leader K. K. Majumdar, D.F.C., on the Indian Air Force (subsequently designated Royal). By the death on service in February of the last-named officer a career of great promise was cut short. In July the late Major Yeats Brown, of *Bengal Lancer* fame, read a paper entitled "With the Indian Soldier Today," which epitomized the thrilling and glorious story of the exploits of the three fighting Services of India given in his posthumously published *Martial India*. His recent death is greatly to be regretted, for in him India has lost a good friend. These meetings were fitly presided over by two former Commanders-in-Chief in India—the first named by F.-M. Sir Philip Chetwode and the second by F.-M. Lord Birdwood. There was similar appropriateness in the chairmanship of our President, Major-General Sir Frederick Sykes, when, at the end of October, Wing-Commander W. W. Russell gave, in greater detail than was possible at the composite meeting early in the month, "The Story of the Indian Air Force"—for, as Sir John Cumming remarked at the close of the discussion, if there is anyone entitled to be called the father of military flying it is our President.

Earlier in the year Sir Firozkhan Noon, Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, gave an authoritative outline of the plans of Government for absorbing into the post-war fabric the demobilized Service men, numbering possibly one and a half million, by resettlement on the land, employment on the expanding industries of the country and the creation of small businesses. The theme was further developed in January by Brigadier F. L. Brayne. He dwelt on the necessity of transforming the rural areas by the agency of the returned soldiers, who had during the war years gained both breadth of view and experience of different countries. Brigadier

Brayne's devoted labours for rural uplift in the Punjab over many years are widely known, and he is serving at A.H.Q., New Delhi, in connection with post-war re-settlement and planning.

Much was heard in the autumn of the drawbacks of life in India for the British soldier in war-time, and the insufficiency of amenities such as are provided in other bases or theatres of war. In December, Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Stevens, joint author of the booklet *The Tiger Kills*, was to lecture on this subject, but as meantime Lord Munster had gone to India and Burma on a mission of investigation, he devoted his remarks mainly to the theory that, with organization and due encouragement, the British soldier, representing in these days of conscription a cross-section of home life, could play a fruitful part in the development of cordial relations between the British and Indian peoples.

War-time conditions in Baluchistan—a portion of India of which little has been heard, but which at the beginning of the world conflict was of great strategical importance—were expounded in January by Sir Aubrey Metcalfe, lately Agent to the Governor-General and Chief Commissioner in the Province. Reference was also made to the North-West Frontier, where the tribal areas, in Sir Aubrey's words, have been "remarkably peaceful and well behaved" in the war years.

The necessity for long-term as well as short-term planning for the post-war years was kept steadfastly in view. In May, Mr. R. A. Butler, the Education Minister, fresh from piloting his Education Act, presided at a meeting when Mr. John Sargent, Educational Adviser to the Government of India, unfolded the far-reaching proposals issued by the Central Advisory Board of Education. He said that the aim of the Committee was not to prescribe an ideal system, but to outline the minimum programme of development which would place India on an approximate educational level with other countries.

In the following month Mr. B. S. Saklatvala expounded the important "Bombay Plan" of economic development issued by a number of leading Indian industrialists, which took priority among various non-official schemes put forward. Early in July, at the annual meeting, Professor A. V. Hill, M.P., Secretary of the Royal Society, based his talk, "India: Scientific Development or Disaster," on his tour of the country at the invitation of the Government. His grave warnings attracted much attention. When several eminent Indian scientists came to this country in the autumn, Sir Shanti S. Bhatnager delivered a forceful lecture on "Science and Industrial Progress in the New India." At this meeting Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made an important statement emphasizing the earnest desire of H.M. Government to assist in the development of Indian industries to the full, and expressing his belief that British industrialists also desired to co-operate in the process.

The latter view was confirmed in an informative and reassuring survey in February of "Britain's Indian Market: Past, Present and Future," by Sir Thomas Ainscough, speaking from the unrivalled experience of twenty-seven years' tenure as H.M. Senior Trade Commissioner in India, Burma and Ceylon. Further in this connection, the Bevin training scheme and its relation to Indian industrial development were set forth in April by Mr. E. Watson Smyth, an engineer by profession, who during the war years has been at the Ministry of Labour and National Service in charge of many training schemes. A number of Indian trainees belonging to the twelfth batch of "Bevin Boys" attended, and testimony came from various quarters as to the bearing and abilities of the young men. Responsible speakers expressed the view that the scheme would be valuable in helping to stabilize and improve trade union organization in India. There were pleas that the Bevin scheme should be extended in an upward direction.

The future constitution of India was much in mind on various occasions. In July, Sir William Barton read a paper on "Princes and Politics," which stressed the importance of the States in the India of the future and the need for progress in the less advanced of them. The close connection between rural reconstruction and the political future of India was discussed in a broad-minded way in November by Dr. J. Z. Hodge, late Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon. The political and constitutional background was included when in February Sir Evelyn Wrench, the founder of the Overseas League and the English-

Speaking Union, gave his impressions of two and a half war years in India. In April, Mr. A. K. Pillai, who had been representing in this country for fifteen months the Indian Radical Democratic Party, outlined a "Political Plan for India," and stated that his Party stood for strong support of the war effort and for democratic non-communalism.

At two other meetings of the year discussion was necessarily limited mainly to experts. The first, in May, was a plea for extensive reform in the Indian judicial system by Sir John Beaumont, late Chief Justice of Bombay, and now a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The second, in November, was an informative lecture on "Broadcasting to India," by Professor Rushbrook Williams, who had recently retired from war-time tenure of the post of Director of Eastern Services, B.B.C.

Another subject of general interest was in the programme. At a meeting held in March jointly with the Royal Society of Arts the Association sponsored an expert plea for the provision of an Oriental cultural centre in London from Mr. F. H. Andrews, formerly Curator of the Lahore Museum, and later of the Stein collection at New Delhi.

Sir John Woodhead, Chairman, and Sir Atul Chatterjee, a Vice-Chairman of the Council, were members of Lord Zetland's Committee, which was appointed by the Secretary of State for India to consider the question of an Oriental Centre in London, and they were thus in a position to bring to the notice of the Committee the views of the Association on the subject. It is understood that the Report of the Committee was submitted during the winter, but it has not yet been published.

Reference should be made to the invitation the Council received to state its views to the inter-departmental Commission under the chairmanship of Lord Scarbrough (formerly Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay) to consider the facilities in this country for the study of Oriental, Slavonic and East European languages and culture. A memorandum was prepared by the Council, and was later amplified at a meeting of a section of the Commission. In this memorandum, among other suggestions, reference was made to the need for provision for British women going out to India to undertake some preliminary study of life and thought in that country. The Association was also asked for its views on far-reaching proposals of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal on cultural organization in India, and a sympathetic reply was sent.

The outstanding social function of the year was the reception given at the Imperial Institute in June to the two representatives of India in the Imperial War Cabinet—H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Sir Ferozkhan Noon—when some 300 guests were present. Such gatherings are made possible by the generous grants for hospitality of H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda and H.H. the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior. A contribution was also made by the National Indian Association. The Council further acknowledges with warm thanks a donation of £100 from H.H. the Maharaja of Gondal shortly after succeeding his father, who was also a helpful friend of the Association.

The growth of membership continued, for there were ninety-four elections as compared with eighty-three in the previous year. Losses by death, revision of the rolls and a few resignations left the net gain of the year as sixty-one. The representative character of the new members, headed by the name of General Sir Claude Auchinleck, Commander-in-Chief in India, can be seen from Appendix B. The total amount received from subscriptions (excluding those of life members which are put to capital account) substantially surpassed the record figure of the previous year by reaching the total of £1,119 os. 10d.

The redemption of £250 5 per cent. Conversion Stock, the favourable financial position, and the refund of income-tax over a series of years, enabled the Council to purchase £1,250 3 per cent. Savings Bonds. It also allocated £500 of the assets to the establishment of a Staff Gratuity and Pensions Fund. By the death of Sir Clement Hindley we lost the senior Trustee of the funds. Sir Gilbert Wiles and Sir Robert Reid have accepted election as new trustees. Sir Gilbert Wiles and Mr. G. H. Langley were appointed auditors of the accounts for 1944-5, and the thanks of the Council are conveyed to them.

The Right Hon. Sir John Anderson, Chancellor of the Exchequer, has continued

to take an interest in the work of the Association, and has accepted appointment as a vice-president.

The hand of death deprived the Council of two valued colleagues—Sir Ernest Hotson and Sir Courtenay Latimer. Sir Hassan Suhrawardy and Mr. P. K. Dutt resigned on return to India, and Sir Idwal Lloyd also retired on removing from London. The Council had the pleasure of welcoming back to its deliberations Sir Hubert Carr, after five years' absence from London on official work. The Council also co-opted Sir Torick Ameer Ali (late Judge of the Calcutta High Court), Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth, Mr. J. K. Michie and Brigadier F. G. Smyth, v.c. The members of Council retiring by rotation, but eligible for re-election, are: Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Sir Louis Dane, Lady Hartog, Mr. F. Richter, Sir Samuel Runganadhan and Sir Gilbert Wiles.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate or candidates for election to the Council at the Annual General Meeting, subject to fifteen days' notice being given to the Honorary Secretary.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to Sir Thomas Smith for his assiduous work in representing the Association from the outbreak of war on the Executive and Finance Committees of the Empire Societies' War Hospitality Committee.

Sir John Woodhead has been in India since July as Chairman of the Commission of Inquiry into the causes of the famine in Bengal and other parts of India. His absence enables his colleagues to pay tribute to the great value of his services as Chairman of Council during five war years. He has devoted a great deal of time to the work of the Association and taken a deep and sustained interest in all matters relating to the effective maintenance of its work.

It is the agreeable duty of the Council to tender its very grateful thanks to the Honorary Secretary, Sir Frank Brown, for the zeal and industry with which he has continued to look after the affairs of the Association. Our meetings and other functions owe a great part of their success to the tact, knowledge and experience of Sir Frank Brown, and the notable increase in membership during the war years is also a striking testimony to his devotion to the work of the Association.

ATUL C. CHATTERJEE }
T. SMITH } *Vice-Chairmen.*

F. H. BROWN, *Hon. Secretary.*

May 30, 1945.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

THE annual meeting of the Association was held at the Royal Empire Society, Northumberland Avenue, W.C. 2, on Friday, July 20, 1945, with the President, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., K.C.B., G.M.G., in the chair.

THE PRESIDENT said that at the annual meeting last year he congratulated members and their friends on being present in disregard of the constant peril of V-1 attacks; that day they were meeting without such menace, although they were only too conscious that in the Far East, and with India as a main base, there was still a grim war to fight.

Great pride was felt at the part which India had played in the greatest war of human history, and at the conclusion of the business of the meeting General Sir Mosley Mayne, who had taken an honourable part in it, would give an account of India's invaluable contribution to the gigantic efforts of the last six years. He would speak in the presence of two Field-Marsals and ex-Commanders-in-Chief in India, Lord Birdwood and Lord Chetwode. Another visitor he warmly welcomed

was His Excellency the Nepalese Minister, whose country had done so much through the indomitable Gurkha soldiers to help in so many fields to attain victory. General Mayne would also speak in the presence of one of the great Princes of India who had given such unstinted and wholehearted support to Britain and her Allies and not least to India herself in the war effort, His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, who had reached this country just in time to share in the rejoicings on V-E day. He had since come into personal touch with the R.A.F. Squadron he provided early in the war and which had an excellent operational record. Its officers and serving echelons had enjoyed his hospitality on several occasions and were proud to be identified with his progressive State. The President also took the opportunity of thanking His Highness for maintaining the generosity of his great predecessor, Sayaji Rao III, in making an annual grant of £50 to the Association for hospitality purposes—a most valuable aid to the work. This grant, together with a similar one from His Highness the Maharaja Sindhia of Gwalior, enabled the Association to have social contacts, and it was because of this that the annual meeting was open to friends of members on the understanding, of course, that they took no part in any voting that might be required.

Members had received and would no doubt have read the Annual Report. Probably for the first time in the history of the Association it did not bear the signature of a Chairman of Council. The explanation was that Sir John Woodhead had spent the past twelve months in India on the laborious task of presiding over the Commission of Inquiry into the late famine in Bengal and some other parts of India. Even the brief summaries published in the Press in this country showed that he and his colleagues had done their work thoroughly and that, in the old legal phrase, they had passed judgment on the available data "without fear or favour, affection or ill-will." This was what was to be expected of a distinguished Yorkshireman. It was hoped to welcome Sir John back today, but he had not yet reached this country. Lady Woodhead, who had intended to be present, had been kept at home by the birth of a grandson, and the meeting would wish to express their congratulations on this event. Sir John Woodhead had been much missed, but happily the Council had been well served in his absence by the two vice-chairmen, Sir Atul Chatterjee and Sir Thomas Smith.

There was every reason to hope that the steady advance in membership, recorded in the later war years, would continue into the years of peace. The number of members elected during the past year was 92 and the total was now nearly 1,000.

The programme of papers and discussions had been both varied and topical, and reliance had been placed, as far as possible, on lecturers and speakers fresh from India. Sir Frederick James, who helped materially in this way, wrote in a farewell letter: "May I add a word of admiration for the splendid work which the Association is doing in helping people in the United Kingdom to keep abreast of the rapidly changing India of today? It is a real public service to both countries." Sir Frederick James's lecture at the beginning of May indicated the possibility of the formation of a National Government following on the visit of the Viceroy to this country, and later events showed that he was nearer the mark than might have been thought at the time. It had fallen to himself to explain the background of the Simla Conference in the current number of the *New English Review*.

The membership represented varying points of view on Indian problems, but he felt he could speak in the name of the vast majority, and indeed of all members, in expressing regret that the conference, while marking a great advance in that the parties met together for discussion, did not achieve the immediate objective. Sympathy was felt for the Viceroy in the failure of his patient and earnest efforts, but there would be entire agreement with him in the final words of his closing speech: "Do not any of you be discouraged by this set-back. We shall overcome our difficulties in the end. The future greatness of India is not in doubt."

The Annual Report gave a list of Members of Council retiring by rotation but eligible for re-election. One of them, Sir Louis Dane, was resigning on grounds of age. He was for nine years Chairman of the Council, and thanks were due to him for his keen interest in the work of the Association which he had maintained into his ninetieth year. Since the report was issued the Association had lost by death one

of its senior Vice-Presidents—Lord Crewe. His membership dated back almost to the first decade of this century, and he presided at one of the meetings a few years ago.

No annual meeting of the Association could possibly disperse without recording the invaluable and indefatigable work of its good friend, Honorary Secretary and gentle dictator, Sir Frank Brown. The members thanked him and hoped that he would be able to help the Association for many more years to come. The President asked Sir Frank to convey to Mr. King the members' grateful thanks for all that he had done.

Finally, he was happy to welcome the Dowager Marchioness of Reading, who was in India last cold weather in connection with her highly successful work for the last six years as head of the W.V.S. for Civil Defence.

Lady READING, in moving the adoption of the Annual Report, said that she felt it an honour to do so, particularly since her short visit to India at the beginning of the year. She covered 18,000 miles between December 15 and January 15, and was deeply impressed and thrilled by what she saw after twenty years' absence from India. A great many of the seeds being planted then were obviously beginning to bear fruit. She felt that New Delhi was a beautiful monument of a conception of long ago which had given ideas and ideals which had begun to be attained.

Looking through the report one realized that every one of the talks of the year had been on the forward policy which all were watching so carefully. There was no one present who was not acutely aware of the area problems. Resettlement was a matter of extreme interest and great anxiety; the question of science as applied to industrial research, the question of industrial relations, the question of public relations were all things which made people realize that they were not just talking platitudes, but were trying to lay the foundations for great understanding of and the solution of problems. There could not be a single person either in this country or in India who was not aware of the pregnancy of the great things of the future, and if these things had been tackled early and with care by members of the Association many ideals would have become hard facts. As Chairman of the W.V.S. she had come into touch with the Indian trainees in this country, and in every case she was very glad to see the people in her own service working to a closer understanding of one and the other problem with an application to fact not always evident in the past.

In conclusion, she also wished to pay a tribute to the work of Sir Frank Brown for the Association.

H.H. The MAHARAJA OF BARODA, in seconding the resolution, said that in former years he sometimes accompanied his grandfather and great predecessor on his visits to this country and became aware of the interest he took in the work of the Association and the regularity with which he read its proceedings in the *ASIATIC REVIEW*. On more than one occasion he presided at the Association's meetings. The relations between Baroda and the Association went back for many years. His grandfather was one of the Vice-Presidents for more than half a century, and he saw that the Association could play a valuable part in promoting the welfare of India and that it could do so not only by the open discussion of Indian problems but also by bringing Indians and British together on mutual terms. It was for the latter purposes that Sayaji Rao III had made the great of £50 per annum for hospitality, and it had been his own pleasure to continue that grant. It was a matter of great importance that the developments in India today should be known and appreciated in this country, and he wished to pay his tribute to the way in which the Association was doing this valuable work.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE proposed the re-election of the President for the ensuing year. He did not think he need enumerate the various qualities and qualifications of Sir Frederick Sykes. His great and abiding interest in the welfare of India was well known, and during the three years since Sir Frederick Sykes was elected the Council as well as the Association had been greatly indebted to him for his guidance and counsel. He had never refused or declined, in spite of his numerous engagements, to give assistance whenever he was asked for it for the purpose of carrying on the work

of the Association. He had wished to be relieved at the end of three years, but he had been persuaded to agree to continue to be the President for another year. It was hoped that the Association would have the benefit of his advice, guidance and counsel for much longer than that.

LORD HAILEY seconded the proposal. He thought perhaps it might have been framed not so much in the form of a resolution as in the form of a request by the Association to Sir Frederick to continue duties which might have been a burden to him, but which placed the Association under a great obligation to him.

The resolution was put to the meeting and declared by Sir Atul Chatterjee to be carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT, acknowledging, thanked Sir Atul Chatterjee and Lord Hailey for their kind remarks and the Association for continued confidence in him. He would do his utmost to promote the interests of the Association.

SIR JOHN CUMMING said that his task was simply to propose that four members of the Council who had been co-opted during the past year be approved and that six members who retired by rotation should be re-elected. The four members for confirmation were Sir Torick Ameer Ali, Mr. J. K. Michie, General Molesworth and Brigadier J. G. Smyth, v.c., and no words were needed to commend the acceptance of the proposal. The retiring members were Sir William Barton, Sir Frank Brown, Lady Hartog, Mr. Richter, Sir Samuel Runganadhan and Sir Gilbert Wiles, and were all well known to the members. With regard to Sir Louis Dane, who was retiring, it was fifty years since the speaker first met him in Peshawar in the N.W. Frontier Province, and he had always had a very great affection for him. He was Governor of the Punjab more than a generation ago, and he had served his country not only in the Punjab but in England, Ireland and Kashmir.

LORD SINHA seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

THE PRESIDENT, in calling upon Sir Mosley Mayne for his address on India's war effort, said that General Mayne was General Officer Commanding in Chief the Eastern Command, in India, the Command which bore the initial brunt of the war against Japan. Since leaving India he had been Secretary of the Military Department of the India Office and was in close touch with current events in the Far East and East, and there was no one better able to speak of the matter under discussion. The Indian Army continued to gather and win fresh laurels in the Far East war, a fact that had never been fully recognized either in this country or in the world. It was most important that what India had done and was doing should be given the greatest publicity. The efforts of the Indian Army would form an integral part of Indian history which he hoped would never be ignored or forgotten or even belittled. Some thirty v.c.s had been won by Indians and Gurkhas, and there were amazing citations of sheer heroism attached to them.

Behind the forces in the field the great industrial cities of India had been working day and night. India had become the centre of eastern supplies, and no one could say too much in favour of India's tremendous effort which had been so valuable in this war.

SIR MOSLEY MAYNE's address is given from page 321. After the delivery the PRESIDENT thanked him most cordially and hoped that all the facts and figures and the opinions which he had voiced would be spread far and wide, as they deserved to be.

A social hour and the serving of tea followed.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

JAPAN: A PROBLEM IN RECONSTRUCTION

BY T. R. G. LYELL

LET us suppose a potter is presented with a certain oddly shaped vessel, broken and cracked in several parts but retaining certain elements, whether of shape or design, of undeniable beauty and charm. He is asked to repair and reshape it according to a new pattern, but to be specially careful not in any way to change or damage those beautiful elements which must be retained in the final result. Surely an almost impossible task! He would first have to learn all he could as to the origin of the broken specimen, particularly the nature of the clay used in its manufacture, the technique of its moulding and decoration as also the purpose for which it was designed. To fulfil the condition and to succeed in turning out the vessel in the shape desired would certainly be a work of insuperable difficulty.

This is something akin to what the Allies are pledged to do with Japan, but with this difference—that in the place of the plastic and passive substance of clay there is the unpredictable reaction of the human element to an unwilling and hated operation, not to mention the quite unforeseeable behaviour of that odd phenomenon, the Japanese Spirit, or “Yamato Damashii.”

The Japanese claim that they are a peculiar people, different in kind from all other nations, and of course far superior. They base this claim on their divine origin, both the country and its inhabitants being the offspring of the gods, while their ruler is the last of an unbroken line of divine Emperors who trace their lineage direct from the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-o-mi-Kami.

Now their claim to be unique among the nations of the world is, to a great extent, true, though not in the way nor for the reasons that they affirm. For not only do they share the difference between the Oriental and Occidental common to all Far Eastern peoples, but they also show characteristics quite distinct from those of their racial neighbours. For example, there is an immaturity, an odd childishness in the Japanese when compared to the mellow dignity of the Chinese outlook. But contrast the Japanese power of organisation, of selecting a goal and driving straight at it, of quick, incisive thinking, with the Chinese vagueness, love of argument and *laissez faire*, and we realize how vastly different they are from their continental “cousins.”

The Japanese character has been formed and developed under the pressure of two forces, cultural or perhaps religious, and political.

To a very great extent the Japanese are mentally still in the tribal stage, and this is largely due to Shinto, the Japanese form of Ancestor Worship. Owing to this the individual Japanese thinks of himself, not as an individual, but as one of a group, and all his actions and general outlook on life are basically affected by this conception. The primary group is, of course, the Family, a term which includes all relatives connected through the male line. The ethical code holding the group together is that known as “Filial Piety.”

For well over a thousand years the Japanese people have been ruled by this unwritten law, the essential of which is loyalty to the group expressed in an unquestioning, unreasoning and slavish obedience to the command of authority and the infallible voice of tradition. On the political side it must be remembered that, from 1100 to 1868 Japan was organized under a military feudalism. At the head was the Dictator, the *Shogun*, his administration being known by the name of *Bakufu* or Military Headquarters. Of these 700 years no less than five hundred were taken up by almost unceasing inter-clan and civil wars.

These two factors then—the religious and the political—had the effect of exalting the virtue of loyalty to the overshadowing of all other qualities, of intensifying the clan or group spirit and mentality, and of elevating the military caste and all that it stood for to a position of unassailable superiority.

In 1868 occurred that event known as the Restoration of the Emperor Meiji. By a stroke of the pen the old feudal organization was abolished and Japan entered on

her "modern" phase with all the appearances of a democratic Government. But for the two hundred years immediately preceding this vital date the country had been completely isolated, having closed its doors to every possible contact with other peoples. This had the inevitable result; while the rest of the world was advancing as never before, the old primitive beliefs and ideals of Japan were becoming more concentrated and crystallized.

It is true that during the past eighty years Japan has been greatly influenced by her ever increasing relationships with the rest of the world. But to expect all memories, traditions, customs and points of view of hundreds of years to be suddenly transformed by a political revolution is as absurd as it is optimistic to hope that a few decades of imported foreign influence, habits and customs will produce a fundamental alteration in the psychological make-up. In addition to which it must not be forgotten that during the last ten years the people of Japan have been subjected to an unceasing barrage of atavistic propaganda to which they responded enthusiastically.

We are, in fact, dealing with a people the majority of whom still think along feudal lines, to whom the individualism of the West is anathema, and to whom an unthinking loyalty is the supreme virtue. It is these three facts that will make the re-education or reconstruction of Japan so supremely difficult an undertaking.

There is, however, a certain Japanese concept which suggests one line of approach. In Japan success partakes of a moral quality because it is regarded as resulting from the benevolent assistance of the gods, the Kami, who award it in recognition of good conduct. Failure, on the other hand, implies something wrong somewhere which has displeased the Kami. The majority of the peasantry will most probably be holding this view which, if rightly utilized by the Allied command, can obviously be of the greatest value.

The re-education of Japan will naturally fall into two parts: the destruction of all that has led her into the disastrous adventures of the past fifteen years, and the inculcating of new ideals, new aims and new methods of attaining thereto. It is clear that in the first stage the complete discrediting of the militarists, their following and all that they have stood for, must take a very high priority. Such obvious measures as emphasizing how the people have been lied to and deceived by the Army Press Headquarters, both before and during the war, will of course be taken; but the effect of this type of argument will quite likely be disappointing. A far more hopeful method will be the "Success and Failure" approach. For example, it may be pointed out how Japan's wonderful progress between 1870 and 1930 was while it was under a "democratic" régime. Its extraordinary powers of organization, as shown in its rapid building up of a sound administrative system on modern lines—its educational policy, its striking industrial and commercial success—all resulted from the working of the "democratic" constitution granted by the Emperor Meiji. It would then be shown how the military clique, determined to regain their old position as dictators of the country, gradually forced themselves into such power as to compel the Government to embark on perilous but showy adventures of aggrandisement; how they removed obstacles by the simple methods of murder and blackmail; and finally how they attained their objective—and with what result? The bitter humiliation of ruin and defeat; utter Failure!

In this great work of reconstruction there may be one danger which must not be lost sight of. The Japanese are an extremely emotional, though terribly repressed, people, and as such are liable to swing from one extreme to another. During the early '30s the Government authorities of Japan waged a merciless war against what was called "Dangerous Thoughts." Between 1933 and 1936, 59,000 culprits were arrested, most of them students. All underwent imprisonment and torture, under which some died. Of course everyone arrested was called "communist," and there unquestionably was a small party of that colour as distinct from the far more numerous, but equally "guilty," liberals. Some of the former were fortunate enough to escape to China, where they formed a Japanese Revolutionary Committee. At the moment there are actually three such committees working in different parts of China. They have already issued their manifestos and published their plans, and that they will find quite a number of adherents in a defeated Japan is certain. But a Communist movement of any strength would undoubtedly cause such disturbances

and unrest in the country as seriously to delay the peaceful progress of reconstruction and re-education. Care therefore will have to be taken that this re-education does not become a "red-ucation"; that the people are guided along a healthy and unprovocative middle course; and it will be no easy job!

This gives rise to the natural question as to whether Japan will be able to settle down to a new way of life without going through the horrors of open revolution. If this is to be avoided it will be essential to remove, so far as possible, the main causes of discontent—hunger, poverty and idleness with their inevitable accompaniment of epidemics and disease. Japan is mainly agricultural. At the moment there is a serious scarcity of foodstuffs, particularly of rice and fish, the staple articles of diet. The very inadequate supply of the former is due partly to the blockade, partly to lack of farm labour, but more particularly to lack of chemical fertilizers. Rice which should have been reserved for planting has been consumed. With demobilization there will be a greater influx into the countryside than ever before, for the destruction of so many factories will drive the workers back to the land—at least for some time to come. It would seem therefore that unless steps are taken—and taken as a matter of urgency—to supply the farmers with fertilizer and seed there will be a very real danger of creating a situation from which a serious revolution might well spring.

The most important instrument for moulding the new Japan will be Education—and that in its widest sense. The country's existing education system is as efficient a machine as can be desired. It starts with the primary school, compulsory for every child from 6 to 14, and continues through middle school (14-18), high school (18-20) to university (20-23). Every establishment is directly or indirectly under the control of the Ministry of Education (*Monbusho*), which attaches the highest importance to its normal schools for the training of its teachers. No teacher can be engaged by any school without a licence issued by the Ministry. Every textbook is under the same control. Thus the Government can ration the intellectual and cultural food of the people, both in regard to quality as to quantity, precisely as it desires. To scrap so efficient a machine would seem to be quite unnecessary, but to ensure the right engineers being in charge is obviously essential.

But certain changes will have to be effected in the inside working of schools and colleges. Some habits of thought and custom peculiarly Japanese must be eliminated. Thus the unfair influence through family relationship must be abolished—no easy task! As also what is known as the "Examination Hell" which leads many students into grave illness and some to suicide. Yet more difficult will it be to change the very aim to which hitherto all Japanese education has been directed. Instead of the object being to turn out good men and women it has been to turn out good Japanese—a vast difference! For remembering what has been said of the group mentality that runs through all Japanese psychology, the main idea has been to ensure that the student shall regard himself of value only as a member of a group and not as an individual. Hence all individualism, any talent or personal characteristic that may lead him to excel and thus differentiate him from his fellows, is deliberately discouraged and even suppressed. This largely accounts for the lack of originality with which Japanese scholarship is so often charged, while the loss to the nation has naturally been incalculable.

The people as a whole are enthusiastic listeners-in to the radio, and even the most remote villages have their loud-speaker. If—and this is an essential proviso—a well-planned broadcasting campaign is instituted, carefully thought out *by those who really understand something of Japanese psychology*, immense good will accrue. Cinema and theatre programmes will require the most careful censoring, for Japanese films concentrate on blood-curdling stories from the old days of feudal "chivalry" and the exalting of Samurai or militarist ideals. Similarly, too, the Kabuki stage presents dramas of which the plot almost invariably centres round such subjects, which, in the present circumstances, is wholly undesirable.

From the little that has been said then, it is clear that the reconstruction of Japan is going to be a task of tremendous complexity as of incalculable difficulty. By far the greater share of the work, if it is to be of real value, must be undertaken by the Japanese themselves. The most fundamental problem is that to the solution of which the only true approach is one of religion. It is the problem of converting the

"group" mentality to a healthy individualism—the emphasis being on the word "healthy"! The family system with its code of filial piety has produced qualities which in themselves are most admirable; among these stand out a wonderful capacity for utter self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, and a loyalty that, were it based on reason, would be a model for the world. Such virtues must not be lost, and one way of preserving them is to teach that system of ethics which, though based on the infinite value of the human, individual soul, inculcates self-denying love as the highest of all ideals—in other words, Christianity. The Japanese nature is one that, when convinced of the truth of an ideal, will both in practice as well as theory remain true to that ideal through thick and thin. Were Japan as a nation to become Christian it would be no mere nominal label, as it is so often in the West, but a very definite Way of Life. It is admittedly a subject of some delicacy, but we are faced with a problem in which a whole nation is making a new start, involving a complete change of heart and change of mind. Japan's much-boasted "New Order" is, in fact, to be set up in Japan itself. It may well be found that the best guide for the creation of that New Order is the New Testament!

THE NEED FOR CONTINUED AID TO CHINA

BY THE REV. NOEL SLATER

FREED from the invader at last, China is faced with a task of reconstruction and rehabilitation that would surely daunt any nation of lesser fibre than the Chinese.

Many of her great cities have been reduced to ruins; millions of houses have been destroyed; schools, colleges and universities have been wrecked. But the destruction of property, extensive as it has been, is of little consequence compared with the tremendous loss of life and the appalling effect of eight years of war upon the national health. Disease due to prolonged malnutrition and wartime privation generally is rife everywhere, but particularly in the areas of South-East China which have recently been liberated. The incidence of tuberculosis, as might be expected, is alarmingly high. Letters from infected students and others received by British United Aid to China through their correspondents in Chungking and elsewhere show clearly how grave is the situation in this respect.

The problem of feeding the people becomes progressively more difficult. Throughout the war the amount of food produced, thanks largely to a series of bounteous harvests, was generally adequate; the difficulty has always been to transport it, and the difficulty tends to become more acute.

Then there is the problem of the homeless. It is estimated that there are about 50,000,000 such persons in China to-day, more than the entire population of the United Kingdom.

The National Government has done its best in the field of relief and welfare work. The old and infirm and the sick have been given special attention, while from April, 1938, to the end of 1944 some nine million persons were given assistance of various kinds. A large part of the burden of relief, however, has of necessity fallen upon charity organisations. These have given much needed aid to more than twenty million persons, and, of course, this work is still going on.

Britain can be proud of the part played in relief work by British United Aid to China, which, as a result of the sustained generosity of the British public, has already allocated no less than £1,300,000 to the relief of distress through its voluntary committee in Chungking. These funds have been allocated irrespective of class, creed, and party, the sole consideration being that of need. Hospitals, medical schools, children's welfare societies, refugees, schools and colleges, women's welfare societies and a host of others have all been given valuable assistance. Gifts in kind include thousands of woollen garments for children and many tons of drugs, bandages and other medical supplies.

But British United Aid to China realizes to the full that this is no time to let up on this urgent work, and in a recent statement to the Press Lady Cripps, President of the Organization, emphasized the need for continued effort.

Some weeks before VJ Day British United Aid to China decided to inaugurate collection contributions in factories and other industrial establishments and to organize regular house-to-house collections throughout Britain such as were so successful in the case of the Red Cross Penny a Week Fund. This, of course, entails a big job of organization, and its full effect may not be observed for some time, but already it is bearing fruit.

Meantime the Organization, apprised by the Chungking Committee of the desperate situation in the liberated area, is taking steps to organize mobile Relief Team Spearheads to afford emergency relief where needed. These teams, working in close co-operation with UNRRA, will be recruited on the spot and will be financed by British United Aid to China. Other plans for long-term relief measures are being considered in association with UNRRA.

British United Aid to China must, however, continue to further the work of relief mainly by supporting with the necessary funds those many charitable bodies working in China and which have already done so much. This policy it will certainly carry out to the very limit of its capacity.

THE RECOVERY OF SINGAPORE

BY SIR FRANK SWETTENHAM, G.C.M.G., C.H.

THAT Singapore should be restored to the British Empire is cause for great thankfulness, and our sympathy is profound for the many thousands of British and other subjects, sailors, soldiers and civilians, men, women and children who, for the last three and a half years have endured the fiendish cruelties of a savage enemy. Great numbers of men have died under the hardships inflicted by the Japanese, and we may be fervently thankful that the day of release came much sooner than was expected by the most sanguine.

It was done by the fall of one—or at most two—atom bombs, and when one reads of the terrible havoc caused by those instruments of destruction one may feel that some of the shouts of victory have been overloud.

The Japanese have surrendered. They have preferred that course to seeing their cities wiped out of existence, their people killed by tens of thousands in a moment of time. Our armed forces have entered Singapore without the loss of a man, and it has been the same with the armies of our Allies in other places. But while the punishment of the Japanese people can hardly fail to strike horror, we must not forget the perpetual and long-drawn-out indignities, torment and murders committed by the Japanese soldiery and their masters. Moreover, the sudden end of hostilities will save the lives of hundreds—perhaps thousands—of men of the Allied nations, with consequent misery for their relatives and friends. The people of Japan, whether in their own country or abroad, do not strike the observer as savages, and crimes committed by their armed forces may be the result of training under arms—copied from the methods of their German allies—and taught by the military caste which for so long has dominated Japan.

We have yet to hear what is the condition of Singapore, but apparently the city has not been greatly damaged, and once free of the invaders and their malign influence it will soon return to the enjoyment of its old prosperity and regain its position as the great British port, market and distributing centre in the Far East.

The loss and the recovery of Singapore have drawn to it an attention which it never earned in over 100 years of its peaceful possession and occupation by the British.

That publicity is a good thing, for the colony—miscalled the Straits Settlements—has for long deserved that attention.

Singapore is only a small island, but it has a population of over 500,000 people, mainly Chinese. It has one great industry, tin-smelting, the work being carried on in a factory built on an island close to the important docks, coal sheds and ship-building and repairing shops. But behind Singapore there is a very important Hinterland, the Malay States, which are under British protection, and when left alone produce great quantities of tin and rubber to meet the urgent needs of the world, which has been deprived of the greater part of these commodities since January, 1942.

That the British people should endeavour to learn the truth about Singapore—and Malaya generally—can hardly be questioned. Many years ago a German merchant in Singapore said to me that the place was better known in Germany—and especially in Hamburg—than it was in England. Probably he was right then, but it should not be true now. Yet only last week I read an article in a London news sheet which contained ridiculous statements about Malayan rubber and tin, and described the administration of the colony, of which Singapore is the capital, as effete and out-of-date. Of course, the writer gave no reasons for his conclusions, but people who have lived and worked for years in Singapore would be amazed to read such ill-informed criticism. It may be hoped that when new brooms have swept every floor and new sponges wiped every slate, the wielders of these implements will then write the truth about Singapore.

SIAM—BUFFER STATE OR FEDERAL UNIT?

By E. W. HUTCHINSON

At the outbreak of war in 1939 the sovereign independence of Siam was still assured (at least on paper), first, by the Franco-British declaration of January, 1896, guaranteeing that neither England nor France would bring armed forces into the Menam drainage, excepting by mutual arrangement; secondly, by the London Convention of 1904, defining their respective spheres of influence on either side of the Menam watershed. During the succeeding decades the effect upon Siam of these arrangements was to convert her into a Buffer State, immune from attack, interposed between British and French territory in S.E. Asia. In 1917 Siam joined in the war against Germany, and in due course became a member of the League of Nations. She had developed an up-to-date Army and Air Force with modern equipment; owing, however, to the limitations inherent in a thinly populated area, Siam's armament was totally inadequate for the task of safeguarding 15 million souls against the armed strength of a major world Power. For this reason critics were heard to complain that revenue expended upon Siamese armaments was wasted, since physical circumstances were such as to preclude achievement of their essential object—the country's security. The combatant services, however, provided nationalist agitators with an instrument for glorifying their particular viewpoint. Such men spent the years before 1939 in advertising Siam's claim to "unredeemed territory" outside her respective frontiers with Malaya, French Indo-China and Burma; they replaced the ancient name of *Syam** with the hybrid *Thailand* in an attempt to foster solidarity with their kinsmen in those territories; their chauvinism was responsible for the Youth Corps (*Yuwachon*) which superseded the *Tiger Cubs* for the previous reign—the latter modelled on Baden Powell's *Scouts*, while Mussolini's *Battilla* inspired the Corps which supplanted the *Cubs*.

The effects of the 1929 financial crisis were not felt in Siam until 1931, at a time

* *Syam* appears on Cham inscriptions of the eleventh century two hundred years before the Southern Shan—*Syam*—asserted their freedom from Cambodian rule (*vide* R. J. Majumdar's *Champa*).

when the young Liberals were becoming restive at King Rama VII's delay in promulgating the Liberal Constitution which H.M. had long promised. The armed forces, discontented with the financial stringency imposed by the times, lent support to the Liberal "Promoters," without which the successful *coup d'état* of June, 1932, could not have been engineered. Among the "Promoters" are statesmen of vision and integrity whose personal qualities are largely responsible for the sympathetic attitude towards the new régime adopted by foreign commercial interests who, nevertheless, viewed its dependence upon the military with some concern. Luang Pibul (a former military contemporary of the young Liberals in Paris) came to the fore in 1933 as leader of the forces which crushed Prince Bovaradej's counter-coup. In the four years which followed he gained an ascendancy which developed into a dictatorship on Fascist lines—undoubtedly encouraged in every way by Japan. Japan's political significance for Siam was first appreciated in 1933 when the Thai delegates at Geneva refused to associate themselves with the protest led by Britain and France against Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Japan undoubtedly had agents at work in Siam, but there is no evidence that Pibul was one of them. On the contrary, so long as Britain and France were in a position to implement their Buffer-State policy the freedom of action it conferred upon Siam suited her better than dependence upon a single dominant Power—a policy that had been tried and failed 250 years earlier. In 1687-88 Siam, feeling threatened by the Netherlands, sought alliance with Holland's strongest enemy, France, but only obtained it at the price of admitting French troops into the country; this concession was repudiated by the Thai people, costing King Narai his throne and Phaulkon (the Greek adviser) his head.

Even in 1940, when France fell, the dictator still maintained friendly relations with Britain in the hope, apparently, that Japan would be content to take France's place *vis-à-vis* Britain in the East. Only in December, 1941, seeing British inability to withstand Japan's onrush, did he revert to the policy which had ruined King Narai. In acceding to the Japanese ultimatum, requiring use of Siamese territory for passage of their troops, he had no alternative; but his subsequent action was clearly the outcome of a belated decision to obtain the maximum that full collaboration with Japan would yield.

A single week of British reverses appears to have sufficed for him to rally a majority of his colleagues in support of an *entente* with Japan. Six weeks later he declared war on us in the hope, presumably, of obtaining the "unredeemed territories" which his previous platonic support had failed to win. The Japanese, however, kept him waiting another eighteen months, and only gratified him at last in a final bid to retain Siam's friendship during the twilight period then beginning to darken Japanese prospects of victory. In the summer of 1944 their prospects had become black enough to compromise Pibul's position with his own people. His proposal to move the capital from Bangkok was rejected by the Assembly, and his subsequent resignation was gladly accepted. His successor, Luang Kovit, managed to veil the country's growing sympathy with the Allies behind a façade of discreet loyalty to its moribund protector, Japan. The caretaker Government which replaced Kovit upon Japan's surrender in 1945 is expected to yield before long to leadership by eminent members of the Free Thai (Resistance) group.

The problem of Siam's future foreign policy remains to be considered. The Buffer-State policy is a fair-weather policy dependent upon the fortunes of its guarantors. If the major Powers are prepared to lead the way towards world stability by sacrificing some portion of their own national sovereignty, a similar sacrifice in the case of Siam—while leaving the internal administration to her own care—would align her in federation with her neighbours of S.E. Asia as equal members of a regional group among the United Nations. It has been objected that relations with her neighbours in the past were as stormy as those between England and Ireland. That is no argument against better understanding in a future freed from the menace of standing national armies and the chauvinism which their maintenance encourages. Common interests will be discovered under a unified economic system. A common bond already exists in the fear shared by Burma, Annam, Malaya and Siam lest the fate of the American Indians at the hands of the European colonists be repeated in their own lands and S.E. Asia become a Chinese colony.

THE ATTITUDE OF MALAYS TO THE WAR, 1941-2

BY TENGKU MAHMUD, M.B.E.

(The author was in Malaya to the end, when he was ordered to leave to accompany British women and children, and did fine rescue work when the evacuation ships were bombed.)

“How shall he clear himself, how reach
Your bar or weighted defence prefer?
A brother hedged with alien speech
And lacking all interpreter.
Which knowledge vexes him a space
But while reproof around him rings,
He turns a keen untroubled face
Home, to the instant need of things.”

KIPLING.

THE Malay associated British rule with security and justice. Had they not cleared the seas of pirates, stopped Chinese faction fights, brought to an end armed skirmishes between rival chiefs and instituted settled government with equal benefits to rich and poor? With organized security it was no longer necessary for a Malay to go about armed, as previously, for self-protection. In fact, it became a punishable offence. This sense of parochial security grew, and it was not until Axis might made itself felt that the Malay tempered his belief that the British were capable of challenging all comers and licking them.

To the remotest villages filtered stories of the rise of new parties in Europe and pictures of new death-dealing weapons. The Malay vernacular press featured pictures of Hitler and Mussolini hurling defiance to the rest of the world. In Germany, Italy, Spain there was much swashbuckling and talk of war. The Malay was too recently removed from the swashbuckling and dictatorship of his own chiefs not to be susceptible to such propaganda. The already efficient Axis propaganda organs were more than helped by the press of the world. Some bruited the power of the Axis with the sole purpose of warning purveyors of appeasement, others because of open sympathy for the Axis. If the powerful nations of the world were impressed and affrighted, is it to be wondered that a people newly weaned, in terms of history, from a primitive existence should be impressed too.

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia made a deep impression in Malaya, for it showed how useless it was for man to resist if he were not equipped and protected by the most modern weapons. Italy and Germany were clamouring in Europe, Japan was beginning to raise her voice about her Far East policy beyond the confines of her own country and England was still bent on a policy of appeasement. This the Malay could only attribute to England's inability to fight. Came the cataclysmic succession of events in Europe, from Munich to the fall of France. Never was England's prestige so low, but never before had it soared so rapidly as during the year she stood alone. Malay admiration and sympathy were high, but anxiety was still felt at England's ability to stay the course. The telling propaganda of Axis successes in Europe was further aided by subversive Japanese propaganda. Every country has its handful of potential turncoats, traitors and opportunists, and there is no doubt that in Malaya Japanese blandishments found a few receptive tools, not all Malays, and Japanese gold paid for their co-operation. Within a little while subversive propaganda gave away to direct, and within a few hours of the Japanese invasion of Malaya their leaflets and broadcasts promised death to the British who were responsible for the safety of the Malays. Military setbacks, civil confusion, the exodus of European women and children, and later the movement south of the civil administration contributed to lower the confidence of Malays. How many in England realize what a strong case the Malay has, especially the vast majority to whom it was impossible to explain the reason for the movement south to Singapore. Within a few hours of the

first bombs shipping offices were inundated with enquiries for passages away. Not many hours afterwards started the exodus. The Malay watched this unblinkingly. He is philosophic by nature and he did not blame. He remained for this was his country, and it is natural for the foreigners to seek the sanctuary of their own country in times of danger. I have heard criticisms of the evacuation of British women and children from Chinese and Indians, but never from Malays. They accepted it. If they felt they were being abandoned they did not say so. Was the Malay to know that they would return? When weighed in the balance the Malay is not found wanting to the same degree as many of those who have chosen him as their scapegoat.

THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAR

BY A CORRESPONDENT

A GRIM picture of conditions in the Netherlands East Indies is given by a NIGIS survey after three years of Japanese occupation, based on information from many hundreds of liberated Indonesian prisoners of war, forced labourers and escapees from occupied territory.

The Japanese slave drive has become a regular man-hunt, famine rules many densely populated areas, personal property, clothing, goods, utensils are worn out or vanished, political executions of leading Indonesians in certain areas take the form of mass murder, religious life is interfered with increasingly, free political and social life in the communities is entirely suppressed and the tension between the Japanese and the population is at snapping point.

The food position is desperate. The Japanese take an ever-increasing share of the production of rice, maize and soya beans, from one-third to three-fourths of the crops—and the crops have fallen considerably because a large part of the country's best land has been taken for the compulsory cultivation of cotton and castor oil beans.

By the middle of 1944 the Japanese had forcibly deported more than a million Indonesians in the prime of life. This figure has since increased considerably, causing a shortage of man-power for the cultivation of crops. The livestock has been decimated to feed the Japanese forces in Asia.

Forced labourers were subjected to large-scale atrocities. Numerous instances of mass torture of men and women, and recently even children, in sadistic madness are becoming known. Apparently, the Japanese, knowing that they cannot hold the Indies and seeing the hatred of the population at boiling point, have thrown off the mask completely, squeezing the country by exterminating everybody who could be a leader. They are flaunting atrocities by publishing the murder of prominent citizens, with photographs, in the Malay newspapers they established.

In West Borneo thirteen native rulers were beheaded as well as all Indonesian intellectuals and economically leading Indonesians, also the property of these people was seized. Prominent Chinese, Arabs, and leaders of religious associations—that is, Moehammadijah—shared the same fate. The victims include three Indonesian medical doctors, with the wives of two of them. In April, 1944, alone, more than 2,000 people were beheaded for alleged pro-Dutch conspiracy.

The Japanese authorities themselves are known to be anxious about the Indonesian population. The large and powerful civil service, consisting largely of Western-trained Indonesians, is considered an unreliable instrument, as they desire even to work for the restoration of the former Government. The Japanese are

striving to play off the nationalists against the indispensable civil service. By promising independence they unleashed uncontrollable forces, and if the people were armed the Japanese would not last long. The immense majority of the population longs for the restoration of the old law and order and prosperity. The Japanese know this, and have so far refrained from giving any real responsibility to prominent Indonesians, being afraid that it would be turned against them.

It is evident that the small amount of liberty the Japanese were obliged to grant the Indonesian leaders to support their independence propaganda was being used by the Indonesians to strengthen the hands of the leaders of the anti-Japanese military administration.

Oppression, cruelty, and the raping of women led to a large number of local risings which were suppressed with the utmost brutality even to killing the whole population of rebel villages and islands. No doubt what is happening now in the liberated Indies will be repeated everywhere, and will increase as the liberators get further westward to the more populated and civilized regions, and the Japanese will suffer all the more violently at the hands of the Indonesian population.

In liberated parts the arming and training of the natives had considerable results, for instance, the toll of Japanese taken by the natives on Biak alone in October, 1944, was 521 dead and 9 prisoners. This indicates what is awaiting the Japanese. The Netherlands Indies people greatly resent nationalists, officials and other leaders, such as religious leaders, speaking and acting for the Japanese, even if clearly under compulsion. It is hoped and expected that these leaders, by joining the Allies when the signal is given, will be saved for the reconstruction of the Indies. It is important for the future of the country that they play a part and regain the confidence of the masses. Collaboration with the Allies of the powerful Indonesian civil administration, which is rooted in the multitude of Indonesian autonomous communities, will be of the greatest importance.

A gallant band of Dutch and Indonesian soldiers, almost all militia, and two Indonesian civil officials, one with his wife and daughter, which held out against the Japanese for almost thirty months in the savage malarious country of Western New Guinea, was liberated by a surprise dash by a small Netherlands Indies force. Their numbers had dwindled considerably by military action, lack of food and clothes, malaria and other diseases. Their stubborn resistance in holding out, almost naked, sleeping in the mud, with no supplies and no medicines and constantly on the offensive, as the only means of getting munitions was by killing Japanese, was an epic. Holding out was possible only through the loyalty of the native population. Other guerrilla forces, known to exist elsewhere, may yet prove their value as the nucleus for resistance in the Japanese rear.

By audacious dashes through the strongly held Japanese country to the inland camps of the internees in New Guinea several hundreds of internees have been liberated, many unable to walk. The death-rate in these camps was terrific and the treatment abominable.

The Japanese had completely forbidden all trade in foodstuffs. Java was cut up into eighty compartments, creating a monopoly for buying cheaply in production centres and distributing at ten times the price paid in other centres.

The shortage of rice was great. On Madura rice was sold in the black market for £25 per bag. Liberated forced labourers hailing from Madura report that people there are dying on the roadside from hunger.

The Japanese monopolized the sea-fishing industry, and the produce of the vast salt-water fishponds at Surabaya are monopolized for Japanese forces and civilians, and paid for at an absurdly low price in worthless paper money.

The Survey adds that obviously the task of relief and rehabilitation will be most difficult, and the world, especially neighbours of the Indies, must realize that the greatest combined effort will be required to feed properly the teeming millions of Java. Clothes are unprocurable, women are forced to cover themselves with materials made of bark from trees. Practically all materials for production are lacking, such as sails, nets, hooks, tools, nails, and a large part of the native sailing craft have been seized. Metals and valuables have been seized. All in all, the Indies have been squeezed dry.

A new section, "East and West Indian Affairs," in Holland will gather together civil personnel for the purpose of doing preparatory work in Australia for the reconstruction of the Netherlands East Indies after liberation. Besides the formation of a Volunteer Expeditionary Army, who, with the Mariniers, will fight in the liberation of the Netherlands East Indies, it is also intended to form a special Women's Auxiliary Corps.

BROADCASTS FROM ANKARA

I

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN TURKEY

BY JOHN SUTHERLAND, M.A.(GLASGOW UNIVERSITY)

It is a far cry from Rochdale in Lancashire to Ankara in Turkey, but a recent event in the latter city has shown, I think, that the distance is physical only and that there exist definite links in the world of social ideals.

There has ended in Ankara the First National Congress of the Turkish Co-operative Societies. Two hundred and twenty delegates from all parts of the country, representing over nine hundred co-operative societies and institutions, took part in the conferences which were held in the ultra-modern conference hall of the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University. Among the speakers there were University Professors and high executives of the co-operative movement, come together to add their comment and ideas to the pool of knowledge of co-operation. The Congress itself was the result of the joint effort of the Turkish co-operative societies and the Turkish Economic Society.

The main themes of the talks were two, firstly, to increase the efficiency of the Turkish co-operatives and to amplify the part which they play in the Turkish economy, and, secondly—a point which should be of great interest to people in Great Britain—to discuss and find remedies for the abnormal circumstances arising out of the post-war economic situation. Both of these problems were thoroughly examined by the Turkish economic experts who addressed the delegates.

And what, you may ask, has all this to do with Rochdale in Lancashire? Just this. The date of the first Turkish National Co-operative Congress was selected out of compliment to the centenary of the foundation of the first co-operative society in England, in some ways the first in the world—the Rochdale Pioneers. There is little need to remind keen co-operative society members in Great Britain of what these Lancashire Pioneers created. In 1844, a small group of working-men in Rochdale, Lancashire, perturbed at the rather low economic state in which they and their fellow-workmen found themselves, put together the few pounds of ready money in their possession and purchased food and other daily necessities in bulk, the profits being shared out amongst the members. Thus began in England in 1844 the movement which today represents millions of pounds invested in plant and equipment and an enormous turnover of goods for the consumer. This First National Co-operative Congress in Turkey has, therefore, been held in honour of these Lancashire lads who took the first precarious steps in this great movement.

Most people in Great Britain have read in their newspapers or heard on the B.B.C. items of information on Turkey. The general scope of the great advance which has occurred in Turkey in the last twenty-one years is known to nearly everyone. The details of this advance are, however, not quite so well known. And the Turkish co-operative movement is perhaps one of the least known factors in this social advance.

Though co-operation in Turkey is still, comparatively speaking, in its early stages, the movement has already divided itself into several distinct branches which are

developing along well-demarcated lines. Four main lines of development have arisen. There are the agricultural credit and agricultural sales co-operatives, the handicraftsmen's co-operatives, the building co-operatives and the more usual type of consumers' co-operatives.

The relative strength of the four groups may be measured by certain figures which have just recently been given out. They refer to the year 1944. Agriculture is represented by 530 credit co-operatives with 175,000 members and by 74 sales co-operatives with 85,000 members. There are 113 handicraftsmen's co-operatives with 33,000 members, 49 building co-operatives with 5,000 members and 89 consumers' co-operatives with 40,000 members. Altogether, there are some 900 co-operative societies in Turkey, and of these 900 societies 70 per cent. are connected with agriculture, which is, of course, by far the largest Turkish industry.

The organization of the production and marketing of her agricultural industry is a problem which has concerned Turkey for a very long time. As has been clearly demonstrated in Great Britain, full utilization of the land cannot be attained without a well-organized system of agricultural credits. The farmer must be maintained in funds between the planting of the crops and the harvest.

The first attempt to organize agricultural credit in Turkey was made by the great Turkish reformer Mithat Pasha in 1867, with his foundation of a type of national savings bank which granted small loans to the peasants for the development of agricultural land. For various reasons the savings-credit bank was not very successful, and it was absorbed in 1888 in the newly formed Agricultural Bank.

The modern Turkish Agricultural Credit Co-operatives were, however, founded in 1924 under a special law of the Republic and are under the supervision of the State Agricultural Bank.

Similarly, the Agricultural Sales Co-operatives were formed under a special law of the Republic to deal with problems of markets for the products of the farmers. The chief aim is the avoidance of middlemen. The co-operatives are financed by the Agricultural Bank and are controlled by the Ministry of Commerce. There are, for instance, the Figs and Raisins Sales Association in Smyrna, the Cotton Sales Association in Adana in South Turkey, the Hazel Nuts Sales Association in Gireson on the Black Sea Coast, the Silk Sales Association in Bursa in North-West Anatolia and the Fruit and Vegetables Sales Association in Istanbul.

These then are the relatively large groups of State agricultural co-operatives.

The other Turkish co-operative societies have been formed under the general commercial laws of the Republic.

The handicraftsmen's co-operative societies are a very interesting development. These aim at providing at reasonable rates the raw materials of small tradesmen all over Turkey, and also at providing credit, improving the sales organization and at raising and standardizing the quality of the goods produced.

The building co-operatives resemble in some ways the building societies in Great Britain, and they refer mainly to middle-class people and Government servants. They began in 1935 in Ankara and have been very successful in aiding the construction of dwelling-houses.

Lastly, there are the consumers' co-operatives, the type with which people in Great Britain are most familiar.

Though unsuccessful attempts had been made in Istanbul in the early years of the last war to found consumers' co-operatives, it was not until 1925 that the first successful society was formed. This was in Ankara and the society was for the use of Government officials. Istanbul followed in 1931 with a similar society. Since 1925 the idea of the co-operative society dealing with retail business to the public has been gradually making headway and catching on as a valuable social institution. The value of the consumers' co-operative society was learned in Great Britain also by years of experience. This hundred years of experience is now being honoured in Turkey.

So you see that the social distance between Rochdale in Lancashire and Ankara in Turkey is not so very great after all. Let us congratulate the Turkish co-operative movement on its first national congress.

II

THREE GREAT ANATOLIAN AUTHORS: HOMER, HIPPONAX
AND HERODOTUS

BY OLIVER DAVIES

(Read by Professor C. Parry)

FROM early days kings and priests have recorded their deeds and their religious rituals. But we cannot consider these records pure literature, which should be a free expression of human emotions, serving no master and composed for no purpose of propaganda. The Oriental peoples who early developed the art of writing have in general been unable to attain the personal freedom which true literature needs. This sense of independence is more a European quality.

Europe probably had long ago an oral literature. Religious and epic songs were recited by priest and bard, but as they were not written we do not know what they were like. Our earliest examples of real literature come from Western Anatolia. The writers to be discussed drew much of their material from Europe, and their outlook was Western. They were uncontaminated by the Oriental spirit. Their work is sympathetic to us, because, like us, they had discovered freedom of thought and freedom of speech. At the same time their style was simple and direct, not the involved or artificial pretentiousness of an over-ripe society.

Homer more than any other may claim to be the father of literature. He lived about 1000 B.C., probably in the neighbourhood of Izmir. His poems were based partly on traditional stories, and continued to be recited for many generations, until reading became sufficiently widespread to make this unnecessary. Homer wrote two great epics—the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The first described the Trojan War, the attack on the wealthy city of Troy, which lies near the mouth of the Dardanelles. Later writers sometimes thought of this war as a struggle of west against east, but to Homer it was more a chivalrous contest, an epic of war and siege, resembling those composed in Western Europe some 1,500 years later. But Homer rises high above his successors, because of his width of human interest, and we can find in him pictures not only of warriors but of the wife whose husband is off to the war, of the bad-tempered family, of peaceful occupations in city and country. Homer's second poem, the *Odyssey*, relates the return from Troy of Odysseus, one of the heroes of the war. He had many adventures by sea and land, finally reached home and killed the suitors who for years had been worrying his wife to marry one of them. The poem has more unity of plot than the *Iliad*; but because much of it is like a fairy tale it may seem less realist to the modern reader.

Homer had successors in Western Anatolia, some of them bards who recited epic, others lyric poets who composed hymns and songs of personal emotion. But we can better grasp Hipponax, the sixth-century poet of Ephesus. He may be called the father of satire and epigram. He lived in the docks and streets, mixed with coarse and rough pedlars, reproduced the life and language of the slums. Some well-known lines of his describe the road from the Anatolian plateau to the coast. For the trade of central Anatolia was as great then as now, and it needed its western harbours to export its products. But in those days Izmir was a small town, and the great ports were to the south, at Ephesus and Miletus, long since silted up.

Herodotus was born soon after 500 B.C. at Bodrum in South-West Anatolia. Being driven out of his city for political reasons, he set himself to write the history of the Persian War, in which a great Asiatic empire for the first time was driven back from the shores of Europe. Herodotus was a man of wide intellectual curiosity. He had travelled in Asia and Africa. He retained a childlike interest in everything novel, which makes him perpetually fresh. He may describe to us the African nomads, the geography of the Black Sea, the ancient history of Egypt, and we can never fail to be interested. Nor does he exaggerate his main theme, or deck it out in the interests of national propaganda. He has been called the father of history; and he also laid the foundations of geography, anthropology and biology. Many other historians might

have learnt from him that history is no vehicle for ethics or rhetoric, but needs a lively curiosity in all that nature and man can offer. But with Herodotus practically closes the line of great Anatolian writers. Economic and political changes caused new centres of culture to arise, and Anatolia has had to wait many centuries before returning to the forefront of literary activity.

PREPARING A BASE IN INDIA

BY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL G. N. MOLESWORTH, C.S.I.

(Formerly Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India)

[This article was written before the collapse of Japan, and was based on a somewhat similar article for publication in the United States. Thus the references to the further prosecution of the war against Japan no longer apply.—EDITOR.]

FIRST things come first. Now that the war in Europe is over the primary military object is the destruction of the power of Japan to wage war. Until this has been done the establishment and maintenance of world peace and security can only be proceeded with in bits and pieces.

There are three main zones in the Japanese war: the Central Pacific, based on America; the South-West Pacific, based on Australasia; and South-East Asia, based on India.

There has been from time to time a great deal of hard and unfair criticism of what, it is imagined, has been going on, or not going on, in India. This has come not only from the United States, where some degree of ignorance and ill-informed prejudice is understandable, but from London, where there are people who should know better. Some of the abuse emanates from those who do not like the British in India and some is from those who have political, personal or professional axes to grind. But the bulk comes from lack of knowledge, a general failure to realize Indian conditions of space and climate, and a tendency to measure Eastern methods and mentality by Western standards. There has also been a curious reticence on the part of the Press to publish available material which, admittedly, lacks entertainment value.

It is not generally realized that, for the first two and a half years of this war, India was facing westwards and was told not to look to the east. During this period, except for the first ten months, when she was told that her offers for help would not be required, she was called upon, indeed implored, to raise large numbers of fighting men and supply much material. Her contributions in troops, steel, locos and wagons, textiles, garments, tentage, timber, cement, coal and raw materials saved the Middle East at a most critical period. In return for this effort she received practically nothing.

In the autumn of 1939, when war broke out, she had just embarked on a programme of defence reorganization and factory development emerging from the Chatfield Commission report. None of her orders for plant and equipment could be met, except in dribbles. To comply with requests from Great Britain for help she had to deplete what reserves she had and resort to improvisation over the whole field. When Japan unexpectedly entered the war her fat was exhausted and she had bled herself white. She was swept and garnished.

Japan attacked in December, 1941. By the spring of 1942 the Japanese flood had reached the Bay of Bengal and was lapping against the Indo-Burma frontier. The grip of the Royal Navy in the Indian Ocean was loosened—India was wide open to invasion. Few available troops remained as last available reserves had gone, hur-

riedly, into the Malaya and Burma cauldrons. Such as there were were partially equipped and trained for desert warfare. The few aircraft were obsolete and unsuitable. Arsensals and depots were empty. Coastal and local naval defence were negligible. Anti-aircraft artillery amounted to less than a dozen pieces. The political situation was uncertain and the people were afraid.

All India's major ports and installations were designed, developed and located for supply to the west. Defences and communications on the eastern frontier were undeveloped. For years the umbrella of Pax Britannica had covered all eastern dangers. Thus, early in 1942, when India was first ordered to prepare a base for operations against Japan, she was looking in the wrong direction, and through no fault of her own. She was not the only country in such a predicament.

Everything was in the wrong place and had to be turned round and rebuilt elsewhere. In addition, a vast new programme of airfield construction, for defence and offence, was required. More men had to be hurriedly raised—the numbers are now well over the two million mark—and trained and equipped to fight in an entirely strange jungle terrain. The blue-prints of the Indian Base were prepared long before South-East Asia Command was ever thought of, and the work put in hand early in 1942.

The situation on the Indo-Burma frontier was stabilized; Commands in India were reorganized on an operational basis; the dreaded invasion by sea did not materialize. Throughout 1942 and 1943, in spite of delays and damage caused by the rebellion of August, 1942, fierce enemy attacks in Assam and the Arakan and very little external assistance, the work on the base went on. Vast essential demands for equipment and plant of all kinds were tabled, but at that time the Allied Governments had very little butter to spread on their enormous loaf.

From the Quebec Conference of the autumn, 1943, the idea of the South-East Asia Command emerged. The Commander-in-Chief in India was hopelessly overloaded with local defence, administration, training, raising new forces and preparational work on the base. American forces were already in the country giving aid by air to China. There was a clear necessity for a new Command; to plan and direct operations to the eastward; to co-ordinate allied effort; to co-operate with China; to voice demands for material and equipment to Allied Governments; and to form a strong link between commands in the Mediterranean and the South-West Pacific.

Admiral Mountbatten, with a joint British-American staff, and with India as his operational base, was appointed Supreme Commander South-East Asia. His command became, for the time being, a lodger in a country with a constitutional government and an administrative and military machine. In eastern districts operations were already in progress. The constitutional position of the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief had to be safeguarded, and this was accomplished by compromise and goodwill on both sides.

Beyond the troops assigned to him, most of whom were handed over by India, Admiral Mountbatten had no machinery, installation, or service agencies of his own. To duplicate existing machinery would have been both impossible and uneconomical. Thus all the work he has required in the way of maintenance, training, construction, development and transportation has been, and is being, carried out by Indian agencies in accordance with his demands and directions. An extremely difficult and intricate constitutional and administrative problem has been solved by cordial co-operation.

When Admiral Mountbatten reached India, late in 1943, he found much had been done and much still to do. India is not a country but a sub-continent. Her area of 1,800,000 square miles approaches that of Europe. From Bombay to Calcutta is further than from Marseilles to Danzig; Peshawar to Cape Comorin is further than from Liverpool to Athens.

Great Britain has 45 million people; India 400 million. In the past century, under British rule, the increase in population alone has equalled one and a half times the population of the United States. The bulk of the people are illiterate or ill-educated and belong to the class of agricultural smallholder. The average yearly income per head of population is about £4. Great wealth for the few and bare existence for the many go side by side.

India's railway, road, telegraph and telephone systems were hardly adequate for

peace traffic. Her railway mileage is about the same as that of Great Britain, though she is twenty times the size. She has one-third the number of locos and one-sixth the number of wagons. Roads are scarce, poorly metalled and deficient in major bridges. There was no available margin of food, housing, workshops, storage accommodation or hospitals.

India's heavy industries are few and undeveloped. Her industrial potential is low. The main industrial area lies in the Gangetic Plain and is exposed to air attack from the east.

On paper her man-power looks formidable. In practice a major obstacle has been the low standard of education. This has curtailed the supply of executives, supervisors and skilled workmen. Unskilled labour has always been cheap and plentiful. Thus there has never been in peace any demand for mechanical aids to replace traditional manual methods, or for the training of men to use them. Time has never been an object. The camel and the bullock cart have set the tempo of construction and production.

India's industrial and transportation systems, her methods of construction and production, her eastern mentality, her social, cultural and administrative structure were not designed, or geared, to total war. Assistance from outside has always been an essential prerequisite. During these last three years the requirements of total war on western standards have been based on a purely inadequate eastern foundation.

In spite of this adverse background and the prevailing world conditions of shortage of material and man-power, a vast aggregate of work has been done. The problems of base preparation were similar to those of the preparation of Great Britain for the European invasion on D-Day, 1944. But Great Britain is highly organized, compact and comparatively close to American sources of supply. India is not. Basically, however, requirements are the same. Ports for intake, repair, assembly and re-embarkation; areas for accommodation, training, storage, hospitals and transit; transportation, communications, fuel distribution and airfields.

In the blue-prints prepared in 1942 major works for operational purposes were grouped as under :

- (a) Expansion and development of ports;
- (b) Development of the internal transportation system—rail, road and inland waterway;
- (c) Development of telegraphs, telephones and high speed wireless;
- (d) Construction for housing, storage, hospitals, workshops, transit and training areas;
- (e) Provision of pipelines, tankage, containers and distribution gear for oil fuel and lubricants;
- (f) Airfield construction;
- (g) Provision of food, cold storage for perishables, canteens, welfare, water supply, sewage disposal plant, laundries, air-conditioning and electrification.

Each of these main items is large in itself and in inter-relation to the others entailed most careful priority allotments for material and labour. All are closely linked with the economic life of the country, indigenous production, importation from outside, labour, distribution, inflation, lease-lend and reciprocal aid. How each item has progressed can best be indicated by a few salient facts.

Each major port was surveyed by an expert British-American planning team, cognizant of the peak load required for the economic life of the country *plus* operations. Into their plan entered, also, factors of repair, handling of cargoes and distribution. For security reasons few details can be given, but the estimated additional requirements of berths, jetties, moorings, cranes, tugs, lighters and mechanical gear have been provided or are in hand. As an instance, in a single major port handling some 2½ million tons a year the balance of uncleared cargo of 96,000 tons in January, 1943, has now been practically eliminated. New bases for landing craft and their repair have been completed at a cost of some £2 million.

Ton mileage on railways has been increased by 25 per cent. overall. Civilian traffic has been reduced by 40 per cent. In Assam rail capacity has been increased from 3,000 tons a day in 1943 to 9,000 tons in January, 1945, against an operational target of 7,400 tons by January, 1946. Operating methods have been revolutionized.

The Bramaputra waterway has had tonnage trebled by additional steamers, barges and new inland ports.

A combined Services and civil telecommunication scheme, at a cost of £10 million, is virtually completed. Additional wireless transmitters have been installed, and India is now the eastern hub of the global system of high-speed wireless.

In addition to tented camps, huts of timber, brick or baked mud, with connected main services, fly- and mosquito-proofing have been provided for some 2 million men. In forest areas prefabrication has been largely developed. Outside operational areas over 100,000 American troops have been accommodated. Garrison hospitals have been expanded to provide beds for 5 per cent. of Europeans and 3 per cent. of Indians served. Eighteen similar hospitals, with a total of 6,000 beds, have been built for American troops. For war casualties—apart from field hospitals—14 base, 2 forward and 3 transit hospitals have been built and equipped, with convalescent depots on a scale equivalent to 20 per cent. of static hospitals.

262 million square feet of covered storage accommodation and hard standings, including 64½ million square feet for American requirements, have been provided. In addition, technical and repair depots have received 12½ million square feet. As an example of the continual constructional load, over £34 million worth of work was completed in 11 months in 1944.

Work on airfields is represented by £40 million completed for Royal Air Force and £12 million for American Air Forces. Expressed otherwise, this represents 2,200 miles of roads, 960 miles of taxi-track 50 yards wide, 310 miles of runway 50 yards wide, 144 million square feet of hardstandings, 3 million square feet of hangars, bulk of storage for 4½ million gallons of fuel and electrification of kw. 64,100 capacity.

2,900 miles of 6-inch or 4-inch petrol pipeline has been laid and is in operation. These projects deliver 200,000 tons of fuel monthly in forward areas. Bulk storage has been increased to hold 230 million gallons. For forward supply India now produces 370,000 40-gallon barrels and 800,000 4-gallon drums per month.

2½ million Indian, African and Chinese and 600,000 European troops have to be fed daily. Collection, package, storage and distribution of supplies is, in itself, a major project. Indigenous supplies are augmented by importation of canned goods, meat and food-grains. A cold storage scheme for perishables and their transportation by rail, road and air is 50 per cent. completed. The balance awaits delivery of plant.

The services rendered to America and paid for by India under reciprocal lend-lease amounted, up to the end of 1944, as a rough estimate only, to £60 million.

These figures are picked from a great mass of statistics. They, with others, represent in the aggregate a very large effort over the last 3½ years. The projects have had to be progressed simultaneously. They indicate the scope of an achievement which is not yet completed, but whose magnitude has strained the economic structure of India to breaking point. The dangers to economic stability, which still persist, are overloading of the transportation and distribution systems, shortage of food-grains, inflation, hoarding, lack of consumer goods and wear and tear on personnel and equipment.

These factors operate in a vicious circle. Paper money is being poured out in payment for services and material. The agricultural smallholder no longer sells the small margin of his crop, as there is nothing to buy. He eats it. Speculators secrete stocks for a further rise of prices already rocketing. Military traffic on railways leaves no margin for emergent distribution of civil food. Road motor vehicles are either worn out or laid up for lack of petrol. Superior European personnel have been working at high pressure without any leave for years. There has been no recruitment to replace wastages.

Until Germany had been defeated India was very low in priority for supply of equipment and plant of all kinds. Failure to supply has gravely hampered progress. For the last three years British and American authorities in India have jointly, severally and continuously pressed their essential demands on London and Washington. In both capitals there has been suspicion of the men on the spot, resulting in procrastination, delays, failure to place contracts and loss of production. Often demands were flatly refused. The excuse was always non-availability. There was some truth in this, but not all the truth.

The effect on the British and American authorities in India of these continual wrangles, criticisms and disappointments caused justifiable irritation which seeped down to the men in the field to whom lack of facilities was most apparent. Now that European requirements have diminished, South-East Asia should get what is wanted in full measure.

The surprising element in this great work is not its size, but that it has been made possible. The unhurrying East has been hurried and is continuing to hurry. India was expected to run beneath a burden under which much stronger countries would have tottered. The task was beyond her capacity, and she received little help from outside.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. Burma has been liberated by a feat of arms and organization which is astounding. For this credit is due, for it is the builders of the Indian Base who have made it possible. What has already been done, in the face of every kind of obstacle, is only a foretaste of greater victories yet to come.

SIR BROJENDRA MITTER'S FIRST BUDGET

SIR BROJENDRA MITTER presided at the Budget Session of the Baroda Dhara Sabha at the end of July, and announced that there would be fresh elections to that Legislature before the close of the current year. He was also able to announce that H.H. the Maharaja Gaekwar was being restored to normal health by his visit to England, and would be returning to the State in the early autumn.

A feature of the Budget was the virtual doubling of the allotment for the Agricultural Department. The main items of additional expenditure would be new schemes for research into the effects of different fertilizers and methods of management, a scheme for the development of the milk industry and the establishment of a central pedigree herd, new veterinary dispensaries and increased provision for agricultural model farms and institutions. Sir Brojendra also referred to the work of rural reconstruction made feasible by the Diamond Jubilee Trust Funds and the Sayaji Rao Memorial Trust Fund. Arrangements were being made for special work in the more backward areas, for scholarships to enable poor students to learn improved methods in agriculture and subsidiary industries, the further production of home-spun cloth, and a grant of loans for starting small-scale enterprises.

The speech showed that the food position in the State, a deficit area, depending in part on external supplies, continued to cause anxiety. The Government of India allotment of food grains was far below the estimated deficit. But the *Juwar* crop had been good, and by proper control over distribution it was hoped that difficulties would be overcome. A full rationing system in Baroda City would be put into effect from the beginning of August.

Turning to industrial development, the Dewan Sahab reported that the textile industry was flourishing, most of the mills working double shifts. Other industrial concerns were maintaining their standard of production. The relations between employers and employees had continued to be good; but war conditions had brought about a rise in the cost of living, and Government hoped that the employers in the State would give due consideration to this fact in considering the question of the continuance of the dearness allowance.

One of the problems occupying attention was the shortage of house accommodation in urban areas. Government had a building programme ready, but the inadequacy of materials was delaying operations.

Sir Brojendra Mitter also made a statement on the much discussed question of the problem of the States too small for the organization of the life of the community on any adequate scale. He said that he had always believed that by attachment to large States small units could secure for their subjects all the advantages which the sub-

jects of the large States enjoyed. He mentioned the action of the Baroda Government in this behalf, with the twofold aim of amelioration of the condition of the people in the attached areas, and furtherance of the education of the sons and other relatives of the Chiefs and Taluqdars with a view to prepare them for their responsible position. A question under consideration was the provision of a hostel for these future leaders of the people in the attached States.

At the conclusion of the session Sir Brojendra spoke of the value of the Dhara Sabha to the Government as well as to the people. He said : You hold up a mirror before us to show what we really are. Our Government is a living and a progressive organism. We try our best to march forward. That is our earnest endeavour. We may not satisfy everybody, we may not meet every demand; but our objective is identical—the welfare of the subjects. Sometimes, you do not realize our difficulties, not being in charge of the machinery. We endeavour to overcome these difficulties. There are various handicaps in our way. But all the time we make an earnest endeavour to serve the people for whom you are pleading. I am fully convinced that Dhara Sabha is one of the most useful institutions in the State. One thing which is noteworthy is that there is no recrimination. The whole debate takes place in an atmosphere of trust and friendliness. There is no attribution of motives on the part of members, nor is there any attempt on the part of the Government to evade responsibility or to whitewash things. That is a very helpful sign. Gentlemen, another thing that struck me was that in a small house like this no less than thirty-six non-official members took part in the debate, and what they had to say was really worth saying. They have brought important points to the notice of the Government. That shows that this Dhara Sabha is a living and a progressive organism. The members of the Dhara Sabha are fully conscious of their own responsibility and duty to their constituents. On our side you must have noticed that we have tried to meet the needs of the people within the limitations imposed on us.

BIKANER'S WAR SERVICES*

Just over three months ago we met to celebrate the victory in Europe, which witnessed the collapse of Nazi Germany and oppression in the West. Tonight we celebrate the downfall of the military power of Japan which, faced with the united power of the three mightiest nations of the world, two of whom she had wantonly challenged, has now at last considered discretion to be the better part of valour, and has unconditionally surrendered and laid down her arms. She stands today with her pride humbled, her industrial and military strength destroyed, and her dream of an Empire of the East, and perhaps of the world, totally shattered. In the early months of 1942 she had wrested from Britain and America by her treacherous attack on Pearl Harbour the mastery of the seas. Malaya was conquered. The great bastion of Singapore, which guarded the entrance to the Indian Ocean, was forced to surrender. The Philippines and the rich islands of the Dutch East Indies were conquered in lightning campaigns. Burma fell to her arms, and the fate of India itself hung in the balance. The Indian Ocean, where no enemy force had appeared for over 150 years, came under her naval power. In four months she had conquered an Empire which extended from Dutch Harbour near Alaska to Australia, and had brought under her authority a population of over 500 millions. Force and treachery had triumphed for the time. China lay staggering and ineffective. Britain, France, America and Holland had been expelled from Eastern Asia. Today that same Power which had even invaded the soil of India stands a humble suppliant before the world

* Based on a speech by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner at the State banquet held at Lallgarh on August 18, 1945, in honour of the Allied victory over Japan.

which she had endeavoured to dominate. It is indeed a lesson that the events of the past six years have taught the world: that naked force, not backed by moral ideas, can have but a short spell of success.

In this moment of triumph let us in all humility offer our heartfelt prayers and devout thankfulness to the Almighty for this deliverance. Our thoughts on this occasion naturally turn to our beloved King-Emperor, who by his great courage and by personal example during the darkest period of the Battle of Britain, and since till the conclusion of the war, has been a source of unfailing inspiration and encouragement to all throughout the length and breadth of the Empire and indeed the world.

To Britain and her great leaders—attacked from all sides, living as in a beleaguered fortress, forced by treachery and circumstances beyond her control to accept grave and humiliating losses and even temporary defeats at Hongkong, Singapore and Burma, but whose courage and unflagging efforts in the face of overwhelming odds never faltered, and who with a steadfastness which has but few parallels in history considered each defeat only as a stepping stone to victory—sincere tributes from the bottom of our hearts are due.

To the organizers of victory in the East, Field-Marshal Lord Wavell, General Sir Claude Auchinleck, and the great Indian Army organized as a wonderful fighting force whose matchless gallantry and conduct in the field throughout this long and bitter struggle has won such universal acclaim, we owe our profound gratitude. To Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the Supreme Allied Commander in South-East Asia, to whom falls the glory of the reconquest of Burma and the re-establishment of naval authority in the Indian Ocean, we owe a debt which only future historians will be able to assess.

It is not possible to speak in adequate terms of the prodigious effort and the magnificent part played by America and her astounding contribution towards the successful prosecution of the war. From the dark days of Pearl Harbour to the annihilating blow of the Atomic bomb, the manner in which she built up, step by step, the irresistible might which brought her Navy to the very doorstep of Japan and in one overwhelming blow forced her to the knees is an achievement which only the scientific genius, unequalled resources and undaunted persistence of that great people could have accomplished.

The glory of the Chinese resistance to aggression is one of the epic events of all times. Few people realize that China has been fighting a one-sided battle with Japan for over fourteen years, without effective arms, without modern equipment, deprived of its richest Provinces, subjected to famine and other untold miseries. The achievements of China during this period will go down as the great turning point in history when by her grim and resolute resistance she saved herself and made it possible for others to save themselves and the world.

The entry of Russia into the war with all her vast resources and tried military power hastened the collapse of Japan and spared the world from further sufferings and losses.

The contribution of India to this victory is one the full extent of which may perhaps not be generally recognized. India has been the arsenal and storehouse of the East. It is from this country that supplies to China and other Eastern Fronts have been carried without interruption. It is her industries that provided many of the essential materials for the land campaigns in the East. More than all, it is on her troops—her Army, her Navy, her Air Force, and her merchantmen—heroes of a hundred campaigns all over the world, that the brunt of the Burma campaign fell. The sacredness of India's soil was defended by them in the great battles of Kohima and Manipur, which have been rightly described as only second to the siege of Stalingrad, and where the foundations of later successes were laid. In numberless fights in the thick jungles of Burma under the most terrible and appalling conditions, the like of which did not probably exist in any other theatre of war, the Indian troops taught the Japanese a lesson which they are not likely to forget soon.

The part played by the troops of the Indian States in these campaigns is no less deserving of praise. It is a matter of pride and gratification to us all that side by side with their comrades-in-arms of the Indian Army and other Imperial and Allied troops

they fought with the utmost valour ever in the vanguard and covered themselves with glory. To all those who fought so bravely and fell so gallantly we offer our solemn homage.

I may at this stage allude to Bikaner's own share in this victory. No less than three units of the State Army proceeded on active service outside the State. The Bijey Battery has been in the thick of the fight from the days of the second Burma Campaign. They won laurels in Arakan where, surrounded by the Japanese, they along with other troops fought heroically in the best martial traditions of the State. As part of the Divisional Artillery of the famous 7th Indian Division, the Bijey Battery took part in the historic battles of Kohima and Manipur, and in the driving of the Japanese all down the Gangaw valley and across the Irrawaddy. In these operations they achieved further fame and glory and held aloft the standard of Bikaner in a way which will be a source of pride to myself, the Bikaner Army and to everyone in Bikaner at all times.

Our other units also contributed their share to the final collapse of the enemy. The Ganga Risala was the first unit of the Indian States Forces to leave India and in fulfilling a strategically important rôle in guarding Aden gave an excellent account of themselves and won high praise. The Sadul Light Infantry also proceeded overseas on active service and did excellent work in the Paiforce, where they played an equally vital rôle in keeping the supply routes to Russia open. Constant convoys of war supplies of every description were streaming day and night along this important line of communication through South Persia and the Caucasus. I myself had the privilege of seeing this with my own eyes when I was with the infantry—a spectacle to be seen to be believed.

Thus, apart from the Western Desert, I am happy to feel that I had the opportunity of being with my gallant troops both in the arid regions of the Middle East and in the jungle-clad hills of the Assam-Burma Front.

Besides these direct military services the contribution of the State to the successful prosecution of the war covers a wide range, but I will here refer only to some of the important directions in which the State has attempted to do its bit.

The 49 Bikaner G.P.T. Company, over 400 strong, was raised in the record time of two weeks, in addition to the 2nd and 3rd Infantry Battalions, the Infantry and Artillery Training Centres and the Guard Battalion for the Prisoners of War Camp. As compared to the pre-war strength of a little over 1,800, our Army has almost trebled its strength. The total recruitment from the State through local as well as British Indian Agencies came to over 9,360 men, besides a large number who have joined the Indian Army direct.

The monetary contributions from the State, from my Privy Purse, and from the members of my family and others amounted to nearly 15 lakhs of rupees, in addition to the annual military expenditure of the State which rose from 9 lakhs to 33 lakhs or over 300 per cent. in the present war. War fêtes and lotteries were organized to raise funds for war purposes. A sum of Rs. 62 lakhs was invested in the Government of India War Bonds, etc., besides as much as $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores or 45 millions invested in other loans and securities of the Government of India. This also includes contributions from State servants.

It is not my intention to go into further details tonight to give you a complete picture of Bikaner's share in the prosecution of the war, but sufficient I trust has been said to show how wholehearted has been the effort, and how sustained has been the zeal which this State has evinced in the cause of victory. Not for one moment did our confidence in final victory weaken or our enthusiasm diminish. The brief survey of the war effort of the State since the outbreak of hostilities six years ago, which I have just given, will, I trust I can justifiably say with all modesty and legitimate pride, amply demonstrate that the record of this State, as in all previous wars in which the Empire was involved, has indeed been most outstanding. Willing co-operation in every manner possible and to the utmost of their capacity and resources has in an especial measure been the creed of the Rulers and State of Bikaner; unfaltering loyalty, devotion and service to the Person and Throne of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor are their watch-words, and I trust that the verdict of history will be that in this war too we in Bikaner, in keeping with those high tradi-

tions, have not been found lacking in rendering the utmost possible service within our power to our beloved King-Emperor.

As you are aware, my elder son, Maharaj Kumar Karni Singh, with his grandfather, and my second son, Maharaj Kumar Amar Singh, with me proceeded to the Middle East, both when under 18 years of age. It is therefore a matter of special but natural pride to me that all the male members in three successive generations of my family have proceeded to the Front in the same war, which I believe is a unique record in the annals of the Princely Houses of India. Both His late Highness, my revered father, and myself—the only two members of our family who were of age then—were privileged to place our personal services at the disposal of the King-Emperor at the very beginning of the war, and even earlier at the time of the Czecho-Slovakian crisis in 1938. Thus I and my family are happy in the thought that in this war also, as ever, we can legitimately claim to be second to none in the service of our beloved King-Emperor.

VICTORY CELEBRATIONS IN MYSORE

VICTORY celebrations on an extensive scale, to mark the defeat of Germany, were held all over Mysore State. Sunday, May 13, was observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayers and religious services were conducted in temples, mosques and other places of worship. Poor people were fed and sweets were distributed to school children in a number of towns. For meeting the cost of these celebrations in the several districts, Government sanctioned a sum of Rs. 24,000. Public meetings were held throughout the State at which speeches were delivered by leading officials and public men; the most impressive of these meetings was the one held under the auspices of the National War Front in Bangalore City on May 14, at which *Pradhanasiromani* Mr. N. Madhava Rau, c.i.e., Dewan of Mysore, presided. It was a very well attended meeting, composed of officials, military personnel and prominent citizens. At the commencement of the meeting the Dewan read an inspiring message from His Highness the Maharaja when the whole audience remained standing. The message was as follows :

“The purpose of the meeting in which you are assembled today is to celebrate the collapse of Germany. This collapse represents not merely the military defeat of an enemy, but the triumph of humanity over inhumanity. We know only too well what peril threatened civilization during the last six years, what misery and privation people have undergone in many countries of the world and what sacrifices the Allied Nations have made to provide men and material for bringing about the defeat of the enemy. On an occasion like this we cannot but recall India's proud share in the winning of victory. But the feeling uppermost in us at the moment is not one of undue exultation but of thankfulness. Our first duty on this occasion is to express our thanks to the great military forces of the Allied Nations for their achievements, which are without parallel in history, and to the people of all ranks in the Allied Countries for their fortitude and self-sacrifice, which show the heights to which righteous men and women can rise in spite of adversity.

“Let us proceed in this spirit of thankfulness to celebrate the victory that has now been won and address ourselves to the task that still lies ahead. The war against Japan remains to be concluded and calls for an equally great effort on the part of everyone. The successes achieved in Burma and in the Pacific give us cause for hope that the day is not far off when Japan will share the fate of its erstwhile partners. We may look forward with confidence to meeting again at no distant time to celebrate final victory and the return of peace.”

The meeting was then addressed by *Rajasevasakta* A. R. Wadia, Mr. Devudu Narasimha Sastry and Mr. Mirza Azizulla Beig, who in their speeches emphasised

the significance of the total defeat of Germany on the Continent of Europe and how it was an occasion for supreme joy and thankfulness that by God's grace the efforts of the Allies to bring the war in the West to a successful conclusion had been crowned with complete victory. They also stressed that this was no time to relax efforts as the war against Japan was not yet over and all effort must now be concentrated until similar victory was gained on the Eastern Front.

In winding-up the proceedings, the Dewan said :

"We have listened to an inspiring message from His Highness the Maharaja. This was followed by interesting and thoughtful speeches by three of our leading citizens. They have impressed on us that our feeling of joy over victory won in Europe must be tempered by a realization that the time has not come to relax effort, as the war in Asia has still to be won. It will be won, of course, and sooner perhaps than most of us expect. But victory by itself is not sufficient. The anxieties of the world will not cease until righteous peace is inviolably established among the nations. And the most difficult task of all will still remain of reshaping our own economic and social life, so that greed, hate and strife which war-time conditions have accentuated in some respects shall give place to harmony, contentment and progress. If the recollection of the sacrifices made by men of all nations on the battlefields, of Indians no less than others, can chasten our thoughts and inspire us to a higher sense of duty towards our fellow-men; if we can learn from the soldiers returning to their homes the art of living a disciplined corporate life, some good will have come out of the misfortunes of war. Let us make this a day not only of thanksgiving but of dedication to the great purposes of life, with charity in our hearts and faith in the future."

Dr. T. C. M. Royan, Chairman of the National War Front, Bangalore, proposed the vote of thanks.

TIMOTHY RICHARD, MISSIONARY AND MANDARIN: A CENTENARY TRIBUTE

BY HENRY J. COWELL, F.R.S.A., F.R.S.L.

WAS there ever any missionary other than Timothy Richard who was a mandarin? Was there ever a mandarin other than he who was also a missionary? And not in these respects only was Timothy Richard exceptional. He was essentially a man with vision, but he was no visionary; he had great dreams, but he was no mere dreamer; he was both a seer and a statesman and, it is said, the most disinterested adviser the Chinese people ever had. Living a strenuous and many-sided life for well over seventy years, he was sound in body, clear in mind, sympathetic and courteous in spirit. The great Lord Shaftesbury once said: "I think a man's religion should enter into every sphere of his life, and rule his conduct in every relation." That ideal was embodied in the life and work of Timothy Richard.

In a brief note prepared by himself he sets forth nine aspects of his marvellous career: (1) Public almoner in the greatest famine in history; (2) lecturer to mandarins; (3) editor (daily, weekly and monthly journals); (4) publisher (with his colleagues) of more than 300 books; (5) reformer (appointed as one of the Emperor Kiang Hsu's advisers); (6) arbitrator chosen by the Chinese plenipotentiaries to settle affairs after the Boxer massacres; (7) educator (founder of the Modern Imperial University in Shansi); (8) mandarin of the first grade (appointed religious adviser to the Chinese Government, which further conferred upon him the Double Dragon decoration); (9) author and historian, his publications in English including *Historical Evidences of Christianity*, *Conversion by the Million* (two volumes), *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism*; and as translations, *The Awakening of Faith in New Buddhism*, *Guide to Buddhahood*, *A Mission to Heaven*. With these nine occupations in view it is hardly surprising to find the record, "Recreations—none."

When past seventy years of age he published (in 1916) his reminiscences. This book, bearing the title of *Forty-five Years in China*, is dedicated thus: "To the Baptist Missionary Society, London, in whose service I have been since 1869. To the Christian Literature Societies of Scotland, England, and China, under whose auspices. I have been engaged in special literary work since 1891. To the many individual friends in England, America, and China who have generously aided me all my life: this volume, which is mainly a record of efforts to establish the Kingdom of God among a fourth of the human race, is gratefully and affectionately dedicated by the author."

"These reminiscences," he writes, "tell of sympathetic efforts made to guide the spiritual leaders of China to a vision of the Kingdom of God. These efforts have meant the uplifting of China through various ways, through better religion, better science, better means of communication, better international commerce, the institution of modern schools and colleges, the founding of a modern Press, the establishment of new industries and manufactures over a country as large as the whole of Europe. In all these departments I have taken some share."

Born on October 10, 1845, at Ffaldybrenin, a small village in Carmarthenshire, he was the youngest child of a family of nine. His father, who was not only a farmer and a blacksmith, but a narrator of stories, a veterinary surgeon, and a bone-setter, served as secretary and deacon of two small Baptist churches, and was often called in as a peacemaker. As to his mother, a great Welsh preacher declared: "We never met her equal for guilelessness and sweetness of disposition, nor her match in the making of pancakes." The children had to fend for themselves as soon as they could and as best they could. Timothy, denied almost every opportunity that comes the way of present-day boys, had to gain his education in any way he could. One of these ways was to borrow every book that the village could produce. If that does not sound very promising, we may recall that Abraham Lincoln was brought up—or brought himself up—on three books: his mother's Bible, a tattered copy of Shakespeare, and a borrowed copy of a *Life of George Washington*.

During the great Revival which swept over Northern Ireland, Wales, Scotland and Norway and Sweden, from 1858 to 1860, the lad confessed his faith in Christ, and was baptized with fifty-one others in the open river, he being the first to be immersed. Shortly afterwards he attended a service at which the text for the discourse was, "To obey is better than sacrifice." During the whole of the sermon he felt that a voice was calling him to go abroad as a missionary. He preached his first sermon to a handful of worshippers in a village chapel, and thereafter went to the ministerial training college at Haverfordwest. At length he was called up to be examined by the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society. The young man was shy in manner and slow in speech, and the fame of the great men of the denomination made him nervous. Almost he was turned down, but before this actually happened the lad was asked, "Suppose we reject you, Mr. Richard, what will you do?" "Go to China," was the astonishing reply. "But how?" "Swim," was the laconic answer. Whereupon the impressed Committee accepted him, and thus cleared the way for one of the greatest missionaries of the Baptist or any other society to enter upon his epoch-making and enduring work.

Richard sailed for China on November 17, 1869, and reached Shanghai on February 12, 1870. His life in China falls into two main chapters: first, twenty-two years' evangelism in Shantung and Shansi; second, twenty-three years' literary work in Shanghai. Large-hearted, sympathetic and courteous, he found himself equally at home in the cottage of the peasant or the palace of the ruler.

"For over forty years," testifies the Rt. Hon. John Jordan, "Timothy Richard was an outstanding personality in China: one who gained the respect and esteem of the Chinese people in a degree which it has been given to few foreigners to attain."

A pioneer and a prophet, Timothy made a sympathetic study of all the Chinese religions. So much was he in advance of the general missionary opinion of his time that he was not only misunderstood but even accounted unorthodox by some. He believed in personal contacts with individuals, and sought everywhere to make friends with seekers after God.

From 1876 to 1878 he did magnificent relief work, first in Shantung and then in:

Shansi, in a terrible famine which caused the death of 15,000,000 people. It was this marvellous humanitarian work which, thus early in his missionary career, led to his name becoming a household word throughout China.

In October, 1891, he became secretary of the Society for the Diffusion of Christian and General Knowledge among the Chinese (later known as the Christian Literature Society of China). This office he held for a quarter of a century, and by means of it he became the interpreter of East to West and of West to East, and a link between the old and the new in China.

Great as were his achievements, his personality was greater than his work. Differ as one might from his plans and schemes, all who knew him acknowledged the charm and beauty of his character. To the end he was a learner. He did what any one man could do to remould and remake China.

The Boxer troubles in 1900 arose out of ignorance, prejudice, superstition, and a sense of grievance on the other hand, and out of foreign aggression (chiefly German) on the other. Hundreds of missionaries and thousands of converts laid down their lives. Enormous damage was done to property. Yu Hsieh, the Manchu Governor of Shansi, himself superintended the massacre of forty-six missionaries, including women and children.

In 1901 Richard was invited to assist in the settlement of the Shansi troubles. Roman Catholics had made large demands for compensation, but the Protestant societies decided that the price of their missionaries' lives was beyond computation in dollars. So Timothy told the plenipotentiaries that the Protestant missions would not sell the lives of their missionaries for money. Yet a great crime had been committed, for which some outstanding act of acknowledgment and reparation should be made. Timothy proposed that a fine should be imposed upon the Province of Shansi, the money to be devoted to the establishment of a university on Western lines, to be situated in Tai-yuan-fu, for the education in modern knowledge of the ablest young men of the Province. The proposal was adopted at once by the plenipotentiaries, to be carried out at a cost of some £60,000. They placed the appointment of the professors, the arranging of the curriculum, and the administration of the funds of the proposed university in Richard's hands for a period of ten years. He secured as Principal Rev. Moir B. Duncan, of the Baptist Missionary Society in Shansi, a man of fine spirit, of great enthusiasm, inexhaustible energy, and well acquainted with the language and the character of the people.

The architecture of the new building was simple and Chinese in style. The students came from all parts of the Province. Successful students were sent to England for a further five years' course of study.

In 1910, while on a visit to Shansi, he decided not to await the full term of ten years before handing over the institution. Being convinced that modern education had now taken deep root in the Province, he resigned his Chancellorship, the provincial authorities consenting to take over full responsibility. At that time there were seven foreign professors, with fourteen Chinese professors and teachers.

Great as was Timothy's fame throughout China, it must not be thought that his manifold activities were strictly limited to that great land. I give a brief outline of some of his far-reaching travels and experiences. He did not take his first furlough until the autumn of 1884. He took with him his wife and four children. While in England he decided to study science, and took a course of electrical engineering at South Kensington. He also crossed to Berlin and to Paris to interview the respective Ministers of Education for Germany and France. He told the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society that he felt the greatest need of the world was that the so-called Christian Governments should be converted to real Christianity.

His second furlough began in the spring of 1896. On the way to England he visited Ceylon, Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Agra, Delhi, Marseilles, and Paris. Returning to China in 1897, he travelled by way of the United States and Canada.

Early in 1900 he went to New York, to participate in the World Missionary Conference. At Boston, in May of that year, he addressed the Twentieth Century Club on the situation in China, and he was advised to get in touch with the U.S. Government. The very next day he started for Washington, where he saw the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the President of the Senate, and the Chairman of the Chamber

of Commerce. All this was with the object of inducing the United States Government to intervene in China to avert the Boxer catastrophe, but was without avail.

In May, 1903, he visited Japan, where he had talks with the Minister of Education, the President of the Imperial University, the President of the House of Peers, and other leaders.

Early in 1905 he arrived in England for a third furlough. He took part in the first Congress of the Baptist World Alliance, held in London in July of that year. He also undertook activities in connection with the Peace Movement, including participation in a Peace Congress held at Lucerne in 1906. He returned to China by way of the United States, and called upon President Theodore Roosevelt at the White House.

In January, 1908, he revisited Japan and had an interview with Prince Ito. On the same occasion he met Count Okuma, who had set up a university in Tokyo. Of the 7,000 students 700 were Chinese, and the Count invited his visitor to address these young men.

In the winter of that same year (1908) he paid a visit to Korea, to be present at the opening of the new Y.M.C.A. building in Seoul. Japanese and Koreans both sought his presence in Korea, and he was asked to do what he could to pour oil on the troubled waters. The inaugural meetings of the Y.M.C.A. covered three days, and Timothy spoke on each day, being put down to speak directly after Prince Ito on the third day.

In May, 1910, addressing the annual meeting of the Peace Society in London, he advocated a plan for the federation of the ten leading nations of the world on the basis of reciprocity and equal opportunity. Later in the same year he was present at the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh, under the chairmanship of Dr. John R. Mott.

In August, 1914, Dr. Richard, who had lost his first wife (Miss Mary Martin) in July, 1903, married Dr. Ethel Tribe, of Bristol, who had been a medical missionary of the London Missionary Society for nearly twenty years. Four months later Dr. and Mrs. Richard spent two months in Java, where many Chinese had settled.

Richard was in direct contact on more than one occasion with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who had become an active revolutionary in Canton but on the failure of his conspiracy had to flee first to Japan and then to the U.S.A. While in England in 1896 Dr. Sun was kidnapped and imprisoned for some days in the Chinese Legation in London. After his release he called on Dr. Richard and voiced his gratitude for all that the missionary had done in China, both by famine relief and by literature.

When on his way to America in 1900 Dr. Richard found that Dr. Sun was living in Yokohama. Timothy was told by Dr. Sun that he had definitely made up his mind to advocate revolution pure and simple: whereupon the missionary said they would have to part company, as his own belief was in enlightenment by literature.

When the Revolution first broke out in China Dr. Sun was in England. He hurried back to China, and a Republican Conference held at Nanking elected Dr. Sun as Provisional President and Yuan Shih-kai as Premier. Three months later Dr. Sun resigned in favour of Yuan Shih-kai. For Army reform Yuan Shih-kai decided to embark upon a large foreign loan. Against this action Sun Yat-sen protested. Dr. Richard was asked to see Dr. Sun and advise him not to send his protest abroad. When Richard called on Sun he was in the act of reading a proof of his protest. He handed it over to the missionary and asked him what he thought of it. Richard begged Sun not to publish it, but this counsel he would not accept. This seems to have been the last occasion on which the two men were in personal contact.

Early in 1916 Dr. Richard's health became so precarious that it was considered advisable for him to visit England once more. He left Shanghai on May 20, travelling by way of Canada and arriving at Liverpool on July 10. Four days later Aberystwyth University conferred upon him its doctorate of laws and logic. He had already been accorded the D.D. by Georgia University, U.S.A., in 1895, and the Litt.D. by Brown University, U.S.A., in 1900. It was the time of the first Great War, and he settled first in a tiny flat in Southampton Row, Holborn. It was here that he received me in the month of November. "I have been a pioneer all my life," he said to me. I felt that nowhere had his catholicity of spirit and of outlook been more in

evidence than in his great work in association with the Christian Literature Society of China. I asked him, "What led you to this particular field of activity?" "Why," he replied, "because I realized that China so badly needed light—intellectual and spiritual enlightening." He himself, he added, had been responsible for the publication of no less than a hundred books in the Chinese language. "In everything we translate," he said, "we have a practical and definite aim." Of one book, Mackenzie's *History of the Nineteenth Century*, a million copies in Chinese had been issued. The books translated and issued included Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Benjamin Kidd's *Social Evolution*, Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living*, William Law's *Serious Call*, *Chronicles of the Schonberg-Cotta Family*, and many another.

Then Dr. Richard put a question to myself. "Do you know that ten years ago God offered peace to the world? The leading non-Christian nations were ready to accept it, and the sad thing is that the Christian nations would not listen to the Divine voice. Today they are reaping the consequences."

"The need for world peace," he went on, "had come home to me vividly in 1905, after the war between Russia and Japan. I saw the tragedy of two foreign countries fighting in Chinese territory, and then it was that God seemed to indicate to me a way of deliverance. I went to Peking, where I knew every member of the Government. They asked me to see Prince Ching and tell him of my scheme for the federation of the ten leading nations of the world. I pointed out that if federation was accomplished the economies effected in expenditure on armies and navies would enable all kinds of national and international improvements to be gone on with. Prince Ching expressed his approval, and I then asked him if he would pledge himself to practical action. 'Yes, I will,' he answered. Then I saw the Prime Minister of Japan and a Turkish Prince, each of whom gave similar pledges. At the Peace Conference of Lucerne the scheme was enthusiastically approved for submission to the next Hague Conference. Then came the tragedy. The Kaiser's representatives occupied two days trying to prove that might was right; and so the scheme of world federation for universal peace was shelved. Now the nations are paying the dread penalty.

"As to China itself," he added, "the miracles of God there in the last fifty years have been wonderful. The watchword in my work has been co-operation and federation. The influence of Christianity has profoundly permeated the whole of China. Thirty years ago the representatives of Christianity were despised and hated. Today churches are open, schools open, colleges open, hospitals open, and Christian teachers and doctors are welcome in every Province."

Even then, at over seventy, the veteran missionary did not count his contribution to life and to the world as complete. "Are you going back to China?" I enquired, scarcely anticipating an affirmative reply. "I hope so," he answered. "China is in a sad way, and I feel there are still things that I can do, and want to do, for her."

When I saw him for the second time a few days later Dr. Richard took the proceedings into his own hands, and invited me to listen to a talk by himself concerning "Seekers after God and the Highest" in China. It had been his custom to look for the best in men and in their religious beliefs; he had always accepted the Pauline affirmation that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him and worketh righteousness is acceptable to Him"; although he also believed that "the contact with God, and the consciousness of God, that Christianity brings, and gives, has a dynamic that no other religion possesses or is able to give."

In August, 1917, he secured a small house at Golders Green, and here his health improved. His mornings were spent in reading and writing. Always he was pondering over new ways of helping on great causes. He lived on to see the Armistice in November, 1918, and became so much stronger that he was able not only to attend meetings but to take part in them.

Early in 1919 he decided to return to China, and actually booked a passage for the early autumn; but in April a surgical operation became necessary, and on the 19th of that month his great heart ceased to beat. He was seventy-three years of age, and in the fiftieth year of his service for China. China, indeed, had been *in* his heart and *on* his heart.

Timothy Richard was a man of genius, with more than a touch of what is called

the cosmic consciousness. His heart was set upon God and the love of God, but just as much upon humankind. He called every man his brother. There was no other missionary just like him: he was in a class quite by himself.

China seems to exercise a marvellous attraction over those who give themselves wholeheartedly to it. Sir Meyrick Hewlett, writing upon *Forty Years in China*, says: "Over and over again I have asked myself why I loved China so deeply. I found a strange fascination in memories of Chinese surroundings. Old photographs and pictures of China never ceased to delight me. More and more I realized that this fascination is not confined to the scenes in which I spent such happy years; it is heightened by memories of the people among whom I lived and whom I loved.

"In the Chinese people I found something really great. I found patience and courage, and I never ceased to marvel at their simple attachment to Nature and the soil. They seem to realize that simple joys are lasting, and they seem to enjoy eternal childhood. They have the urge to work; their desire to live is indomitable; and they possess a consistent fund of good humour.

"I look with confidence to the day when the British Commonwealth of Nations and the oldest civilization in the world will march side by side, promoting the peace both love so dearly, and ensuring justice and freedom for the millions who can be so happy and prosperous and contented under good rule."

Dr. W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, formerly President of the Shansi Imperial University, states: "No foreigner, missionary or layman, has been so universally known in China as Timothy Richard. In every province, in every city, and in towns and villages without number throughout the land his name was known and respected, his writings were read, and his love for China recognized and appreciated. His soul refused to harbour pettiness, meanness or unkindness. His ambition for the welfare not only of the Chinese but of the human race knew no bounds. Courteous and considerate to all, generous and magnanimous, he nevertheless possessed undaunted courage and resourceful energy. He had the knack of finding the good in every man. Had he died in China his funeral would have been the greatest of any foreigner who has ever lived in that land. But—he is not dead: he lives in memories and lives and deeds of men and women who carry the torch they lighted at his."

A Welsh friend of mine whom I consulted concerning this tribute suggested, not simply that Dr. Richard was essentially a characteristic Welshman, but that he became an outstanding missionary in China in particular, and in the mission field in general, just because of those characteristics in his make-up which were definitely Welsh.

"These distinctive qualities," writes my friend, "which T. R. revealed in their entirety throughout his long and distinguished career, are characteristic of the Welsh at their best—and only of the Welsh! Every nation has a distinct contribution to make to the world, and the one made by T. R.—a representative Welshman—was gathered from his early Welsh environment, and also from the qualities he inherited from his parents. In his father's smithy he undoubtedly made personal contacts with the Welsh intellectuals of the whole district, who made the smithy a centre for discussion on every conceivable subject. Moreover, since his father was recognized locally as a peacemaker, T. R. must have been tremendously impressed by his father's wise judgments on all occasions. Furthermore, the transparent Christian character and sweet disposition of his wonderful mother, with her thoroughness in little things—shown in the excellent quality of her unbeatable pancakes—must have had an indescribable influence upon T. R.'s character during his impressionable years. Undoubtedly Wales, a land of religion and song and a culture all her own, gave this seriously bent son of hers a very solid foundation for the colossal work which he was destined to accomplish."

My Irish friend, Dr. W. Y. Fullerton, who knew Dr. Richard well, rightly spoke of him as "a great prophetic figure, childlike, simple-hearted, whole-souled, broad-minded."

Yet one more friend of mine—this time an Englishman—wrote: "Life is not laid down upon the lines of being ministered unto. It is the outgoing life, the life that grows by giving, the life that blesses by the sheer energy and brightness and beauty of

its own activity, that wins the secret of greatness, of self-possession, happiness, and serenity." It was in ministering, not in being ministered unto, that Timothy Richard found such greatness, happiness and serenity.

For myself, I share at least one humble experience with Dr. Richard : each of us in our youthful days scared the birds from attacking the corn crops of the countryside. I recall with gratitude the two occasions on which we met, and it greatly rejoices my heart that I have lived to be invited to do him honour by testifying to his greatness and his goodness. We do indeed praise God for the witness and the fruitfulness of his life and labour.

SOME BRITISH I ADMIRE

III.—CHARLES LAMB

BY RANJEE G. SHAHANI

1920, KARACHI. Lovely spring weather. The flowers glowed like jewels. I espied a gorgeous butterfly, and began to chase it. Soon I found myself in the shrubbery. I was about to go ahead, quite recklessly, when I saw something that halted me incontinently. Father Boswin, the terrible Principal of our school, was sitting on a bench assiduously trying to catch a sunbeam with his solar hat. Not succeeding, he became red as a poppy, and nearly ruined his headgear in his rage. Then, glaring at the sky, he muttered something that sounded very like "Damn!" I laughed—inwardly, of course—and promised myself some fun at the expense of the "White Devil," as we nicknamed our ferocious head teacher. Suddenly he saw me.

"What are you doing there?" he roared. "Come here."

There was nothing for me to do but to face the music.

"My order is that students may not enter these grounds," he began, chewing each word. "I suppose that means nothing to you? Well, I shall have to teach you a lesson. You are the busiest idler in India."

"Yes, Father."

"Who asked you to speak? What, in the name of thunder and lightning, were you doing here?"

I said nothing.

"Why don't you answer? Haven't you got a tongue in your head?" He was very angry. The veins in his neck stood out.

"I was looking for a butterfly, please, Father."

My words surprised him. "During class hours?" he fired, after a while.

"It was so beautiful, Father."

He gazed at me for a long, long time, and then said, almost in a whisper : "Did you catch it?"

"No, Father."

He smiled enigmatically. "Follow me," he said.

I resigned myself to a thrashing.

He took me to his private residence, where the reverend Fathers lived, and asked me to wait in the hall. It was a shadowy, whispering place, quite in keeping with my gloomy thoughts. Soon he came back, carrying a book. "Take this," he said in a curiously soft voice; "it is a gift. Read it and cherish it. One day you will understand why I gave it to you." Then, as though to himself, he said something in Latin. I caught only the words : "... et mentem mortalia tangunt."

I went away, sorely puzzled.

* * * * *

Anyway, that is how I came to know the work of Charles Lamb. And now, years later, I repeat : "Sunt lacrimæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt." There, to my mind, lies the secret of the undying appeal of Elia.

He is not one of the giants of literature. One does not think of him in that way. He cannot guide us in our journey through the Inferno or the Paradiso. For that we have to go to the greater masters, Eastern or Western. But he is, in some ways, nearer and dearer to us than many a mightier artist. He is one of us, yet how much more!

The hues of earthquake and eclipse are not to be found in his writings. Indeed, great matters—social, political, moral, or religious—leave him cold. He is not even an idealist in the sense that Wordsworth and Shelley were. Yet, strangely enough, he dates less than any of his more imposing contemporaries. Why? Simply because ideas and ideologies change with the changing times, but the truth of human nature remains for ever the same. Lamb sees life in its organic wholeness. He tells us of its outward manner in connection with its inner temper. He ignores the big issues that worry everybody and concentrates on the tremendous trifles in which there is much of the whole woeful heart of things. The still, sad music of humanity is ever present with him. Not only that. He is a friend of animals: think of his *Pity's Gift*. Yet, in spite of the wail that rises all round him, he remains blithe. True, existence on earth is a gloomy affair; but it has its compensations. Old books, old pictures, old places—how ravishing! By valuing the past delicately, more and more exquisitely, Lamb seems to be saying, we can make it the divine present. He teaches us how to make the best of life. Because he speaks the language of pure humanity he often seems to "utter somewhat above a mortal mouth." The praise of beggars, the cries of London, the peculiarities of actors just past their prime, the spots in "town" where the country still lingered on, as though loath to quit—these and similar things possess us and generate a genuine and generous emotion.

The fact is, Lamb is not a writer whom we merely admire. Sooner or later we come to love him. Why? Because the man was not smaller than his writings. There is no gulf between what he was and what he did. His work is the incarnation, not the expression, of his spirit. He did not write with his brain, like some clever people before or after him, but with his temperament. Instinct was his guide.

Here he was very wise. Just reflect on this. Pavlov is reported to have said a little before his death: "Human thought appears before us draped as it were in three coverings. The first is the most modest, but at the same time the nearest to truth—this covering is movement. The second or middle covering is more ornate—this consists of written signs and graphic signs and graphic symbols. Finally, the third is the most luxuriant, *but also the most superficial*—this is the covering of verbal signals, the symbolism of speech, which is removed from the immediate expression of thought by both the precedent." This is only a learned way of saying not only that speech was given to man to hide his thoughts, but that thought also is a disguise for feeling.

Lamb knew this truth. Unlike Coleridge, he avoided squandering his powers in brooding over the Ultimate Mystery. That seemed to him a futile occupation—like trying to press chaos into a tumbler, the tumbler of the human mind. He wrote as he felt, or, rather, as the spirit moved him. It is his temperament that bewitches us.

The first thing to remember about him is that he had suffered. It is my belief that a man who has not gone through the fire of anguish and heartache cannot write anything memorable. He cannot even be a great humorist. For only he who has probed into the substance of tears can understand the significance of laughter. Kierkegaard, too, says the same thing: "The more one suffers, the more, I believe, has one a sense of the comic. It is only by the deepest suffering that one acquires true authority in the use of the comic, an authority which by one word transforms as by magic the reasonable creature one calls man into a caricature."

But pain did not sour Lamb. It deepened him. He had a kindly eye for humanity. He thought that men were, after all, not so bad. Did he not say to some friend that he could not hate anyone whom he had known? How true that is, and how far does it go! I am inclined to think that ignorance is the Devil of the modern world.

Lamb never ran away from reality, however atrocious it was. He always faced it in a positive way. So, through personal experience, through pain and sorrow, he learned what his inmost attitude to things was. This was a form of meditation, a truly spiritual exercise. It freed his spirit from the bonds of time and circumstance.

To call this a Nirvanic state would be foolish; but I will say that it was not entirely different from that blessed condition. Thackeray called Lamb "Saint Charles." In saying this, he was wiser than he knew.

To prove, to conclude, to lay down the law—that was not Lamb's way in anything. He only believed in hints, surmises, intuitions. He thought it impertinent to make assertions about reality. He has described his attitude beautifully somewhere, but I cannot put my finger on the passage at the moment. No matter. The point is, he is wiser than most philosophers. He realized that the wonder like the beauty of life depends on the absence of a solution. If we knew why, they would become mechanical effects. That is why any solution seems inadequate, and our hope must be that it truly is so. Lamb suggests the inmost core of things in asides, by the way, as it were, and playfully. In fact, he always offers far more than he had promised. There was something of the Quaker in him. The Light of God within each man. So he awaited on the silence, which whispered a mighty secret or two to him. In this way he learned—what we must learn too, especially we Indians—that the surest method of achieving divineness here and now is to remain imperfectly human. Yes, Pascal was right. "Qui fait l'ange, fait la bête." Lamb drank too much, smoked too much, and had other faults and foibles; but what of that? He was still, and had the strange power of instilling stillness into others.

Value was for him not a part nor even a quality as weight and colour are. The estimator, he thought, was as important as the source of the value. Logic without affections and the senses without coherence both failed. A person was necessary before impersonal value could be perceived.

Such was his fundamental belief. So, with the self as a focal point, he explored the not-self. Is there a better way of discovering truth? The "I" is our only voucher for reality—including nescience.

But perhaps I am going beyond my depth. I have touched on a few of the characteristics of Lamb. These must suffice for the present. Let me say a word or two about his mahy-sided output.

* * * * *

Distinguished critics have praised the verses of Lamb. I am unable to agree with them. "The Old Familiar Faces," which is often cited, is scarcely a poem at all; the metre halts, stumbles, there is no touch of magic in it; but it is speech, naked human speech such as rarely gets through the disguise of rhymed numbers. The truth has to be faced. Lamb, with his perfect sincerity, his deliberate and quite natural simplicity, and with all that strange tragic material within and about him, was unable to work directly upon that material in the imaginative way of the poet, unable to transform its substance into a creation in the form of verse. He knew this himself; for he wrote to Wordsworth: "I reckon myself a dab at prose—verse I leave to my betters."

Lamb the ostensible poet is, not to mince words, a bore; but, odd as it may seem, he is a true poet in a larger and deeper sense. He is even a lyricist. He creates beauty out of reality, the reality of his own spirit, the only reality that is not, in the last analysis, a deception or a mirage. His best poetry is to be found in his essays, where he speaks from an unashamed heart. Take this passage from *Oxford in Vacation*:

Antiquity! thou wondrous charm, what art thou? that, being nothing, art everything! When thou wert, thou wert not antiquity—then thou wert nothing, but hadst a remoter antiquity, as thou calledst it, to look back to with blind veneration; thou thyself being to thyself flat, jejune, modern! What mystery lurks in this retroversion? or what half Januses are we, that cannot look forward with the same idolatry with which we for ever revert! The mighty future is nothing, being everything! the past is everything, being nothing!

That's the sort of strain—not for what it says or means, but for the lilt of it—that sets me musing on the days that are no more. There are richer tones in Lamb, tones that remind us of Milton, Thomas Browne, and Jeremy Taylor; but I dare not quote further. Wordsworth was right. He said that "poetry can boast of no celestial ichor

that distinguishes her vital juices from those of prose; the same human blood circulates through the veins of them both." This is incontrovertible. Lamb, like Turgenev or Virginia Woolf, was a poet in prose.

As a critic, he is first-rate, when the subject is congenial to him. Though "defrauded" in his young years "of the sweet food of academic institution," he is yet essentially a scholar, but neither dull nor pedantic. His work is mainly a remembrance of things past; his own feelings, perceptions, moods being alone real to him. "I cannot make these present times," he says candidly, "present to *me*." As he quaintly puts it, he wrote for antiquity. Here he showed powers of almost critical divination. He is practically the discoverer of old English playwrights. His *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the time of Shakespeare* is a fine and subtle book: it shows exquisite taste, a deep understanding of the Elizabethans, and a power of lighting up the dark corners of the soul with a touch or two. That wild and sombre genius Webster—who has done him better justice than Lamb? Shakespeare, too, is delicately appreciated. In a stray letter, in a few sentences, we get an astonishingly just estimate of the genius and writings of Defoe. In brief, it is with the refinements of creative writing, its verbal nuances, its magic and melody that Lamb is chiefly concerned as a literary critic.

He is also a fine appreciator of art. The ghosts of Titian and Hogarth must bless him. He has distilled the essence of their work. The praise is a little overdone, it is true, but it is not insincere. The fine excesses of Lamb are a part of his charm.

I have always thought that the word "great" can only be applied to that critic who can evaluate the work of his contemporaries. Here Lamb does not come out too well. The Waverley Novels seemed to him not particularly good; Byron he dismissed airily; Shelley, according to him, was "thin sown with profit or delight." And for the painter Turner he had no praise. These blind spots in Lamb must be admitted. The truth is, where his heart was there his judgment was subtle and true. Where he actively disliked he could be indifferent, insensitive, and even foolish.

Of some aspects of Lamb's work I have no space to speak here. I shall merely say that the *Tales from Shakespeare*, which he wrote along with his sister, are, almost alone of such things, not unworthy of the original. We know, too, that he was a master of nonsense—a truly difficult art. His letters are a department of his essays; but all are not of equal value. Quite a number of them are, frankly, dull.

The glory of Lamb lies in his essays. The best of them are unique. There is no mood, from that of reckless merriment to that of pathetic sweetness or religious awe, that is not to be found expressed in them with surprising felicity. In fact, all that I have said earlier in praise of Lamb applies mainly to his essays. Here we have the most searching and subtle criticism; "situations" so sad and so funny that they bring tears and laughter without the help of any stage or curtain; "miniature romances" wrapped in the incidents of humdrum daily life. The quips and puns of Elia, his bright nuggets of epigram, his delicate English humour, and, above all, his ineffable tenderness and charity, make his essays unlike any others; not comparable; not to be held up and measured by any literary rules. Their light and shade, their depth and wit, their sheen and fragrance—these cannot be summed up. They contain the pathos and poetry of the earth; and they are often bathed in the light of dreams. Elia glimpses the world in a stronger and better light than his perishing and mortal eye can see. He is, if you like, a poetic realist.

I pause here to say a word about his style. I know I am on slippery ground, but there is no progress without risk. Experts have told us that Elia's style evades analysis. They say: "One might as well seek to account for the perfume of lavender, or the flavour of quince. It is an essence, prepared from flowers and herbs gathered in fields where the ordinary reader does not often range." This is finely put, but it does not take us very far. Words ought not to bamboozle thought.

Compare the style of Lamb in each of his essays, and you will find that every essay has its own rhythm, perfectly attuned to its subject matter. That style, which is wellnigh miraculous, becomes what it is by a process very different from that of most literary artists. Read Pater, George Moore, or even Mr. E. M. Forster, and you will notice that the aim of these authors has been to forge a style which shall be adaptable to every occasion, but without structural change; the cadence is always the

same. The most exquisite word-painting of Pater or George Moore can be translated rhythm for rhythm into French, Italian, or Urdu without difficulty; once you have mastered the music, you have merely to go on; every sentence will be the same. But Lamb is so hard to translate because he has no fixed rhythm; his prose keeps step with his pulse-beat. He differs from sentence to sentence; he changes its cadence with every mood or for the convenience of a new fact or a new observation. He has, in fine, no theory of beauty in form apart from what it expresses. But his form is a living and growing thing, the exact objectivation of his thought or feeling.

Examine, for instance, the opening words in *The Wedding* :

I do not know when I have been better pleased than at being invited last week to be present at the wedding of a friend's daughter. I like to make one at these ceremonies, which to us old people give back our youth in a manner, and restore our gayest season, in the remembrance of our own success, or the regrets scarcely less tender, of our own youthful disappointments, in this point of settlement. On these occasions I am sure to be in good humour for a week or two after, and enjoy a reflected honeymoon.

In substance, texture and cadence this might have been lifted bodily from the *Spectator*. Yet there is no imitation here. The topic and the train of thought it evoked happened to be the same that Steele loved to dwell on. Then there are essays so fanciful that Donne or Burton might have composed them. There are others that have the weight and gravity of Bacon. But it is idle to pursue this theme. Lamb is a kind of literary chameleon. He was always experimenting with himself and others, ever trying to weave his apprehensions into a chime of words.

Perhaps he overdid his oddness. Unfortunately, he had acquired a character for quaintness, and had to live up to it. But he was fundamentally sincere and wrote from his depths. Reading him or commenting on him, one is haunted by a single thought. It is this: the proper study of man is man, and though this includes his background we should never forget that it is his :

Were there no men,
No forest would be lone
Nor any ocean moan,
But trees in unbewildering number stand
And soulless din churn an undeafened strand.

The wheel has turned full circle. We come back to the words of Virgil that I heard in part in my boyhood: "Sunt lachrimæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt." That is so, and will always be so.

JAPAN'S SURRENDER—WHAT NEXT?

BY H. VERE REDMAN

JAPAN has surrendered. In Japan itself and throughout the occupied territories the armed forces of the Emperor are being disarmed. The occupying forces are in all cases settling in, and the instructions of the various Allied commanders to the Japanese authorities are being more or less smoothly carried out. Yet reports of these events share a common note of dissatisfaction and reflect a feeling that somehow things are not as they should be, a feeling which was not noticeable at the time of the German surrender.

This is probably because the Japanese surrender came before large units of the Japanese forces had been decisively beaten in actual combat and the surrender was made by the existing Government while all the State machinery remains intact, even after the surrender has taken place. We feel somehow cheated of our victory. It seems somehow improper that a beaten Japan should be, at least as far as her State organization is concerned, so much like the Japan which started the war.

This is a very natural sentiment but it is worth consideration in the light of

political as distinct from emotional objectives. When the Potsdam Declaration was issued as a basis for Japanese surrender, did we, in fact, want the Japanese to surrender? If we did, it may be said that we have got what we wanted, and therefore that our feeling of being cheated is hardly justified. To this the answer would probably be that, while we wanted the Japanese to surrender, we wanted that surrender accompanied by an expression on the part of the Japanese leaders of regret for having embarked upon the war. We wanted to be sure that the Japanese fully realized that they had been beaten, and fully realized their national guilt in starting this war at all.

We cannot, as yet, be entirely sure of either. A number of statements have been made by Japanese leaders to the effect that Japan has been defeated. The most important of these was made by Prince Higashi-Kuni to the Diet, in which he gave a fairly clear indication that Japan was really beaten, even before the first atom bomb had been dropped. There must, then, be some sense of defeat among the Japanese people, and as the soldiers give up their arms and as Allied troops take up their positions in the heart of Japan itself, this will undoubtedly grow.

But where is the sense of guilt? That we do not find in any pronouncement. The Imperial rescripts represent the surrender as a mixture of yielding to *force majeure* and Japanese concern with the welfare of mankind as a whole. The pronouncements of Government leaders follow the same lines. The sense of guilt is just not there. The Japanese may be increasingly aware that they have lost the war; they are not, as yet, ashamed of ever having started it.

It is useless to expect this to be a natural growth. People do not necessarily feel guilty just because they have been beaten. The Japanese are of all peoples the most prone to such a belief. Throughout their thought there is a tendency to accept that what is successful is right and what is unsuccessful is wrong. But we cannot rely on this entirely. If we wish the Japanese to feel guilty, and it would seem that such a feeling is the only possible basis for their future good behaviour, it is up to us to present clearly what we have against them.

It would obviously have been unwise to begin that process before the disarmament of all the armed Japanese forces was completed. That is a matter of common sense. If we engender in the mind of the Japanese now a conviction that they are a nation of criminals (and particularly that the Service leaders are a band of criminals) the only result would be to encourage spasmodic and desperate resistance to surrender. Presumably, we do not want that. Although dealing with such resistance would rid us of a number of troublesome Japanese, it would also be bound to cost us at least a few Allied lives. We have waged this war to bring about the unconditional surrender of Japan. It is our obvious duty to achieve that surrender at the least possible cost in Allied lives, for, Heaven knows, the cost already has been high enough. But the task of this inculcation of a sense of guilt remains to be performed and, once the surrender of the armed forces has been completed, must be proceeded with vigorously.

A first step has been taken by General MacArthur in the publication of the preliminary list of war criminals. There are clearly two categories of such criminals and in the definitions of the persons who should come within those categories our thought should be clear and proceed according to carefully formulated processes. In this business we do not want to assuage ephemeral passions; do not want to adopt temporary expedients; do not want to make fools of ourselves, or martyrs of our enemies. We want to vindicate an acceptable and generally accepted moral law, which will be a firm basis for international relations and the individual actions of national leaders in the years to come. The first category of Japanese war criminals is that of men who have directly perpetrated atrocities on their own responsibility. The Commandant of a prisoner of war camp who has ordered the torture of the prisoners committed to his charge represents a clear case in point. So also do those who have perpetrated atrocities upon civilians in occupied territories. Where evidence of such crimes is fully substantiated, the case for stern retribution is unanswerable, and the execution of appropriate sentences can serve, in itself, as part of the education of the Japanese people in a sense of guilt. The details of these enormities should be fully publicized for the Japanese people. They should know fully and in the minutest detail the things that have been done by their compatriots, in and out of uniform, and the consequent disgrace which has been brought upon the name of Japan.

But the criminals so far arrested are mostly in another category. It is the category of those who hold supreme responsibility for the outbreak of the war. It is a category in which the principal names are those Service leaders and politicians who have so misled the nation as to cause them to embark upon this attack, to turn away from the paths of peaceful expansion and seize by violence the territories and resources of their neighbours. If the evidence of such activities can be effectively gathered and an indictment formulated which is as clearly logical as it is moral, as bereft of hypocrisy as it is based on justice, then the details of that indictment, fully publicized, will supply at the same time the education in guilt which is required, and the identification of the guilty, in Japanese eyes, as well as in our own.

But the making of such an indictment, and indeed the trials of war criminals in this second category, need to be proceeded with deliberately, and to the accompaniment of an educational campaign through all the media of publicity, if they really are to serve any general purpose. How the Japanese will react to such an educative process cannot be predicted with certainty. They will undoubtedly, like all mankind in times of disaster, be glad of scapegoats. If we play our cards well—that is to say, if our trials appear to be serving an objective justice and our accompanying publicity is convincingly conducted—the scapegoats will be the warrior caste in general and, with it, the warrior code will be discredited. The value of this campaign, it should be stressed, will lie less in either the satisfactions it gives to our own sense of justice or in the number of potentially troublesome Japanese it disposes of, than in the general effect it has on the Japanese as a whole. It should serve to make them anti-militarist. That is the essential purpose.

There has been some slight evidence of such anti-militarism already. The speeches of Minoru Togo, Ichiro Hatoyama and the aged Yukio Ozaki in the Diet are cases in point. But it is doubtful whether any of these, except the last, represent anything more than a surface reaction to failure and a fashion. The Japanese are given to following fashions and particularly the fashions associated with success. The contemporary bleatings by agile politicians about the virtues of democracy, within a few months of equation of it to decadence, are little more than manifestations of this. But there are more permanent factors in the Japanese make-up which transcend fashion and the apotheosis of the warrior is one of them. So too is the herd spirit in all its manifestations, its negation of the importance of the individual, its sanctification of the group.

And it is these things in the character of the Japanese that we have got to get rid of if we want to get them to behave in the way we would have them behave. We have to break down the conviction that violence in the service of the group is the ultimate manifestation of virility, that physical courage in the service of unreasoned herd purposes is an ultimate good. We have to redefine courage as something more than physical valour and self-sacrifice for an ill-apprehended end. We have to redefine justice as vindication of universal and objective law.

These are alien conceptions to the Japanese. To inculcate them is no short or easy task. And in the process we must always beware of the "ready mouthers," the people who will repeat our lessons while not really incorporating them into their own thinking. It will not take us long to have thousands of Japanese piping "democratic" platitudes through their gum-encrusted teeth. But we want more than that if East Asia is to live at peace and we must be prepared to work for it.

MODERN BARODA

By R. W. BROCK

THE recent visit of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda to Britain, which has awakened such a lively interest in his personality and activities in certain sections of the British Press, affords additional justification for directing attention once again

to Baroda's many-sided progress in every sphere of social, economic and political activity advantageous to its own population and the welfare and advancement of the State as a whole. As described in the administration report for 1943-44 now available, the capital city embodies Eastern traditions and Western ideals in an exceptionally attractive synthesis—"a city of palaces and stately public buildings, of parks and recreation grounds, of broad, well-laid roads and beautiful avenues, of colleges, schools and hospitals, a city worthy to be the seat of a modern and progressive State"—far more worthy, one may add, than many a provincial capital city in British India. As the Baroda report recalls, the sixty-four years during which that remarkable man, the grandfather of the present Maharaja, was on the throne was the golden period in the history of the State. His achievements were numerous: a scientific system of land revenue, survey and settlement was introduced; great departments of State formed; social laws framed and enacted; compulsory education enforced; important programmes of rural reconstruction and industrial development carried out; the social services of the State extended, a network of railways constructed, the port of Okha developed, and, above all, a tradition of just and good government firmly established. His Highness was assisted by a succession of able Ministers, but the inspiration was always his. Modern Baroda is the great and fitting memorial to Sayajirao.

In February, 1939, he was succeeded by his grandson, His Highness the Maharaja Pratapsinh Gaekwar, whose reign, as the Administration Report asserts, "is already famous for the permanent reduction in land revenue to the extent over twenty per cent., the Constitutional reforms and the Sayajirao III Memorial Trust of a crore of rupees, the Maharani Shanta Devi Trust fund for the medical relief of women and children, and the extension of the social services of the State." Constitutional advance keeps pace with social and economic progress. The Legislative Council reconstituted in 1940 now consists of sixty members, of whom twenty-seven are elected by territorial constituencies on a wide franchise; in 1940 the number of voters being 239,336, or about 8.5 per cent. of the population of the State. Besides these, ten members represent industry, commerce, labour and the co-operative movement as special interests. The other twenty-three members consist of six officials and seventeen non-official gentlemen, appointed to represent minorities, etc. The Council, over which the Dewan presides, has the power to initiate and pass legislation, to discuss and vote on the Budget. The members may also ask questions and move resolutions on matters of public interest, subject to certain limitations. All legislation requires the assent of the Maharaja, while the Dewan has the power of certification. The judiciary is separate from, and independent of, the Legislature and the Executive. The judges of the High Court hold office till the age of retirement, and may only be removed by His Highness on the ground of misbehaviour or infirmity of body or mind. The policy of His Highness has been set out clearly—it is the close association of the people with the Government. In Constitutional matters, as in other spheres, Baroda has developed forms and institutions which, it is reasonably claimed, while giving full effect to the principle of close association, are suited to her conditions and serve her special needs.

The Agricultural Department, founded in 1909, was largely expanded in 1936, when it adopted a vigorous policy of technical development, and an equally vigorous propaganda to carry the knowledge of improved methods to every agriculturist in the State. The number of co-operative societies is now 1,359, and it is calculated that 18.1 per cent. of the population is affected by the movement. The department of industries is maintained to implement the Government's policy of active assistance in starting new or developing existing industries, including village industries. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of seven and twelve, and all primary education up to class V is free. There are 2,496 Government primary schools with 6,746 teachers and 50 Government secondary schools with 477 teachers. Of 311,726 pupils in 1943-44, 191,005 were boys and 120,721 girls. The percentage of those under instruction to the total population was 21.6.

Perhaps the most important development in education in recent years is the establishment of a network of village libraries throughout the State. The genesis of the library movement lies in the fact, realized after some years of experience of compulsory education, that a boy or girl who has passed the fifth standard Gujarati lapses into illiteracy within a few years unless opportunities are provided for him or her

to continue reading. The Government therefore adopted a policy of providing with a library every village where there is a school. In 1944 there were 1,505 village libraries, reinforced by travelling libraries serving about 375 centres. The population served by the libraries now forms 100 per cent. of the town population, and 78·27 of the village, equivalent to 82·6 per cent. of the population of the State as a whole.

The area of the State is 8,176 square miles, the population 2,855,000 : an average density of 349 to the square mile. The distribution of the population between urban and rural is in the ratio of 1 to 4. The rural population lives in 2,894 villages, of which 1,401 have a population of less than 500. There is a marked tendency to migrate from small congested villages to the towns, whose number increased from 50 in 1931 to 64 in 1941. Government note that many of these towns are mere distributing centres, and the increase in the number does not signify corresponding industrial progress. Indeed, the predominance of agriculture as a means of livelihood has as yet been little affected, and 64·6 per cent. are engaged in it, industry absorbing 13·3 per cent. The strength of the rural society lies in the large number of proprietor farmers. A further factor is the number of women who supplement the family income : 744 to every 1,000, as against 567 in British Gujarat and 428 in Bombay Province. On the other hand, the average holding is only four acres, and the area of crop per head of population 1·35 acres; and this problem is accentuated by fragmentation and sub-division. Government confess sadly that : "The measures taken to prevent further sub-division and to consolidate small holdings have been defeated by sentiment, laws of inheritance and succession, and the absence of diversified occupations." A second handicap is that the irrigated area constitutes only 6 per cent. of the area of the State. The excessive number of cattle is another disadvantage, 46 to every 100 acres, or double what Government think it should be. Agricultural indebtedness as in the rest of India is heavy, and Government is pledged to develop co-operative credit to meet this evil. Large irrigation schemes are under investigation; and on perennial rivers electric installations for pumping water are set up.

Industrially, Baroda is relatively advanced, factory operatives numbering 36,523, while the total amount of paid-up capital of joint stock companies working in the State (excluding foreign insurance companies) increased from Rs. 152 lakhs in 1921 to Rs. 2,014 lakhs in 1941. A noteworthy feature of this industrial development is that it is broadbased. There are 18 cotton mills, 1 woollen mill, 2 cotton and silk weaving factories, a large chemical industry, a cement factory producing 200,000 tons a year and a salt works with an output of 75,000 tons. There are two match factories, a sugar factory, oil mills and a number of miscellaneous concerns.

POLITICAL AND ECONOMICAL PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES

(FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT)

THE decision to reopen Constitutional discussions in India, following the completion of the Provincial elections early next year, means that the establishment of an Indian Federal Union, broadly on the lines contemplated in the India Act of 1935, although of course by no means assured, is undoubtedly restored to the arena of practical politics, and, after a decade of debate and indecision, again becomes a live issue. Meanwhile, as we are reminded in an authoritative analysis, Constitutional history in the States has not stood still. Of the total population of the States which are members of the Chamber of Princes 76·4 per cent. possess Legislatures with varying degrees of power and influence, and in about twenty States the existing Constitutions are in process of revision. When these measures are completed about 85 per cent. of the total population of Chamber States will have popular representative bodies. Some of the larger States have bicameral legislatures, both Houses having a majority of elected members. Thus, in Mysore, the Legislative Council, which is the Upper House, has

68 members, of whom 44 are elected. The Representative Assembly, the Lower House, consists of 310 members, of whom only 12 are nominated. In States possessing unicameral Legislatures the elected members are in a clear majority over the nominated and official members. A notable feature is the almost complete absence of communal electorates, special representation being extended, however, to backward classes and minorities, as well as to trades, professions and other functional interests. In Hyderabad and Rampur territorial constituencies have been ruled out, and, instead, occupational constituencies based on the economic motif have been substituted. Some of the States, including Mysore, Kashmir and Baroda, include in their Executive Councils one or two Ministers selected from the elected members of the Legislatures. The Baroda Constitution specifically provides for the appointment of two such Ministers, while Mysore has three elected Ministers on the Executive Council. The Constitution of Cochin provides for the appointment of a Minister from among the elected members, who is responsible to the Legislature and retains office so long as he commands its confidence. Important departments such as Education, Agriculture, Public Health and Local Self-Government are under his direct charge, and are known as the "Transferred Departments" (shades of Dyarchy!) to distinguish them from the "Reserved Departments" supervised by officials not responsible to the Legislature.

Political ideals know no frontiers, and it is a safe assumption, regardless of the federal project, that, as British India moves progressively towards the establishment of full Parliamentary government, the States will move at varying paces, and with varying degrees of reluctance, towards the same consummation. Among a population in which political consciousness and experience vary so greatly as in India, there is no inherent disadvantage in this lack of uniformity, and, as pointed out by H.H. the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, in his inaugural address to the Constitutional Committee in Bombay on July 11 last, it is now the settled policy of the Indian Princes to associate their people as closely as possible with the administration of the States and to make their fullest contribution towards the greatness and glory of the motherland.

Nor is popular welfare measurable by political standards alone. "On the home front," declared the President of the Hyderabad Executive Council in a recent address to the Legislative Council, "we have now to approximate as closely and as early as possible to the ideal of a social service State, catering for all the essential social needs of a progressive people. In post-war planning primary importance has been attached to industrial, commercial and agricultural development, to the expansion of public health and medical relief and to the spread of education and literacy." Nor is the Premier State prone to political isolationism. In the difficult war years, as the Nawab Saheb observed: "The interdependence of British India and the State has helped the process of collaboration in the economic sphere, and the question of food supply is an instance"—a problem not yet finally solved. "It is not expected," he added, "that the situation in this, as in other economic fields, will ease suddenly after the war to such an extent as to permit an immediate withdrawal of controls and regulations. We appear, however, to have passed the worst days, and, given the continued co-operation of the public in the drive against the hoarder and the smuggler, the anti-social nature of whose activities must be given no quarter; given also the continued impetus of the 'Grow More Food' campaign, on which Government has so far spent one crore and seventeen lakhs of rupees; above all, given sufficient rain at the proper time, God's greatest gift of all, we can hope to have better years before us than we have left behind."

There has been a phenomenal rise in the income of the Hyderabad Government during the war period from 9 to 17 crores of rupees, and large sums have been allotted for nation-building activities such as the expansion of technical and general education in all stages, improvement in public health and medical facilities and the building up of large reserves for post-war requirements. Of special significance is the decision of the Nizam's Government to make co-operation the basis of the entire rural economy of the State. The Co-operative Department has prepared a scheme, pyramidal in structure, which aims at establishing co-operative societies, Taluqa Development Unions and District Development Unions in every village, taluqa and district respectively. Great stress is laid on co-operative business and the elimination of the middle-

THE ASIATIC REVIEW

INDEX TO VOL. XLI

INDIA

	PAGE
POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA: OFFICIAL PLANS. By <i>R. W. Brock</i>	61
FAMINE PREVENTION WORKS IN BENGAL. By <i>D. N. Sen-Gupta</i>	65
HINDU NUMERALS. By <i>C. A. Kincaid</i>	95
POST-WAR PLANS FOR INDIAN STATES. By <i>A Special Correspondent</i>	97
BRITAIN JOINS HANDS WITH HER EMPIRE TO HELP THEIR FIGHTING MEN	99
MYSORE AND THE WAR. (<i>Specially Contributed</i>)	107
A VISION OF THE NEW INDIA. By <i>Geoffrey Tyson</i>	166
BANQUET TO THE VICEROY AND VISCOUNTESS WAVELL: THE NIZAM'S SPEECH	172
PLANNING IN THE INDIAN STATES, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BARODA. By <i>M. H. Shah</i>	175
THOUGHTS ON A PLANNED ECONOMY FOR INDIA. By <i>A. I. Qureshi</i>	177
THE APPRECIATION OF INDIAN ART. By <i>B. Whittingham-Jones</i>	181
THE INDIAN STATES IN WAR AND PEACE. <i>From a Special Correspondent</i>	183
THE ELEMENTS OF INDIAN MUSIC. By <i>Dennis Stoll</i>	201
BROADCASTING IN INDIA. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel H. R. Hardinge</i>	203
THE INDIAN STATES AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. By <i>Mir Magbool Mahmood</i>	209
RURAL RECONSTRUCTION IN HYDERABAD. By <i>B. S. Townroe</i>	276
DIAMONDS OF GOLCONDA. By <i>Theo. W. La Touche</i>	280
DEFENCE AND NATIONAL EFFICIENCY. By <i>K. M. Panikkar</i>	291
WAR-TIME DEVELOPMENTS IN MYSORE. (<i>Specially Contributed</i>)	300
INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIAN STATES. By <i>R. W. Brock</i>	313
PREPARING A BASE IN INDIA. By <i>Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth</i>	389
BUDGET SESSION IN BARODA	392
BIKANER'S WAR SERVICES	393
VICTORY CELEBRATIONS IN MYSORE	396
MODERN BARODA. By <i>R. W. Brock</i>	409
POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRESS IN INDIAN STATES	411

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA'S FIGHTING SERVICES IN THE WAR. By <i>Lieut.-General G. N. Molesworth</i>	2
SCIENCE AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS IN THE NEW INDIA. By <i>Sir Shanti Bhatnagar</i>	14
THE STORY OF THE INDIAN AIR FORCE. By <i>Wing-Commander W. W. Russell</i>	28
INDIA'S POLITICAL FUTURE AND RURAL RECONSTRUCTION. By <i>Rev. J. Z. Hodge</i>	35
BROADCASTING TO INDIA: SOME LESSONS OF WAR EXPERIENCE. By <i>Prof. L. F. Rushbrook Williams</i>	45
THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN INDIA TODAY. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel G. R. Stevens</i>	54, 125
THE INDIAN SOLDIER AND POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT. By <i>Brig. F. L. Brayne</i>	113
BALUCHISTAN AND THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER IN WAR-TIME. By <i>Sir Aubrey Metcalfe</i>	130
IMPRESSIONS OF INDIA IN THE WAR YEARS. By <i>Sir Evelyn Wrench</i>	138
BRITAIN'S INDIAN MARKET—PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE. By <i>Sir Thomas Ainscough</i>	148
AN ORIENTAL CULTURAL CENTRE IN LONDON. By <i>Fred H. Andrews</i>	161, 257
THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE IN WAR-TIME. By <i>Sir Frederick James</i>	225
A POLITICAL PLAN FOR INDIA. By <i>A. K. Pillai</i>	235
THE BEVIN TRAINING SCHEME: ITS RELATIONS TO THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By <i>E. Watson Smyth</i>	246
PLANNING FOR INDIA. By <i>The Hon. Sir Ardeshir Dalal</i>	263
INDIA'S WAR EFFORT. By <i>General Sir Mosley Mayne</i>	321
POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES IN THE STATES OF SOUTHERN INDIA. By <i>Sir William Barton</i>	324
HOW TO RAISE STANDARDS OF LIVING IN INDIA. By <i>Dr. P. J. Thomas</i>	336
INDIAN HEALTH PROBLEMS. By <i>Lieut.-Colonel I. M. Orr, Howard Somervell and the Rev. J. C. McGilvray</i>	349
THE BRITISH IN INDIA: THEIR PRESENT AND THEIR FUTURE. By <i>C. P. Lawson</i>	359

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Vol. 71 No. 1/5 146